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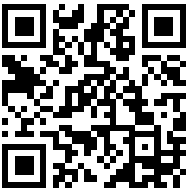

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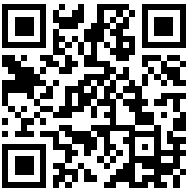

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PMLA

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AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1927

Members of the Association are requested to see that copies of monographs, studies or dissertations in the field of the Modern Languages which may be printed privately or in University series during the current year be sent to the *editor of the appropriate section* of the American Bibliography.

Italics indicate book titles; quotation marks indicate articles. Periodicals and memorial volumes are referred to by the following abbreviations:

AJP	American Journal of Philology
AmColl	American Collector
AnglB	Beiblatt zur Anglia
Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen.
AS	American Speech
ASR	American Scandinavian Review
BHi	Bulletin Hispanique
EE	Estudios eruditos en memoriam de Bonilla y San Martín
ESt	Englische Studien
FQ	French Quarterly
GR	Germanic Review
GSL	Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis, N. Y. and Paris, 1927
Hisp	Hispania
Ital	Italica
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Lang	Language
LTLS	[London] Times Literary Supplement
MLJ	Modern Language Journal
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
N&Q	Notes and Queries
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RES	Review of English Studies
RFE	Revista de Filología Española
RHi	Revue Hispanique
RHL	Revue d'Histoire Litteraire de la France
RLC	Revue de Littérature Comparée
RR	Romanic Review
SP	Studies in Philology
SS	Scandinavian Studies and Notes
ZRPh	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

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1. ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

I. LINGUISTICS

Barker, Howard F. "Surnames in -is." *AS*, II. 316–318.

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1. The meaning "pit, grave" sometimes borne by the word *lake* is probably due to the use of *lacum* in the Vulgate to translate the Greek λάκκος (pit, hole). 2. Acknowledges a correction of his previous note on the word *berm*: the correct meaning is the strip between the paved part of a road and the ditch.

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Any locutions expressing "desire, hope, intention, resolve, determination, compulsion, necessity, or possibility . . . . may be taken up and developed as future tense signs."

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Holmes, Urban T. "The Phonology of an English Speaking Child." *AS*, II. 219–225.

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Kip, H. Z. "'So-long,' 'Cold Feet,' 'To Bore from Within.'" *PQ*, VI. 400–405.

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Some queries raised, and some answers to them suggested, concerning the Germanic, Hunnish, and classical traditions in Attila's funeral as described by Jordanes, and in Beowulf's.

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A study of the Hrethric-Hroðulf incident in *Beowulf* in the light of the many references to these characters and their relations in Scandinavian tradition.

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Deferrari, Roy J. "Early Ecclesiastical Literature and Its Relation to the Literature of Classical and Medieval Times." *PQ*, VI. 102–110.

Hammond, Eleanor P. *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey: Being Examples of Conventional Secular Poetry, exclusive of Romance, Ballad, Lyric, and Drama, in the period from Henry the Fourth to Henry the Eighth.* Durham, N. C., 1927.

A comprehensive collection of texts, some hitherto unpublished, with a full introduction, bibliographical and critical commentary, and extensive and valuable notes.

Krappe, A. H. "Two Mediæval Derivatives of Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiae*." *Leuvensche Bijdragen*, XVIII (1926). 1–6.

One in Wace's *Roman de Rou*, the other in the chronicle of Richard of London.

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Raymond, Thomas L. *Events Which Led to the Development of the Literature of the Middle Ages.* Newark, 1926.

Rickert, Edith. "A Leaf from a Fourteenth-Century Letter Book." *MP*, XXV. 249–255.

Eight letters (some incomplete) of a personal tone, six at least belonging to the last decade of the fourteenth century. All are in French.

Slover, Clark H. "Early British Relations with Ireland and Brittany." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., III. 367–370.

Portions of this thesis are printed in full in the following article and that listed below, s.v. **Malmsbury, William of.**

———— "Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926, pp. 5–52 [to be continued].

An investigation of the relations between Britain and Ireland from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, with special reference to the channels by which literature and literary ideas might have been transmitted. The distinction between history and legend is difficult to make, but enough of the evidence suggests an authentic tradition justifying the belief that there was considerable intercourse between Celtic Britain and Ireland during this period. The writer concludes that if the existence of such channels can be proved, "we can hardly escape the inference that Irish parallels are entitled to primary consideration in the investigation of Arthurian origins."

Willard, James F. *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America.* Bulletin No. 5. Boulder, Colo., 1927.

Alexander. Hamilton, G. H. "Quelques notes sur l'histoire de la légende d'Alexandre le Grand en Angleterre au moyen-âge." *Mélanges de Philologie et d'Histoire Offerts à M. Antoine Thomas par ses Elèves et ses Amis.* Paris, 1927, pp. 195–202.

———— "A New Redaction (J^{3a}) of the *Historia de Preliis* and the Date of Redaction J^{3}." *Speculum*, II. 113–146.

Evidence drawn from the M. E. *Wars of Alexander* and the prose *Alexander* in the Thornton Ms.

Manly, John M. "The Romance of Alexander." *LTLS*, Sept. 22, 1927, p. 647.

Entry in the Plea and Memoranda Rolls in 1382 referring in the words of the Calendar, to a "book of Romance of King Alexander in verse (rimiatus) and curiously illuminated, value 10 *l.*"

Ballad. Tolman, Albert H. "*Mary Hamilton:* The Group Authorship of Ballads." *PMLA*, XLII. 422–432.

Maintains that the ballad of *Mary Hamilton* is of Scottish origin, but is influenced in some versions by the parallel incident at the Russian court sometimes considered its source. In the second part of the paper the writer states his position on the question of the origin of ballads: he considers both individual and communal authorship of ballads as proved.

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Wimberly, Lowry C. *Death and Burial Lore in English and Scottish Ballads.* Lincoln, 1927. *Univ. of Nebraska Studies in Lang., Lit., and Criticism*, No. 8.

———— "Two Traditional Ballads." *AS*, III. 114–118.

Versions of *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* and *Young Hunting*, of Pennsylvania and Tennessee origin respectively.

Castle of Perseverance. Allison, Tempe E. "On the Body and Soul Legend." *MLN*, XLII. 102–106.

In the *Castell of Perseverance*, the missing leaf may have contained a Dialogue between the Body and the Soul, for the scene breaks off while *Anima* is expressing hope of salvation for *Humanus Genus* (who has just died) and resumes with *Malus Angelus* maintaining that the soul must go to Hell with him.

Chaucer. Baldwin, Charles S. "Cicero on Parnassus." *PMLA*, XLII. 106–112.

A discussion of Chaucer's various remarks on "colours of rethoryk," especially in the Franklin's Prologue. The linking of Cicero's name with Parnassus was due to the universal ascription of the treatise *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the Middle Ages to Cicero. Chaucer's objection to the *colores* is especially directed against those that delay the narrative and lead to "prolixitee."

Conrad, Bernard R. "The Date of Chaucer's 'Prologue'." *N&Q*, CLII. 385.

Offers as further evidence for the date 1387 an interpretation of lines 399–400 (If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hand, etc.), suggesting a possible allusion to the fight off Margate in March, 1387, in which the English captured many ships laden with wine.

Cornelius, Roberta D. "Corones Two." *PMLA*, XLII. 1055–1057.

Directs attention to a passage in St. Cyprian in which the symbolism of the red and white crowns occurs, as probably the earliest source yet found for the idea.

Curtiss, Joseph T. "The Horoscope in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*." *JEGP*, XXVI. 24–32.

Differs with Curry on some astrological interpretations.

Fairchild, Hoxie N. "Active Arcite, Contemplative Palamon." *JEGP*, XXVI. 285–293.

Presents tentatively the hypothesis that Chaucer in differentiating the characters of Palamon and Arcite was influenced by the medieval conception of the Active and the Contemplative Life.

French, Robert D. *A Chaucer Handbook.* N. Y., 1927.

Hill, Mary A. "Rhetorical Balance in Chaucer's Poetry." *PMLA*, XLII. 845–861.

Hinckley, Henry B. "Chauceriana." *PQ*, VI. 313–314.

Parallels between Chaucer and Roman literature.

Lineberger, Julia E. "An Examination of Professor Cowling's New Metrical Test." *MLN*, XLII. 229–231.

A brief note on the inadequacy of the test as an evidence of the chronology of Chaucer's work.

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Magoun, Francis P., Jr. "The Source of Chaucer's *Rime of Sir Thopas*." *PMLA*, XLII. 833–844.

Argues that Chaucer was definitely influenced by the Ile d'Or Episode in *Libeaus Desconus*.

———— "The Chaucer of Spenser and Milton." *MP*, XXV. 129–136.

Various notes, including evidence that Milton used the second edition of Speght (1602).

Manly, John M. "Recently Discovered Chaucer Documents. II. Chaucer as Controller." *MP*, XXV. 123.

The exact text of the oath for the controller of petty customs in Chaucer's time and two records of Chaucer's deputies, 16 May 1388 (two weeks before Chaucer set out for Italy) and Michaelmas, 1386. This communication also appears *LTLS*, June 9, 1927, p. 408.

———— "Chaucer's Lady of the Daisies?" *MP*, XXIV. 257–259.

Alice de Cestre, proposed by Tupper as the original of Chaucer's Alceste, turns out to have been, on the evidence of the household books, an elderly laundress in the Queen's household.

————"The Prioress at Stratford." *LTLS*, Nov. 10, 1927, p. 817.

Evidence that "Mary Syward was prioress of the house of St. Leonard during the greater part, if not the whole, of the last two decades of the fourteenth century." Professor Manly concludes that "this renders highly improbable the suggestion made in....'Some New Light on Chaucer,' that the name Madame Eglentyne of the 'Prologue' reflected the name of the Domina Argentyn who is twice mentioned as one of the nuns of Stratford in the will of Elizabeth of Hainaut, sister of Queen Philippa."

———— "Piggesnye." *LTLS*, Oct. 6, 1927, p. 694.

Moore, Samuel. "Chaucer's Pardoner of Rouncival." *MP*, XXV. 59–66.

Further documents from the Patent Rolls concerning the hospital of St. Mary of Rouncival and their right to solicit alms.

———— "The New Chaucer Items." *MLR*, XXII. 435–438.

Prints transcripts of the three documents mentioned in the latest volume of the *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, with a useful commentary.

Patch, Howard R. "Chaucer and Lady Fortune." *MLR*, XXII. 377–388.

Rickert, Edith. "Goode Lief, My Wyf." *MP*, XXV. 79–82.

Further evidence for the occurrence of *Godlef* as a woman's name, one instance from the subsidy roll in which Harry Bailly's name occurs. It belongs, however, to a neighbor's wife, the Host's wife being named Christian. It is also noted that in D 431 Chaucer has the Wife of Bath address her fourth husband as "godelief." Miss Rickert believes this to be an epithet, although it is not impossible that, considering the German *Gottlieb*, it should be a man's name, too.

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———— "Recently Discovered Chaucer Documents. I. Chaucer's Debt to John Churchman." *MP*, xxv. 121–122.

Three writs issued between April 16 and June 4, 1388, enjoining the attaching of Chaucer for debt. In two Chaucer is said to be in Kent, and in one the writ is issued by Thomas Pynchebek whom Professor Manly has suggested as the original of Chaucer's Man of Law.

———— "Chaucer's Debt to Walter Bukholt." *MP*, xxiv. 503–505.

Information which goes a long way towards explaining the debt for £14 1*s*. 11*d*. for which Chaucer was sued in 1398 by the widow (?) of Walter Bukholt (*alias* Worth, as here shown). The dispute was probably over wages claimed while Chaucer was Clerk of the Works.

———— "Chaucer at the Funeral of the Princess of Wales." *LTLS*, Aug. 11, 1927, p. 548.

An entry in a roll of liveries for the King's household, 1385, shows that Chaucer received three ells of black cloth "long" as mourning for the Princess, along with most of the men who were associated with him at Court.

———— "More Payments to Chaucer." *LTLS*, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 766.

———— "Portrait of an Englishman in the Spanish Chapel, Florence." *LTLS*, Aug. 4, 1927, p. 533.

Identifies the figure as that of Edward, Lord le Despenser, who "is associated in more than one way with the poet Chaucer."

Schlauch, Margaret. *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens.* N. Y., 1927.

A study of the Man of Law's Tale in its relation to analogous stories in literature and folk-lore.

Spencer, Theodore. "Chaucer's Hell: A Study in Mediæval Convention." *Speculum*, II. 177–200.

In his forty-odd references to hell Chaucer shows himself indebted to the general convention of the Middle Ages rather than to Virgil, Dante, or any other individual.

Tatlock, John S. P. and Kennedy, Arthur. *A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and to the Romaunt of the Rose.* Washington, 1927.

Wells, Whitney. "An Unnoted Analogue to the *Pardoner's Tale*." *MP*, xxv. 163–164.

In Edward Topsell's *History of Serpents* (1608).

Firumbras. O'Sullivan, Mary I. *A Study of the Fillingham Text of Firumbras and Otuel and Roland.* London, 1927. Bryn Mawr Diss.

Presents in condensed form the results of a comparison of the Fillingham texts with other versions of the romances. No direct source for the *Firumbras* text can be identified. The evidence points to a common English ancestor for the *Otuel* and the corresponding texts in the Auchinleck Ms. There is also a brief analysis of the language of the Ms.

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Garland, John of. Paetow, Louis J. (ed.) *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland (Johannes de Garlandia)*. Berkeley, 1927. *Memoirs of the Univ. of California*, Vol. IV, No. 2.

A critical edition of the text with an exhaustive introduction on the author.

Giraldus Cambrensis. Sage, Evan T. "Giraldus Cambrensis and Petronius." *Speculum*, II. 203–205.

A quotation in Giraldus, which, however, belongs in the florilegium tradition.

Gower. Hamilton, George L. "Studies in the Sources of Gower." *JEGP*, XXVI. 491–520.

The first of a series of such studies here announced. This one deals especially with Gower's references to Hercules, Nectanabus, and Alexander, and their sources in French and Latin versions of *Barlaam and Josaphat* and of the Alexander legend. Professor Hamilton shows that Gower used the J^2 redaction of the *Historia de preliis*, and not J^3 as supposed by Macaulay.

Lydgate. Bergen, Henry. *Lydgate's Fall of Princes. Part IV: Bibliographical Introduction, Notes and Glossary*. London, 1927. *Early Eng. Text Soc.*, Extra Ser., No. 124.

Hammond, Eleanor P. "Lydgate and Coluccio Salutati." *MP*, XXV. 49–57.

Parallels between Lydgate's treatment of Lucretia's farewell scene (*Fall of Princes*, II. 974–1337) and his source, the declamation of Linus Colucius Pierius.

Lyric. Patterson, Frank A. "Hymnal from MS. Additional 34,193 British Museum." *GSL*, 445–488.

A series of fifteenth century metrical translations of Latin hymns.

Malmesbury, William of. Slover, Clark H. "William of Malmesbury and the Irish." *Speculum*, II. 268–283.

Presents the evidence for William of Malmesbury's acquaintance with Irish tradition, his use of this tradition in his various works, and his probable membership in Geoffrey's literary circle.

Malory. (Loomis) Laura A. Hibbard. "Malory's Book of Balin." *GSL*, 175–195.

Opposes the view that Malory, by his omissions, spoiled the story of Balin, and shows by a comparison of Malory's treatment with that of his source, the Huth *Merlin*, how superior in many ways is the English version.

Medwall, Henry. Baskerville, Charles R. "Conventional Features of Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres*." *MP*, XXIV. 419–442.

An important study of the play, showing that it does not represent any startling new development in drama but incorporates many elements already found in the drama and other literature of the period.

Monmouth, Geoffrey of. Brown, Arthur C.L. "A Note of the *Nugae* of G. H. Gerould's 'King Arthur and Politics'." *Speculum*, II. 449–455.

Points out that the slighting references to the *Britonum fabulae* were directed against the frankly incredible elements in them, enchanted forests, magic springs, etc., and not against their length, incident, or coherence. Geoffrey's greatest contribution was in thrusting the fairy Arthur into history.

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Gerould, Gordon H. "King Arthur and Politics." *Speculum*, II. 33–51.

Supports with new emphasis the idea that Geoffrey's aim was to give the kings of England prestige equal to that of their rivals in France.

———— "King Arthur and Politics Again." *Speculum*, II. 448.

Brief reply to Professor Nitze's communication. Cf. the following entry.

Nitze, William A. "Geoffrey of Monmouth's King Arthur." *Speculum*, II. 317–321.

Notes and comments on Professor Gerould's paper, calling attention especially to previous scholars who have held a similar view.

Parry, John J. "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Josephus." *Speculum*, II. 446–447.

A passage in Josephus may have suggested to Geoffrey the name Lucius for the Roman general whom Arthur defeated and killed.

Nennius. Krappe, A. H. "The Fighting Snakes in the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius." *Rev. Celtique*, XLIII (1926). 124–131.

Traces the episode to a Byzantine legend possibly carried to Britain by Welsh pilgrims returning from the Holy Land.

Otuel and Roland. See above, s.v. **Firumbras.**

Parthenope. Leach, Henry G. "Is Gibbonssaga a Reflection of Partonopeus?" *GSL*, 113–133.

Included here for its bearing on the Middle English versions of the *Parthenope* romance.

Pearl. Emerson, Oliver F. "More Notes on *Pearl*." *PMLA*, XLII. 807–831.

Hart, Elizabeth. "The Heaven of Virgins." *MLN*, XLII. 113–116.

Takes issue with Sister Madeleva's statement that a child of two would not be among the 144,000 *virgins* in procession following the Lamb in Paradise. Quotes Chaucer and the liturgical use of the *Apocalypse* on the Feast of the Holy Innocents.

Pecock, Reginald. *The Reule of Crysten Religioun.* By Reginald Pecock, now first ed. from Pierpont Morgan MS 519, by William Cabell Greet. London 1927. *Early Eng. Text Soc.* Orig. Ser. No. 171.

The volume includes a brief Introduction (18 pp.) and a Glossary (16 pp.) of the more unusual words.

Piers Plowman. Adams, M. Ray. "The Use of the Vulgate in *Piers Plowman*." *SP*, XXIV. 556–566.

A noteworthy similarity in the character of the Biblical references argues for single authorship and confirms the impression that the author belonged to the clerical profession. The study reveals also the simplicity of his piety.

See above, Section II, s.v. Stewart.

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Rolle, Richard. Allen, Hope Emily. *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography.* Monograph Series, Modern Lang. Ass'n. of America, xvi+568 pp.

Chaps. I–XV deal exhaustively with the printed editions and MSS of Rolle's works, both Latin and English, distinguishing the *dubia* and *spuria* from the genuine. Chap. XVI (97 pp.) a study from the original sources of the facts and legends relating to this remarkable hermit of Hampole.

Romance, Arthurian. Beckwith, Martha W. "A Note on Punjab Legend in Relation to Arthurian Romance." *GSL*, 49–74.

A consideration of certain incidents in Punjab legend which may throw light on similar incidents in Arthurian romance.

Brown, Arthur C. L. "The Irish Element in King Arthur and the Grail." *GSL*, 95–111.

An attractive summary of the author's views on the Celtic background of Arthurian romance, especially of the grail.

Bruce, James Douglas. "Mordred's Incestuous Birth." *GSL*, 197–208.

In support of his view that the conception of Mordred's incestuous birth was first introduced into Arthurian romance by the author of the *Mort Artu*, the late Professor Bruce here examines the accounts of Mordred's birth and parentage from the earliest texts down.

Loomis, Roger S. *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance.* N. Y., 1927.

An attempt to demonstrate the intimate relation between Irish and Welsh mythology and Arthurian romance. Book I deals with the abduction story figured in the Modena sculpture, tracing it in its ultimate origin to a seasonal myth; Book II, with the symbolism of the young sun-god's conquest of the old; Book III, with the Cult of the Grail; Book IV, with Brides of the Sun; and Book V, with the transition from Irish and Welsh gods to heroes of earth, and especially Arthur.

———— "The Date, Source, and Subject of the Arthurian Sculpture at Modena." *GSL*, 209–228.

Offers new evidence for a date in the first decade of the twelfth century, based on details in the armor and equipment of the figures, and suggests that the story of Guinivere's abduction reached Modena from Bari, whither it had been brought by a minstrel or minstrels in the train of Alan Fergant, Duke of Brittany, and his French associates, who spent four months in Bari in the winter of 1096–97.

———— "Problems of the Tristan Legend: Bleheris; The Diarmaid Parallel; Thomas's Date." *Romania*, XLIII. 82–102.

Three excellently reasoned and documented studies. The first answers M. Lot's strictures on the theory proposed by Miss Weston and elaborated by Professor Loomis concerning the Welsh Bleheris; the second lists ten striking parallels between the Welsh *Ystoria Trystan* and the Irish *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne*, leaving little doubt that the latter legend is the model for the Welsh *Ystoria*; the third maintains on the basis of the heraldic trappings and armor in the *Tristan* of Thomas that this poem cannot safely be placed before about 1185 and that consequently it was an earlier version of the romance which was known to Crestien.

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Nitze, William A. "The Identity of Brons in Robert de Boron's Metrical Joseph." *GSL*, 135–145.

Upholds and extends the view of Alfred Nutt which identifies *Brons* with the Celtic *Bran*. He suggests that the name became *Brons* or *Hebrons* "by a more or less conscious identification of the celtic name with the biblical Hebron."

St. Margaret. Francis, Elizabeth A. "A Hitherto Unprinted Version of the *Passio Sanctae Margaritae* with Some Observations on Vernacular Derivatives." *PMLA*, XLII. 87–105.

Supplementary to Gerould's paper (*PMLA*, XXXIX) which printed a text of Version I. This prints a text of Version II. "When the legend passed into the vernacular it did so chiefly through the medium of variant (a) or Version I. . . . . Version II, although furnishing a source for the two XIIIth century French poems, appears to have been used only indirectly by English compilers; at any rate there is extant no English version based wholly upon it, and those we know drew their inspiration from Version I." Analysis of the differences between the two versions. There are seven versions all told. The author is English.

Siege of Troy. Barnicle, Mary Elizabeth (ed.). *The Seege or Batayle of Troye*. London 1927. Early English Text Soc., Orig. Ser. No. 172.

A parallel-text edition from MSS Lincoln's Inn 150, Egerton 2862, Arundel XXII, with the text of Harley 525 in the Appendix. In her Introduction of 74 pp. (Bryn Mawr Diss.) Miss Barnicle treats the linguistic and literary problems presented by the M E poem, and in Appendix B reviews the mediæval sources for the Troy story. A copious Glossary is added.

Southern Passion. Brown, Beatrice D. (ed.). *The Southern Passion*. London, 1927. *Early Eng. Text Soc.*, Orig. Ser., No. 169.

The introduction to this edition was noticed in the previous issue of this bibliography. The present volume offers, in addition, a carefully edited text, based on the Pepysian MS. 2344, with notes and an excellent glossary.

Towneley Plays. Cady, Frank W. "The Maker of Mak." *Univ. of California Chronicle*, XXIX. 261–272.

A popular analysis of the personality of the Wakefield genius.

William of Palerne. Hull, Vernam. "An Irish Version of *Guillaume de Palerne*." *PMLA*, XLII. 1066.

VII. RENAISSANCE AND ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

Miscellaneous. Albright, Evelyn M. *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580–1640: A Study of Conditions Affecting Content and Form of Drama*. N. Y., 1927. *M. L. A. Monograph Ser.*, No. II.

A comprehensive study of the organization and control of dramatic companies, literary and dramatic censorship, the authorship and ownership of plays as affecting publication, conditions affecting the time of publication of plays, the sources of play texts printed, and printing and publishing conditions as affecting the state of the text.

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Baldwin, T. W. "Elizabethan Players as Tradesfolk." *MLN*, XLII. 509–510.

Bush, Douglas. "Classical Myths in English Verse (1557–89)." *MP*, XXV. 37–47.

A running account of such works as he has been able to find within the period mentioned treating classical themes.

Craig, Hardin. "Recent Literature of the English Renaissance." *SP*, XXIV. 290–382.

Neserius, Philip G. "Folk Entertainment in England in the Latter Years of the Reign of Elizabeth." *Poet Lore*, XXXVIII. 141–154.

Rollins, Hyder E. (ed.). *The Pack of Antolycus or Strange and Terrible News of Ghosts, Apparitions, Monstrous Births* [*etc.*] . . . . *as told in Broadside Ballads of the Years 1624–1693.* Cambridge, 1927.

———— "A 'Recovered' Elizabethan Ballad." *RES*, III. 335–337.

The ballad "In Crete when Daedalus first began," frequently referred to, now printed from a Rawlinson Ms.

Schelling, Felix E. *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare.* Revised Edition. N. Y. [1927].

A revision of this well-known work, originally published in 1910 and long out of print.

———— *Shakespeare and "Demi-science": Papers on Elizabethan Topics.* Philadelphia, 1927.

Includes among other papers "The Seedpod of Shakespeare Criticism," "Ben Jonson and the Classical School," "The Common Folk of Shakespeare," "Devotional Poetry in the Reign of Charles," "The Supernatural in Old English Drama."

Shipley, Joseph. "The Problems of the Elizabethan Poets." *Poet Lore*, XXXVIII. 358–372.

The experiments in quantitative verse.

Schoell, Franck L. *Études sur l' Humanisme Continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance.* Paris, 1927.

Largely concerned with the sources of George Chapman.

Thorndike, Lynn. "The Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests into Early Modern Times." *Speculum*, II. 147–159.

Appius and Virginia. Gray, Henry D. "*Appius and Virginia:* by Webster and Heywood." *SP*, XXIV. 275–289.

Opposes Rupert Brooke's contention that the play is wholly Heywood's, and H. Dugdale Sykes' that it is wholly Webster's. Argues for collaboration between the two dramatists (and perhaps others) with later revision.

Armin, Robert. Gray, Austin K. "Robert Armine, the Foole." *PMLA*, XLII. 673–685.

Concerned also with the larger question of the relation of comic characters to the actors who were to play them.

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Beaumont and Fletcher. Oliphant, E. H. C. *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. An Attempt to Determine Their Respective Shares and the Shares of Others.* New Haven, 1927.

Bryskett, Lodowick. Cross, Tom P., and Plomer, Henry R. *The Life and Correspondence of Lodowick Bryskett.* Chicago, 1927.

Chapman, George. Harris, Julia H. (ed.). *Eastward Hoe* by Chapman, Jonson, and Marston. New Haven, 1926. *Yale Studies in English*, No. 73.

See above, s.v. **Miscellaneous,** Schoell.

Cure for a Cuckold. Gray, Henry D. "*A Cure for a Cuckold* by Heywood, Rowley and Webster." *MLR*, XXII. 389–397.

"My purpose is to show that it was Heywood and not Webster who wrote I, i and ii, III, iii*b*, and V, i*a*; and that Rowley in addition to the subplot wrote the whole of Act II and the final scene of the drama."

Drama. Baldwin, T. W. "Posting Henslowe's Accounts." *JEGP*, XXVI. 42–90.

A valuable examination and interpretation of Henslowe's financial transactions.

Sandison, Helen E. "Lincoln v. Dymock and a Scurrilous Play, 1610." *MLR*, XXII. 444–446.

The severity of Dymock's punishment may have been in part the result of a Lincolnshire broil of twenty years standing.

Steele, Mary S. *Plays & Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles.* New Haven, 1926. *Cornell Studies in English*, No. 10.

A chronological list of performances with references to all sources from which the data are derived.

Tembleman, William D. "The Place of the Lyric in Elizabethan Drama before 1600." *Western Reserve Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 28–36. (Western Reserve Univ. Bulletin, N. S. Vol. XXX, No. 8.)

The various functions performed by the lyrics, classified and illustrated.

Wright, Louis B. "Animal Actors on the English Stage before 1642." *PMLA*, XLII. 656–669.

——— "Elizabethan Sea Drama and Its Staging." *Anglia*, LI. 104–118.

——— "Extraneous Song in Elizabethan Drama after the Advent of Shakespeare." *SP*, XXIV. 261–274.

Many of the songs have little relation to the drama but are put in to stimulate the interest of the audience or to display the voices of certain members of the company.

——— "Juggling Tricks and Conjury on the English Stage before 1642." *MP*, XXIV. 269–284.

——— "Stage Duelling in the Elizabetban Theatre." *MLR*, XXII. 265–275.

——— "Variety Entertainment by Elizabethan Strolling Players." *JEGP*, XXVI. 294–303.

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Drayton, Michael. Jenkins, Raymond. "Drayton's *Sirena* Again." *PMLA*, XLII. 129–139.

Maintains his view that Sirena symbolized the Muse of poetry and replies to Hebel's criticism of it.

Drinking Academy, The. Magoun, F. P., Jr. "Hermus vs. Hormuz." *PMLA*, XLII. 670–672.

A note on an allusion in the anonymous play, *The Drinking Academy.*

Edwards, Richard. Bradner, Leicester. *The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards.* New Haven, 1927. *Yale Studies in English*, No. 74.

The poems of Edwards are printed in an appendix. In the text the author deals at length with the plays of Edwards and his relation to the drama at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

Mills, Laurens J. *Some Aspects of Richard Edwards' Damon and Pithias.* Bloomington, 1927. *Indiana Univ. Studies*, No. 75.

Elyot, Sir Thomas. Starnes, D. T. "Elyot's *Governour* and Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman.*" *MLR*, XII. 319–322.

The evidence of Peacham's borrowings shown in parallel columns.

——— "Notes on Elyot's *The Governour* (1531)." *RES*, III. 37–46.

Parallel passages and passages of general similarity showing how widely Elyot was known and plagiarized.

Stenberg, Theodore. "Sir Thomas Elyot's Defense of the Poets." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926, pp. 121–145.

The study urges the importance of Elyot as the first English writer to distinguish between the functions of poetry and rhetoric, and to defend poetry and give it a basic place in his system of education. Both Sidney and Webb owed not a little to Elyot's discussion.

Erasmus. Mangan, John J. *Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, Derived from a Study of His Works and Correspondence.* 2 vols. N. Y., 1927.

Voss, Ernst. "Erasmus Roterodamus in His Relation to Luther and Melanchthon." *JEGP*, XXVI. 564–568.

Field, Nathan. Brinkley, R. Florence. "Nathan and Nathaniel Field." *MLN*, XLII. 10–15.

Traces the confusion of Nathaniel and Nathan Field, offers letters of administration for the effects of both, and separates the biographical facts about the two men. Nathan, the actor, was a bachelor and died between May 19, 1619 and Aug. 2, 1620.

Baldwin, T. W. "Nathan and Nathaniel Field." *LTLS*, Feb. 17, 1927, p. 108.

Harington, Sir John. McClure, Norman E. "Harington's Epigrams." *LTLS*, May 19, 1927, p. 355.

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The editor of Harington's epigrams shows that Professor Moore Smith's identification of "Paulus" with Raleigh (cf. *LTLS*, March 10, 1927, p. 160) is open to serious objection in the light of one of Harington's letters.

———— "Harington's Epigrams." *LTLS*, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 767.

Professor Moore Smith's assumption (*MLR*, XXII. 334) that Harington's mention of a "Bible of the new translation" is a reference to the 1611 version is not justified since the MS in which the epigram concerned occurs was presented to Prince Henry before Feb. 18, 1608. The point is of importance because Professor Smith urges this allusion as evidence for a late date for the epigrams.

Heywood, Thomas. Wright, Louis B. "The Male-Friendship Cult in Thomas Heywood's Plays." *MLN*, XLII. 510–514.

Jonson, Ben. Noyes, Robert G. "O Rare Ben Jonson." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, IV, 494.

Some eighteenth century allusions.

Steel, Byron. *O Rare Ben Jonson*. N. Y., 1927.

Kyd, Thomas. Baldwin, T. W. "Thomas Kyd's Early Company Connections." *PQ*, VI. 311–313.

Infers from a statement of Dekker that Kyd wrote plays, probably for the Queen's men, before August, 1585.

Lingua. Tilley, M. P. "The Comedy *Lingua* and Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine*." *MLN*, XLII. 293–299.

Notes borrowings by Tomkis from the poem *La Sepmaine* of Du Bartas, and suggests a modification of G. C. Moore Smith's identification of characters in the play.

Tilley, M. P. "The Comedy *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene*." *MLN*, XLII. 150–157.

The main action of the play is based on Canto IX, Book II of the *Faerie Queene* with details taken from Cantos XI and XII.

Lyly, John. Moore, John R. "The Songs in Lyly's Plays." *PMLA*, XLII. 623–640.

Evidence, especially internal, in support of Greg's contention that the songs are not by Lyly.

Marcus Geminus. Bradner, Leicester. "The Play of *Marcus Geminus* and Its Source." *MLR*, XXII. 314–317.

The story is told at length in chapters 38 and 39 of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Image of Governaunce*.

Marlowe, Christopher. Bush, Douglas. "The Influence of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* on Early Mythological Poems. *MLN*, XLII. 211–217.

Supplements Tucker Brooke's study of Marlowe's reputation by noting borrowings from and imitations of his *Hero and Leander* by other poets.

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Spence, Leslie. "Tamburlaine and Marlowe." *PMLA*, XLII. 604–622.

Comparison of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* with the historical sources on which the character of the conqueror was constructed shows the falsity of the view that Tamburlaine is a faithful expression of Marlowe's own personality.

Massinger, Philip. Tannenbaum, Samuel A. "Corrections to the Text of *Believe as You List*." *PMLA*, XLII. 777–781.

Middleton, Thomas. Bullock, Helene B. "Thomas Middleton and the Fashion in Playmaking." *PMLA*, XLII. 766–776.

Dunkel, Wilbur D. "The Dramatic Technique of Thomas Middleton in His Comedies of London Life." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., III. 331–334.

Hillebrand, Harold N. "Thomas Middleton's *The Viper's Brood*." *MLN*, XLII. 35–38.

A suit brought against Middleton in 1609, in which we learn that the playwright had written a tragedy called *The Viper and Her Brood* as early as 1606. Interesting other questions are raised.

Moryson, Fynes. Walz, John A. "Fynes Moryson and the Tomb of Till Eulenspiegel." *MLN*, XLII. 465–466.

———— "An English *Faustsplitter*." *MLN*, XLII. 353–365.

A reference to Faust in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*.

Paradise of Dainty Devices. Rollins, Hyder E. (ed.) *The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576–1606)*. Cambridge, 1927.

An edition of the text with a study of the authorship, etc.

Starnes, D. T. "Sources of Poems 48 and 49 in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*." *PQ*, VI. 87–89.

Peele, George. Clapp, Sarah L. C. "Peele's Use of Folk-Lore in *The Old Wives' Tale*." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926, pp. 146–156.

Porter, Henry. Shear, Rosetta E. "New Facts about Henry Porter." *PMLA*, XLII. 641–655.

An examination of the claims of eight Henry Porters to be identified with the dramatist and a tentative identification with a Henry Porter of Brasenose, son of a London gentleman.

Queen of Corinth. Fenton, Frank L. "The Authorship of Acts III and IV of *The Queen of Corinth*." *MLN*, XLII. 94–96.

Argues against Field's authorship of these two acts.

Shakespeare. Albright, Evelyn M. "Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy." *PMLA*, XLII. 686–720.

An important discussion of the political bearing of *Richard II* on contemporary affairs. The author suggests also that Shakespeare used as a source Hayward's *Life and Raigne of King Henrie the Fourth* (1599) in manuscript.

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Anderson, Ruth L. *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays.* Iowa City, 1927. *Univ. of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, Vol. III, No. 4.

Ashton, Florence H. "The Revision of the Folio Text of *The Taming of the Shrew.*" *PQ*, VI. 151–160.

Babcock, Robert W. "An Introduction to the Study of the Text of *Richard III.*" *SP*, XXIV. 243–260.

The conclusion is that the Folio presents the best text. The quarto text is an actor's copy, perhaps obtained through the actor who played the part of Richard.

———— "Modern Sceptical Criticism of Shakespeare: Elmer Edgar Stoll." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXV. 15–31.

Baker, Harry T. "The Fair Cassio." *PQ*, VI. 89–90.

Textual interpretation of "A fellow almost damn'd in a fair wife."

Baldwin, T. W. *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company.* Princeton, 1927.

An extremely valuable study of Elizabethan theatrical organization, particularly that of the Shakespearean company, throwing much new light on the problem and giving for the first time a clear and comprehensive account of that organization.

Benham, A. R. "The Renewal of the Hundred Years' War in Shakespeare." *PQ*, VI. 303–306.

Bush, Douglas. "Notes on Shakespeare's Classical Mythology." *PQ*, VI. 295–302.

Bridge, Gerard. *Shakespeare's Catholicity in Hamlet.* Beatty, Pa., 1927.

Case, Arthur E. "Some Stage-Directions in *All's Well That Ends Well.*" *MLN*, XLII. 79–83.

Clark, Eva T. *Axiophilus: or, Oxford alias Shakespeare.* N. Y., 1927.

Negligible.

Clark, William S. "Dryden's Relations with Howard and Orrery." *MLN*, XLII. 16–20.

Coffman, George R. "A Note on Shakespeare and Nash." *MLN*, XLII. 317–319.

Suggests that Shakespeare caught the suggestion for two figures used in *1 Henry IV* from Nash's *Unfortunate Traveller.*

Craig, Hardin. "The Relation of the First Quarto Version to the First Folio Version of Shakespeare's *Henry V.*" *PQ*, VI. 225–234.

Argues that the Quarto "was printed . . . . [from] a genuine manuscript of the play, illegible in places and probably torn, but not the product of shorthand reporting and not showing the unmistakable characteristics of the work of a pirate-actor, as outlined by Messrs. Pollard and Wilson."

Dunn, Waldo H. "Hamlet's 'Fatness'." *LTLS*, May 26, 1927, p. 375.

The interpretation "sweaty" finds support in a survival of this use of the word "fat" in Wisconsin.

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Forsythe, Robert S. "Tacitus, *Henry VI, Part III*, and *Nero*." *MLN*, XLII. 25–27.

Gilman, Margaret. "*Le Dissipateur* and *Timon of Athens*." *MLN*, XLII. 162–165.

Gray, Austin K. "The Song in *The Merchant of Venice*." *MLN*, XLII. 458–459.

Suggests that "Tell me where is fancy bred" was so sung as to die away on the sound LED and thus convey a hint to Bassanio as to which casket to choose.

Gray, Henry D. "Thomas Kyd and the First Quarto of *Hamlet*." *PMLA*, XLII. 721–735.

Supports his view that the actor who played Marcellus was the purveyor of the text, and now argues, with considerable force, that the non-Shakespearean verse in this text is the work of a theatrical hack poet finishing off the imperfectly remembered parts (possibly for provincial performance by some rival company).

Greenlaw, Edwin. "Recent Trends in Shakespeare Criticism." *Shakespeare Assoc. Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 3–7.

Harrison, T. P., Jr. "Shakespeare and Montemayor's *Diana*." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926, pp. 72–120.

A lengthy addition to previous recognition of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Montemayor.

Law, Robert A. "Structural Unity in the Two Parts of *Henry the Fourth*." *SP*, XXIV. 223–242.

Part I is built up about the conflict between the protagonist, Prince Hal, and the antagonist, Hotspur, which culminates in the battle of Shrewsbury. Part II, though originally unpremeditated and perhaps written in response to a public demand for more of Falstaff, is equally an independent unit. It portrays the struggle between the parties of the Chief Justice and Falstaff for control of the new King, in the manner of the moralities.

Linthicum, Marie C. "Benedick's Love Symptoms: Cosmetics and Costume." *MLR*, XXII. 442–444.

Interpretation of *Much Ado*, III, i, 57.

———— "Malvolio's Cross-Gartered Yellow Stockings." *MP*, XXV. 87–93.

Allusions illustrating the association of these features with love.

Malone, Kemp. "Etymologies for Hamlet." *RES*, III. 257–271.

Scand. *Anleóðe* > Irish **Amlodhe*, later *Amlaidhe* > Scand. *Amlóðe*.

Moore, John R. *The Transformation of Bottom*. Bloomington, 1926. *Indiana Univ. Studies*, No. 72.

Raysor, Thomas M. "The Study of Shakespeare's Characters in the Eighteenth Century." *MLN*, XLII. 495–500.

Small, Samuel A. *Shakespearean Character Interpretation: The Merchant of Venice*. Göttingen and Baltimore, 1927. *Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe, X.

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An historical survey of the criticism of the characters in this play "to reveal the changing tendencies with regard to the aesthetic appreciation of the play." Chap. V, which "contains the author's interpretation of characterization after the manner of the latest school of Shakespearean study," is also published separately under the title *The Return to Shakespeare, The Historical Realists.* Baltimore, 1927.

Smith, Robert M., and Leach, Howard S. *The Shakespeare Fŏlios and the Forgeries of Shakespeare's Handwriting.* Bethlehem, Pa., 1927. *Lehigh Univ. Publications*, Vol. I,No. 2. The Institute of Research Circular No. 7, Studies in the Humanities, No. 1.

Describes the six Lehigh Folios, lists the Shakespeare Folios in America, etc.

Smith, Robert M. "Notes on Shakespeare First Folios." New York Herald Tribune *Books*, Oct. 9, 1927, p. 43.

Important data about the condition and present ownership of a number of copies of the First Folio.

Stenberg, Theodore. "*Daman and Pithias* and *The Tempest.*' *N&Q*, CLII. 153.

Possible reminiscence in *The Tempest* of the earlier play.

Stewart, George R., Jr. "A Note on the Sleep-Walking Scene." *MLN*, XLII. 235–237.

Detects what he believes to be three lines of verse.

Stoll, Elmer E. *Shakespeare Studies, Historical and Comparative in Method.* N. Y., 1927.

Eight chapters, six the revision of articles previously published, two new.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. "*The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore (A Bibliotic Study).*" N. Y., The Tenny Press, 33–35 West 17th St., 1927.

A study of the handwriting of the MS in comparison with the hands of several other dramatists of the period. Dr. Tannenbaum identifies scribe C as Kyd, A as Chettle, B as Heywood. Scribe D, often considered to be Shakespeare, he believes is not Shakespeare. Accordingly the play must be earlier than Kyd's death in 1594, probably earlier than May 12, 1593, the date of Kyd's arrest. In fact Kyd's arrest was probably responsible for the final abandonment of the play.

———— *Problems in Shakespeare's Penmanship, Including a Study of the Poet's Will.* N. Y., 1927.

Thaler, Alwin. "Shakspere and the Unhappy Happy Ending." *PMLA*, XLII. 736–761.

A defense of those plays that are commonly criticized for their forced endings in improbable marriages.

Thorndike, Ashley. *Shakespeare in America.* New York, 1927.

Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1927.

Tilley, M. P. "Uncle, Not Cousin, Shallow in The Merry Wives of Windsor." *Shakespeare Assoc. Bulletin*, II. 21.

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——— "Unnoted Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in *Twelfth Night*." *PQ*, VI. 306–311.

Sidney, Sir Philip. Harrison, T. P., Jr. "A Source of Sidney's *Arcadia*." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926, pp. 53–71.

Sidney is indebted to Montemayor's *Diana* rather than to the Italian pastoral for the purely pastoral features of his romance, and also for details of general structure, plots, etc., generally traced to the Greek romances.

Lancaster, H. Carrington. "Sidney, Galaut, La Calprenède: An Early Instance of the Influence of English Literature upon French." *MLN*, XLII. 71–77.

Lemmi, C. W. "Italian Borrowings in Sidney." *MLN*, XLII. 77–79.

Whitney, Lois. "Concerning Nature in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*." *SP*, XXIV. 207–222.

An attempt to explain Sidney's answer to two questions: first, "what is nature?" and second, "what is ethically right 'according to nature'?"

Spenser, Edmund. Bush, Douglas. "Some Allusions to Spenser." *MLN*, XLII. 314–316.

Allusions to Spenser in seven works published between 1592 and 1801, not mentioned in Carpenter's *Reference Guide*.

Greenlaw, Edwin. "Una and Her Lamb." *MLN*, XLII. 515–516.

Two references suggesting that Spenser was merely using a conventional or even folk conception.

Hewlett, James H. "Interpreting a Spenser-Harvey Letter." *PMLA*, XLII. 1060–1065.

Comment on J. R. Caldwell's "Dating a Spenser-Harvey Letter" (*PMLA*, XLI, 568–574).

Sandison, Helen E. "Spenser's Mansilia." *LTLS*, Sept. 8, 1927, p. 608.

Stovall, Floyd. "Feminine Rimes in the *Faerie Queene*." *JEGP*, XXVI. 91–95.

Wann, Louis. "The Rôle of Confidant(e) in the Renaissance Epic." *Anglia*, LI. 63–74.

Section V deals with "The Confidant(e) in the *Fairy Queen*."

Two Lamentable Tragedies. Law, Robert A. "Further Notes on *Two Lamentable Tragedies*." *N&Q*, CLIII. 93–94.

Further evidence that the play is to be dated about 1594.

Udall, Nicholas. Baldwin, T. W., and Linthicum, M. Channing. "The Date of *Ralph Roister Doister*." *PQ*, VI. 379–395.

An allusion to the play in an anti-reformation tract called *A Pore Help*, which can be dated between May and December 1554, and references to women's cassocks and farthingales, which seem to have been a new fashion about 1550, combine with other indications to show that the play was written, rewritten, or revised towards

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the end of 1553, probably for performance at Christmas that year. If written then, *Gammer Gurton's Needle* becomes our first "regular" English comedy.

Bradner, Leicester. "A Test for Udall's Authorship." *MLN*, XLII. 378–380.

Striking metrical evidence for Udall's authorship of *Respublica* and *Jacob and Esau*.

VIII. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Miscellaneous. Judson, Alexander C. (ed.). *Seventeenth-Century Lyrics, Edited with Short Biographies, Bibliographies, and Notes.* Chicago, 1927.

Spencer, Hazelton. "The Forger at Work: A New Case Against Collier." *PQ*, VI. 32–38.

Thompson, E. N. S. *The Seventeenth-Century English Essay.* Iowa City, 1926. *Univ. of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, Vol. III, No. 3.

A valuable study of the conditions out of which the essays of Bacon grew.

Bacon, Francis. Freeman, Edmund L. "A Note on Bacon's Influence." *MLN*, XLII. 239–240.

Reliquiæ Gethinianæ, a commonplace book of Lady Grace Gethin, went through three editions between 1699 and 1703. The papers, printed as original, are all paraphrases and direct borrowings from Bacon's essays.

Boyle, Robert. Lloyd, Claude. "An Obscure Analogue of *The Compleat Angler*." *PMLA*, XLII. 400–403.

Robert Boyle's *Occasional Reflections*, the fourth section.

Boyle, Roger. Clark, William S. "The Early Stage History of the First Heroic Play." *MLN*, XLII. 381–383.

Records a private performance of Orrery's *Altamira* (?) at Thomas Court, near Dublin, Oct. 18, 1662.

Bunyan, John. Draper, John W. "Bunyan's Mr. Ignorance." *MLR*, XXII. 15–21.

Bunyan is apparently referring to the "Calvinistic bourgeois."

Porter, Arthur. *The Inside of Bunyan's Dream.* N. Y., 1927.

Largely homiletic but contains some suggestive comment.

Butler, Samuel. See above, section III, s.v. Chew.

Davies, John. Anderson, Ruth L. "A French Source for John Davies, of Hereford's System of Psychology." *PQ*, VI. 51–66.

The source of *Mirum in Modum* and the *Microcosmos* is Primaudaye's *Second Part of the French Academie.*

Davies, Sir John. Buckley, George T. "The Indebtedness of Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum* to Philip Mornay's *Trunesse of the Christian Religion.*" *MP*, XXV. 67–78.

Supplements Bredvold's study (*PMLA*, XXXVIII) by showing that Davies borrowed extensively from Chap. XIV of Mornay's work.

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Denham, Sir John. Baldwin, T. W. "Sir John Denham and *Paradise Lost.*" *M L N*, XLII. 508–509.

Comment on T. H. Bank's paper, *MLN*, XLI. 51–54.

Banks, Theodore H. "The Personal Relations between Denham and Waller." *M L N*, XLII. 372–378.

Sets forth such circumstances, and such internal evidence from their verses as would make it seem highly probable that Denham and Waller were friends, and that their influence was interactive.

Drama. Spenser, Hazelton. *Shakespeare Improved.* Cambridge, 1927.

A study of Shakespeare on the English stage from 1660–1710, with a detailed account of the various adaptations.

Whiting, George W. "The Condition of the London Theaters, 1679–83: A Reflection of the Political Situation." *M P*, XXV. 195–206.

Dryden, John. Hughes, Merritt Y. "Dryden as a Statist." *PQ*, VI. 335–350.

Etherege, Sir George. Foster, Dorothy. "Sir George Etherege: Collections." *N&Q*, CLIII. 417–419; 435–440; 454–459; 472–478.

Hewins, Elizabeth L. "Etherege and Cowley." *L T L S*, Oct. 13, 1927, p. 715.

The source of some lines in Etherege's *Man of Mode.*

Williamson, George. "Sir George Etherege and His Gilded Butterflies." *Univ. of California Chronicle*, XXIX. 44–51.

Hall, John. Freeman, Edmund L. "Bacon's Influence on John Hall." *P M L A*, XLII. 385–399.

Hall, Joseph. Salyer, Sandford M. 'Renaissance Influences in Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem.*" *PQ*, VI. 321–334.

Herrick, Robert. Mandel, Leon, 2d. *Robert Herrick, The Last Elizabethan.* Chicago, 1927.

A small volume with a "Foreword" by J. Q. Adams.

King, William. Williams, George G. "Dr. William King, Humanist." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXV. 2–14.

Milton. Banks, Theodore H., Jr. "Miltonic Rhythm: A Study of the Relation of the Full Stops to the Rhythm of Paradise Lost." *P M L A*, XLII. 140–145.

Brewer, Wilmon. "Two Athenian Models for *Samson Agonistes.*" *P M L A*, XLII. 910–920.

Striking structural parallels between *Samson Agonistes* and two Greek tragedies, *Prometheus Bound* and the *Œdipus at Colonus.*

Carlton, W. N. C. "The First Edition of Milton's *Comus*, 1637." *AmColl*, V. 107–113.

Damon, S. Foster. "Milton and Marston." *P M L A*, XLII. 873–874.

A passage in Marston's Scourge of *Villanie* suggested as a source for the opening lines of *L'Allegro.*

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Fletcher, Harris. "Milton's Use of Biblical Quotations." *JEGP*, XXVI. 145–165.

———— "Milton and Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1657)." *MLN*, XLII. 84–87.

Evidence of Milton's use of Walton's *Polyglot*.

Gilbert, Allan H. "Milton and the *Aminta*." *MP*, XXV. 95–99.

Possible reminiscences of Tasso in Milton.

Haller, William. "Before Areopagitica." *PMLA*, XLII. 875–900.

Places Milton's tract in its proper setting in the midst of other pamphlets in the controversy.

Hanford, James H. "Creative Personality: The Case of John Milton." *Johns Hopkins Alumni Mag.*, XV. 329–352.

Harper, George M. "Milton's 'Two-handed Engine'." *LTLS*, June 16, 1927, p. 424.

Suggests that the phrase meant the combined power of France and Spain.

Jones, Putnam F. "Milton and the Epic Subject from British History." *PMLA*, XLII. 901–909.

Milton's early enthusiasm for British legendary history was gradually dampened by a growing distrust of the sources of that history.

Larson, Martin A. *The Modernity of Milton*. Chicago, 1927.

The Religious Background for Milton's Thought; Milton's Ethics: His Relation to Puritanism and Stoicism; Milton's Metaphysics; The Evolution of Milton's Thought; The Message of Paradise Lost; Milton's Permanent Contribution to Culture.

———— "Milton's Essential Relationship to Puritanism and Stoicism." *PQ*, VI. 201–220.

Mabbott, Thomas O. "Milton's Books." *LTLS*, Dec. 1, 1927. p. 910.

Moore, C. A. "Miltoniana (1679–1741)." *MP*, XXIV. 321–339.

Eight poems, with one exception unnoted, showing the influence of Milton.

Nicolson, Marjorie H. "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*." *PQ*, VI. 1–18.

"In this paper, the attempt is threefold: to suggest a reason for the profound interest in cabbalism during the seventeenth century; to discuss in detail an English version of the Cabbala, popular during the years in which Milton was most concerned with the subjects treated in *Paradise Lost*; and to present a comparison between the *Conjectura Cabbalistica* and *Paradise Lost*. . . . . "

Nock, S. A. "Denis Saurat on Milton's Color Vision." *MLN*, XLII. 146–150.

Potter, George R. "Milton's Early Poems, The School of Donne, and the Elizabethan Sonneteers." *PQ*, VI. 396–400.

A note on Milton's conceits, which have less in common with Donne's than with those of earlier Elizabethan poets.

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Stevens, David H. *Milton Papers*. Chicago, 1927.

——— "The Bridgewater MS. of *Comus*." *MP*, XXIV. 315–320.

Thompson, Elbert N. S. "Milton's Puritanism; or, The Issue Clouded." *PQ*, VI. 291–294.

Milton a Puritan although his individualism sometimes separates him from other groups of Puritans.

Rochester, Earl of. Williamson, George. "The Restoration Petronius." *Univ. of California Chronicle*, XXIX. 273–280.

Shadwell, Thomas. Ham, Roswell G. "Shadwell and *The Tory Poets*." *N&Q*, CLII. 6–8.

The pamphlet was used by Malone but afterwards disappeared. It is in the South Kensington Museum and seems best attributed to Shadwell.

Sheppard, Samuel. Rollins, Hyder E. "Samuel Sheppard and His Praise of Poets." *SP*, XXIV. 509–555.

Biographical data and reprints of the portions of Sheppard's verses that discuss poets.

Vaughan, Henry. Judson, A. C. "The Source of Henry Vaughan's Ideas Concerning God in Nature." *SP*, XXIV. 592–606.

The source was his brother, Thomas, or the works used by him. The study helps to clear up some difficult points in Vaughan's poetry.

——— "Henry Vaughan as a Nature Poet." *PMLA*, XLII. 146–156.

Waller, Edmund. See above, section III, s.v. Chew.

IX. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Miscellaneous. Craigie, W. A. "Macpherson on Pinkerton: Literary Amenities of the Eighteenth Century." *PMLA*, XLII. 433–442.

Marginal notes by Macpherson on a copy of Pinkerton's *Ancient Scotish Poems*.

Crane, Ronald S. "English Literature of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century: A Current Bibliography." *PQ*, VI. 161–200.

Hesselgrave, Ruth A. *Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle*. New Haven, 1927.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. "Optimism and Romanticism." *PMLA*, XLII. 921–945.

McCutcheon, Roger P. "Amelia, or The Distressed Wife [1751]." *MLN*, XLII. 32–33.

Nichols, Charles L. "The Holy Bible in Verse." *Proc. of Amer. Antiquarian Soc.*, XXXVI. 71 ff.

They run from 1699 to 1754.

See above, Section III, s.v. Crane.

Barrett, Eaton S. Mendenhall, John C. "An Old Discovery." [Univ. of Penna.] *General Magazine and Hist. Chronicle*, XXX. 10–14.

Three letters between Eaton Stannard Barrett, author of *The Heroine, or Adventures of Cherubina*, and his bookseller.

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Behn, Aphra. Bennett, R. E. "A Bibliographical Correction." *RES* III. 450–451.

Explanation of an allusion in Mrs. Aphra Behn.

Blake, William. Pierce, Frederick E. "The Genesis and General Meaning of Blake's *Milton*." *MP*, XXV. 165–178.

White, Helen C. *The Mysticism of William Blake*. Madison, 1927. *Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, No. 23.

Bolingbroke. Torrey, Norman L. "Bolingbroke and Voltaire—A Fictitious Influence." *PMLA*, XLII. 788–797.

The influence of Bolingbroke on Voltaire has been greatly exaggerated.

Boswell, James. Hopkins, Frederick M. "Rudge to Publish Boswell Papers." *Publishers' Weekly*, LXII (Dec. 3, 1927). 2050–2052.

An announcement of the publication beginning in May, of the MSS of James Boswell recently discovered and purchased by an American collector, Colonel Ralph Isham. They will fill twelve quarto volumes. Valuable for the detailed account of their contents which is given.

Pottle, Frederick A. "Boswell's Executors." *LTLS*, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 790.

The legend of the destruction of Boswell's manuscripts is traced to Edmond Malone in the fifth edition of the "Life of Johnson" (1807).

———— "Boswell's Corsica." *Yale Univ. Library Gazette*, I. 21–22.

———— "Portraits of James Boswell." *N&Q*, CLII. 80–81.

Lists six portraits the whereabouts of which are unknown to him.

Tinker, Chauncey B., and Pottle, F. A. *A New Portrait of James Boswell*. Cambridge, Mass., 1927.

Brooke, Henry. Scurr, Helen M. *Henry Brooke*. [Minneapolis, 1927.] Minnesota thesis.

Churchill, Charles. Beatty, Joseph M., Jr. "Churchill's Influence on Minor Eighteenth Century Satirists." *PMLA*, XLII. 162–176.

Accompanied by a useful list of "works occasioned by Churchill's works or influenced by them."

Cibber, Colley. Sprague, Arthur C. "A New Scene in Colley Cibber's *Richard III*." *MLN*, XLII. 29–32.

Cowper, William. Spiller, Robert E. "A New Biographical Source for William Cowper." *PMLA*, XLII. 946–962.

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II. MEDIEVAL

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Part I contains facsimile reproductions of the manuscript; Part II a transcription of the 351 songs. The musical notations are given and explained. This is the first of a series of publications that will form a section of the *Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi.*

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Krappe, A. H. *Balor with the Evil Eye. Studies in Celtic and French Literature*. N. Y., Institut des Études Françaises, Columbia University. vii+229 pp.

Includes essays on the *Perlesvaus*, the *Conte du Graal*, *Tristan*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, and Ronsard's *Hymne de la mort*.

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Stansbury, M. H. *Foreign Languages and Interpreters in the Chansons de Geste*. Diss. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. 112 pp. U. of P. Publications in Romanic Language and Literature.

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Amadas et Ydoine, édité par J. R. Reinhard. Paris. x+299 pp. Classiques français du Moyen Age.

A critical edition.

———— *The Old French Romance of A. and Y., an Historical Study,* by J. R. Reinhard. Durham, Duke Univ. Press. 218 pp.

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Andeli, Henri d'.—*The Battle of the Seven Arts,* edited by L. J. Paetow. Berkeley, Univ. of California Press. 60 pp. + facsimiles. Memoirs of the U. of Cal.

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Analogies in form found in earlier and later literature.

Boron, Robert de—*Le Roman de l'estoire dou Graal,* édité par W. A. Nitze. Paris. xv+137 pp. Classiques français du Moyen Age.

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Le Lai de l'Oiselet, published by Raymond Weeks. *GSL,* pp. 341–353.

Publication of MS 837 at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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(Les) Prophecies de Merlin. By Lucy Allen Paton, Part Two, Studies in the Contents. Monograph Series, Mod. Lang. Assn. of Amer. iv. +406 pp.

I. The Prophetic Material. II. Les Bons Mariniers. III. Les Guerres es Parties de Jherusalem. IV. La Marche Amoureuse. V. Venetian Origin of the *P.* VI. Joachism in the *P.* VII. The Didactic Material. VIII. The Arthurian Material. IX. The Scribes of Merlin. X. Maistre Richart d'Irlande. XI. The Composition of the *P.*

III. FROM 1500 TO 1800

Miscellaneous. Atkinson, G., *La littérature géographique de la Renaissance.* Paris, Picard. 600 pp.

An account of travel literature in the sixteenth century, with many illustrations and a great amount of bibliographical information.

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Chinard, G. *Trois amitiés françaises de Jefferson d'après sa correspondance inédite avec Mme de Bréhan, Mme de Tessé et Mme de Corny.* Paris, les Belles Lettres. vi+243 pp.

The letters show the disillusionment of the aristocracy after the Revolution, the taste for American gardens, etc.

Du Val, T. E. "The Earliest Vaudeville on the French Stage." *RR*, XVIII. 253, 265.

One that appeared on April 19, 1687.

Green, F. C. "The Critic of the Seventeenth Century and His Attitude Toward the French Novel." *MP*, XXIV. 285–295.

Critical theories of Sorel, Camus, Mareschal, de Gerzan, Segrais, Perrault, etc.

Lancaster, H. C. "The Origin of the Lyric Monologue in French Classical Tragedy." *PMLA*, XLII. 782–787.

Not due to Spanish or Ancient influence, but developed with other lyric forms in pastoral and tragi-comedy (1610), whence it was imported by Corneille into tragedy (*Médée*).

———— "Sidney, Galaut, and La Calprenède: An Early Instance of the Influence of English Literature upon French." *MLN*, XLII. 71–77.

The earliest recorded. Sidney's *Arcadia* is the source of Galaut's *Phalante* (not later than 1605), which is the source of La Calprenède's *Phalante.*

Lovejoy, A. O. "Optimism and Romanticism." *PMLA*, XLII. 921–945.

The transition from universalism to "diversitarianism" was promoted by the emphasis placed on the principle of plenitude by eighteenth century defenders of optimism.

———— " 'Nature' as Æsthetic Norm." *MLN*, XLII. 444–450.

Classification of meanings assigned to the word in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

McCann, G. L. *Le Sentiment de la Nature en France dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle.* Paris Diss. Nemours, Lesot. 211 pp.

As expressed chiefly in gardens and the better known lyrics and paintings of the period.

Pool, H. B. "The Idea of Poetic Justice in the Criticism of the Sixteenth Century in France." *Univ. of Colorado Studies*, XV. 133–145.

A summary of certain French opinions on the subject of poetic justice and the creation of the term by Rymer.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre—*The Vocabulary of B. de S.-P. and Its Relation to the French Romantic School*, by J. N. Ware. Diss. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press. viii+100 pp.

The words used by B. that appeal to the senses are listed. As he was the first of the French Romanticists to employ such a vocabulary, knowledge of it is important to students of the movement.

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Corneille—"C.'s Early Theories," by G. L. Van Roosbroeck, *Neophilologus*, XII. 166–172.

His early tendencies are realistic and modernist.

———— "Preciosity in C.," by G. L. Van Roosbroeck. *PQ*, VI. 19–31.

He used it moderately, primarily as an element of comedy.

Destouches—"*Le Dissipateur* and *Timon of Athens*," by Margaret Gilman. *MLN*, XLII. 162–165.

Le Dissipateur is an imitation neither of Shakespeare's *Timon*, nor of Shadwell's, but it may owe something to the latter play.

Du Bartas—"The Comedy *Lingua* and Du B.'s *La Sepmaine*," by M. P. Tilley. *MLN*, XLII. 293–299.

Tomkis's borrowings from Du B.

Galaut, see above, **Miscellaneous** in this section.

Grimm, F. M.—"F. M. G. as a critic of the eighteenth century French drama," by Anne C. Jones. Bryn Mawr. Diss. xiv+69 pp.

Jodelle—*Didon dans la tragédie de la Renaissance italienne et française*, by R. E. Turner. Diss. Paris. 143 pp.

The sources of Dido plays by Jodelle and his 3 Italian predecessors.

La Calprenède, see above, **Miscellaneous** in this section.

Le Noble—"Eustache Le N.'s *Le Fourbe*," by G. B. Watts. *MLN*, XLII. 107, 108.

Information about the play (1693) from a MS at the Arsenal.

Malherbe—"Et, Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses," by Arpad Steiner. *MLN*, XLII. 528, 529.

Inspired by Pontano's *Tumulus Rosae puellae*.

Molière—*A Preface to Molière*, by H. Ashton. N. Y. xi+177 pp.

An account of M.'s life and the social background of his plays.

———— "*Amphitryon* and Montespan," by Ruth S. Phelps. *MP*, XXIV. 443–461.

There was time for M. to have known of the king's affair before he wrote the play. He neither flattered, nor satirized him in it, but probably infused into it an element of irony which had its inspiration at court.

———— "M. et le mouvement libertin de la Renaissance," by W. A. Nitze. *RHL*, XXXIV. 356–376.

Relations between his thought and that of Montaigne, Charron, Le Vayer, and Gassendi. He is not a skeptic, nor, in a bad sense, a *libertin*, but expresses a profound and practical belief in the *juste milieu*.

———— "Tartuffe again," by E. M. Grant. *PQ*, VI. 67–74.

A review of certain recent opinions and a restatement of the theory that the play is an attack on religious intolerance.

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Prévost—*P.'s Translations of Richardson's Novels*, by, F. H. Wilcox. Berkeley, Univ. of California Press. 70 pp. U. of Cal. Pubs. in Modern Philology.

P. renders R. more concise, less analytical, less realistic.

———"The Abbé P. and the English Novel," by J. R. Foster. *PMLA*, XLII. 443–464.

P. influenced materially the sentimental novel in England (1750–1800).

Rabelais—"A Note on R., I, 1," by G. H. Gifford. *MLN*, XLII. 83, 84.

The account of the discovery of Gargantua's genealogy was partially inspired by Dictys Cretensis.

——— "The Eclecticism of R.," by N. H. Clement. *PMLA*, XLII. 339–384.

A review of R.'s religious and philosophical views with the conclusion that, as a thinker, he was neither original nor profound and that he may be considered the "foremost Lucianist of the modern world."

Racine, Louis—"An unpublished letter of L. R.," by G. B. Watts. *MLN*, XLII. 174, 175.

A note of 1744.

Ronsard, cf. above, section II.

Rousseau—"A Possible Source for R.'s Name *Emile*," by L. P. Shanks. *MLN*, XLII. 243, 244.

La Bruyère's portrait of Condé and Plutarch's *Life of Paulus Æmilius*.

——— *La Pensée religieuse de R. et ses récents Interprètes*, par Albert Schinz. Paris, Alcan. 52 pp. Smith Coll. Studies in Modern Languages.

A study of recent attempts to "accaparer R. . . . au profit du Catholicisme."

——— "Saint-Preux's Trip to Sion in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*," by L. F. H. Lowe. *RR*, XVIII. 134–141.

Inspired by R.'s own trip across the Pas de Cheville, not by that which S.-P. ought to have taken.

Saint-Amant—"Neglected Strophes by S.-A.," by G. L. van Roosbroeck. *MLN*, XLII. 467.

They are found in an edition of 1800.

Voltaire—"An Early Version of V.'s *A Monsieur Louis Racine*," by G. B. Watts. *MLN*, XLII. 20.

A few variants.

——— "A Note on the Source of V.'s *Eryphile*," by A. H. Krappe. *RR*. XVIII. 142–148.

The principal source is Apollodorus, though various suggestions were received from elsewhere.

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———— "Bolingbroke and V.—A Fictitious Influence," by N. L. Torrey. *PMLA*, XLII. 788–797.

B. exerted no influence upon V. and when V. attributed his own daring remarks to him, it was merely to get the benefit of B.'s name.

———— "V. and the Queen of Prussia: A Letter Recovered," by Barbara Matulka. *MLN*, XLII. 394, 395.

A letter of 1728 by Veyssière de La Croze, addressed to V., in regard to medals sent him by the queen.

IV. FROM 1800 TO THE PRESENT

Miscellaneous. Baudin, M. "L'homme politique dans le théâtre français contemporain." *PQ*, VI. 282–290.

Among playwrights emphasis has shifted from interest in politics to interest in the psychology of the politician. The fact is illustrated by the study of plays by Brieux, Fabre, Bourget, etc.

Evans, D. O. "L'Odéon et le drame romantique." *RHL*, XXXIV. 85–92.

The failure of the Romantic drama was due in part to the closing of the Odéon.

Grant, E. M. *French Poetry and Modern Industry*. Cambridge, Harvard Press. viii+218 pp. Harvard Studies in Romance Languages.

Modern inventions and industrial life as poetic material in the hands of Maxime Du Camp, Vigny, Hugo, Sully Prudhomme, etc.

Palfrey, Th. *L'Europe littéraire (1833–34), un essai de périodique cosmopolite*. Diss. Paris. vi+188 pp. Bibliothèque de la *RLC*.

History of the journal, important in the development of Romanticism. Classified index of articles, contributions, etc.

Rudwin, M. "Romantisme et Satanisme." *Grande Revue*, No. 6, 549–573.

Interest in the Devil shown by Chateaubriand and other Romantic writers. Sources and interpretation.

Schwarz, W. L. "Haïkaï (Prosodie)." *Larousse mensuel illustré*, VII. 484, 485.

———— *The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in Modern French Literature*. Paris. xiii+246 pp.

Influence of China and Japan upon French literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Van Roosbroeck, G. L. *The Legend of the Decadents*. N. Y., Institut des Études Françaises, Columbia Univ. 126 pp.

A defense of the "Decadents," followed by essays on Rimbaud, Huysmans, "Adoré Floupette," Samain, and Jammes. The second of these essays, in which the claim is made that *A Rebours* was a parody, and the third also appeared in *RR*, XVIII, 306–328 and 37–51. The last two essays of the book were written in collaboration with J. W. Beach.

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Balzac—"Dating B.'s Adoption of the Title of *La Comédie humaine*," by J. F. Jackson. *M L N*, XLII. 525, 526.

As early as 1638.

———— "La Source flamande du conte *El Verdugo* d'Honoré de B.," by A. H. Krappe. *Leuvensche Bijdragen*, XIX. 29–35.

A legend localized at Ghent.

———— " Parmi la descendance de B. dans la vie et dans la fiction," by E. P. Dargan, *R.L.C.*, VII. 480-492.

Examples of various types of influence exerted by B.

———— *The Influence of Walter Scott on the Works of B.*, by H. J. Garnand. Diss. N. Y., Institut des Études Françaises, Columbia University. 151 pp.

Noticeable in certain points of technique rather than in plot.

Barbey d'Aurevilly—"Oscar Wilde et B. d'A.," by M. Rudwin. *Revue anglo-américaine*, IV. 340.

Evidence that W. was the translator of a story by B.

Baudelaire—"B. and the Aesthetics of the Sensations," by S. A. Rhodes. *PQ*, VI. 351–361.

B.'s expression of musical, color, tactile, and olfactory sensations.

———— "The Influence of Poe on B.," by S. A. Rhodes. *RR*, XVIII. 329–333.

P. added nothing new to B.'s genius. He merely strengthened his original tendencies.

Boylesve—"A Note on René B.'s *La Becquée*," by A. Schaffer. *M L N*, XLII. 112, 113.

One of the character's may have been derived from Daudet's *Sapho*.

Coster—"Charles de C.," by B. M. Woodbridge. *M L J*, 167–171.

An estimate of his work.

———— "Some New Sources for Charles de Coster," by B. M. Woodbridge. *Leuvensche Bijdragen*, XIX. 81–91.

Michelet, George Sand, and Marnix de Sainte Aldégonde.

Delavigne, see Hugo.

Dumas, fils—*Alexandre Dumas fils, dramatist*, by H. S. Schwarz. N. Y., New York Univ. Press. XV+216 pp.

Biography, influences exerted upon him, technique, ideas, etc.

Duranty—" 'Réalisme,' *Journal* de D.," by H. U. Forest. *M P*, XXIV. 463–479.

The importance of this journal, which appeared in the fifties, for the development of realism and naturalism.

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Estaunié—"Edouard Estaunié: Novelist of Loneliness," by R. P. Bowen. *Sewanee Review*, XXXV. 32–40.

A brief account of his novels.

Flaubert—"An Unpublished Letter by F.," by Irving Brown. *RR*, XVIII. 149–152.

Publication and discussion of a letter to Mme Pasca of Sept. 11, 1878.

———— *F.'s Youth (1821–1845)*, by L. P. Shanks. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press. xi+250 pp.

An interpretation of his great novels in the light of his early experiences and writings.

France, A.—*The skepticism of Anatole F.*, by Helen B. Smith. Portion of a Wisconsin diss. Paris. 133 pp.

An appreciative account of this quality, its origin, development, and later history.

Gautier, Judith—"The Influence of E. A. Poe on J. G.," by W. L. Schwarz. *MLN*, XLII. 171–173.

Influence of his tales on her early works.

Gautier, T.—*The Creative Imagination of T. G. A Study in Literary Psychology*, by L. B. Dillingham. Bryn Mawr diss. Princeton, Psychological Review Co. x+356 pp.

His interests, emotional tendencies, sensory preferences, method of composition, etc.

Goncourts—"The Priority of the Goncourts' Discovery of Japanese Art," by W. L. Schwartz. *PMLA*, XLII. 798–806.

They introduced it into literature about 1862, but it was then already known to certain artists.

Hérédia, see Leconte de Lisle.

Hugo—"French Dramatic Sources of Bulwer-Lytton's *Richelieu*," by C. B. Qualia. *PMLA*, XLII. 177–184.

Hugo's *Cromwell* and Delavigne's *Louis XI*.

———— "Some Notes on *Hernani*," by F. M. Warren. *MLN*, XLII. 523–525.

Phrases derived from Corneille, Racine, Vigny, Voltaire, and Hugo's earlier plays.

Huysmans, see above, **Miscellaneous** in this section.

Jammes, see above, **Miscellaneous** in this section.

Leconte de Lisle—*Le Thème de la mer chez les Parnassiens, L. de L. et Hérédia*, by J. K. Ditchy. Paris, les Belles Lettres. 119 pp.

Poetic material in these two authors derived from the sea.

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Loti—"Pierre L. and the *Roman d'un spahi*," by T. W. Bussom, *So. Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVI. 40–49.

Evidence from his *Journal intime* of the circumstances under which the story was conceived.

Maeterlinck and **Mallarmé**—"Letters of M. and M. to Richard Hovey," by Barbara Matulka. *RR*, XVIII. 232–237.

Letters of 1895–1900.

Maupassant—"The Supernaturalism of M.," by E. G. Atkin. *PMLA*, XLII. 185–220.

This important element in his stories is in harmony with his realism.

Mérimée—"M. and the Marvelous," by M. Rudwin. *FQ*, VIII. 198–214.

His great interest in the supernatural, which he blends with realistic elements in an original manner. A review of the stories that show this characteristic.

Merrill—*Stuart M.*, by Marjorie L. Henry. Diss. Paris, 1927. 290 pp. Bibliothèque de la *RLC*.

A biographical and critical study, in which his contribution to symbolism is emphasized.

Rimbaud, see above, **Miscellaneous** in this section.

Sainte-Beuve—"The New S.-B. Material," by Horatio E. Smith, *MLN*, XLII. 97–100.

Evidence against M. Giraud's interpretation of *Mes Poisons*.

Samain, see above, **Miscellaneous** in this section.

Sand—"A Letter by George S. on World Peace," by R. L. Hawkins. *MLN*, XLII. 391–394.

Writing in 1846 to George Sumner, she shows skepticism in regard to the abolition of war.

———— *George S.*, by M. J. Howe. N. Y., John Day. 366 pp.

A biography.

———— *The Peasant Vocabulary in the Works of George S.*, by A. H. Schutz. Columbia, Mo., Univ. of Missouri Studies. v+114 pp.

Over 300 words are listed, defined, and explained. Some information is thus obtained about her technique.

———— "The Supernatural of George S.," by M. Rudwin. *Open Court*, XLI. 513–519.

Her interest in the fantastic, in certain supernatural figures, especially the Devil.

Stendhal—*La fortune d'une œuvre de jeunesse de S. en Amérique*, by Horatio E. Smith. Paris, Stendhal Club. 14 pp.

Translations of his *Vies de Haydn, de Mozart et de Métastase* published in America in 1820 and 1839.

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V. PROVENCAL

Beck, J. B., cf. above, section II.

Shepard, W. P., *The Oxford Provençal chansonnier*, Princeton University Press. xx + 251 pp. Elliott monographs.

Publication of MS Douce 269 at the Bodleian, written about 1300.

———"Two Derivative Songs by Aimeric de Peguilhan." *Speculum*, II. 296–309.

A critical edition of these hitherto unpublished poems.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

IV. SPANISH

I. LINGUISTICS

Phonology. Espinosa, A. M. "The Language of the *Cuentos populares españoles*." *Lang*, III. 188–98.

Discussion of the forms *alante*; *aluego*; *ande, onde*; *an guar de, en eguar de*; *anque, onque, enque* occurring in the author's collection of folk-tales.

Hills, E. C. "Spanish Patronymics in *-z*." *RHi*, LXVIII. 161–173.

The Spanish patronymic ending *-z* is derived from the Latin genitive endings *-ci* and *-tii* which became *-zi*, and later *-ze* and *-z*.

Syntax. Buffum, M. E. "The Post-Positive Pronoun in Spanish." *Hisp*, X. 181–188.

Coester, A. "Again the Spanish Superlative." *Hisp*, X. 176–180.

Nykl, A. R. "Old Spanish Terms of Small Value." *MLN*, XLII. 311–313.

Spaulding, R. K. "*Puedo hacerlo* versus *Lo puedo hacer* and Similar Cases." *Hisp*, X. 342–348.

Sturgis, C. "Uso de *le* por *les*." *Hisp*, X. 251–254.

Lexicology. Buceta, E. "Alegrar la sangre." *RFE*, XIV. 180–182.

Cites numerous examples of this phrase in the meaning "to give a present to one who has undergone bloodletting."

Buchanan, M. A. *A Graded Spanish Word Book*. Toronto. 195 pp.

5324 words arranged in order of frequency based upon a count of 1,200,000 running words.

Dale, G. I. "Spanish *fondo en* Once More." *MLN*, XLII. 319–321.

Explanation of meaning as term used in weaving.

Deferrari, H. A. "*Trocho* in *El Abencerraje*." *MLN*, XLII. 529–530.

Explained by confusion with Croco, Crocus.

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Gillet, J. E. "A Villancico in Gil Vicente." *MP*, XXIV. 405–407.

Correction of a line in the *Triumpho do Inverno*: "Quien ma ora ca mi sayó?" as "Quién me a(h)oraca mi sayo"; i.e., "Who is piercing or tearing my coat?"

———— "¡Voto a mares!" *RFE*, XII. 283–287.

Rejects interpretation of this phrase as euphemism for *María*, and explains it as part of a conjuration of the four elements, air, fire, water and earth.

Kane, E. K. "Parrot and *Pajarote*." *MLN*, XLII. 246–248.

Suggests borrowing of English word from Spanish as early as 1525.

McCurdy, J. A. "The Development in Meaning of the Spanish Word *romance*." (Pittsburgh Abstracts, 1926.)

Versification. Hills, E. C. "Notes and Queries on the Metre of the *Poem of the Cid*." *EE*, I. 471–483.

Argues that the term syllabic metre as applied to the *Cid* cannot mean an exact count of syllables, but merely an approximate number of syllables in a verse line, with accentual metre as the basis.

Lang, H. R. "The Metrical Forms of the *Poem of the Cid*." *PMLA*, XLII, 523–603.

Supplementing his "Contributions to the Restoration of the *Poema del Cid*" (*RHi*, lxvi), Professor Lang classifies the metrical forms of the poem on a new basis and draws confirming evidence from other compositions of approximate'y the same period.

———— "Las formas estróficas y términos métricos del *Cancionero de Baena*." *EE*, I. 485–523.

Important analysis indispensable for the study of the *Cancionero de Baena*.

Morley, S. G. "Ortología de cinco comedias autógrafas de Lope de Vega." *EE*, I. 525–544.

Careful study of five autograph plays yielding important results especially with respect to internal rhythmical accent and aspirate *h*.

Morley, S. G. "Otra vez el octosílabo castellano." *RFE*, XIII. 287–288.

Replying to a review in *RFE*, XIII, 71–73, the author argues that "encabalgamiento" of the type "logré—esca|parme" is used only for comic effect.

II. SPANISH LITERATURE—GENERAL

Romera-Navarro, M. *Historia de la literatura española*. N. Y. 701 pp.

III. SPANISH LITERATURE BEFORE 1500

Alfonso el Sabio. Solalinde, A. G. "Alfonso X, Astrólogo." *RFE*, XII. 350–356.

Notes that a treatise on astrology preserved in the Vatican is probably a translation or adaptation of Arabic works made at the command of Alfonso the Wise,

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and that this work was probably the basis for a Latin work on astrology known by the name *Picatrix*.

Cancionero de Baena. Buceta, E. "El autor de la composición número 240 del *Cancionero de Baena*, según Argote de Molina." *RFE*, XIII. 376–377.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly quoted incorrectly Argote de Molina. The author of the above-mentioned poem is Francisco Imperial, not Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino.

Juan Manuel. Taylor, A. "The Emperor's New Clothes." *MP*, XXV. 17–27.

Literary descendants of a tale by Juan Manuel, with numerous analogues including a story by Timoneda.

Libro de Alexandre. Berzunza, J. "A Digression in the *Libro de Alexandre:* The Story of the Elephant." *RR*, XVIII. 238–245.

Analogues of the passage that describes the elephant obliged to lean against a tree to sleep, thus becoming the easy prey of hunters.

Manrique (Jorge). Buceta, E. "Dos papeletas referentes a las *Coplas* de Jorge Manrique." *BHi*, XXIX. 407–412.

Possible influence of *coplas* by Gómez Manrique and Hernán Mexía upon the metrical form, and identification of the Marqués de Villena and Don Pedro Girón as the two brothers (stanza 22) who well illustrate the fickleness of Fortune.

Petrus Alphonsus. Montgomery, L. "Confided Property." *RR*, XVIII. 23–36.

A study of a tale by Petrus Alphonsus and its analogues in various literatures.

Misterio de los Reyes Magos. Sturdevant, W. *The Misterio de los Reyes Magos. Its Position in the Development of the Mediæval Legend of the Three Kings.* (Johns Hopkins.) 130 pp.

This study discusses the relation of the *Reyes Magos* to the mediaeval Latin, French, German and English plays on the Three Kings, and presents a new theory of an immediate vernacular source of the *Reyes Magos*.

IV. SPANISH LITERATURE FROM 1500 TO 1700

General. Bourland, C. B. *The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century.* (Smith.) 217 pp.

The *novela* after Cervantes with study of Italian influences and social aspects, and valuable bibliography.

Buceta, E. "El *Don Carlos* de Lord John Russell." *RFE*, XIII. 290–293.

Summary of an English play (1822) on the Don Carlos theme.

Deferrari, H. A. *The Sentimental Moor in Spanish Literature before 1600.* (Pennsylvania.) 84 pp.

The type of Christianized or sentimental Moor, first crystallized in *El Abencerraje* and later adopted in poetry and fiction, is more nearly in accord with historical fact than has been previously accepted.

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Heaton, H. C. "A Volume of Rare Sixteenth Century Dramatic Works." *RR*, XVIII. 339–345.

Description of a volume in the Arsenal Library which contains among other rarities two plays of which only the titles were known, namely, the *Comedia Grassandora* by Uzeda de Sepúlveda and the *Égloga hecha por Salazar de Breno y otros tres pastores.*

Balbuena. Van Horne, J. *El Bernardo of Bernardo de Balbuena.* (Illinois.) 182 pp.

A study of the poem with particular attention to its relations to the epics of Boiardo and Ariosto and to its significance in the Spanish Renaissance.

Boscán. Crawford, J. P. W. "Notes on the Chronology of Boscán's Verses." *MP*, XXV. 29–36.

An attempt to show that the verses record two love affairs, one which began before 1525 and a second which resulted in the poet's marriage about the year 1535.

Cervantes. Berkowitz, H. C. "A Hebrew Version of *Don Quijote.*" *Jewish Forum* (1926).

Abridged translation by Chayim Nachman Bjalik published at Berlin in 1923, discussed with respect to underlying spirit and fidelity to original.

———— Buchanan, M. A. "Extraneous Matter in the First Part of Cervantes's *Don Quijote.*" *EE*, I. 143–149.

Discusses intercalation of old material, in prose and verse, not originally intended for *Don Quijote*, and the approximate dates of composition of such material.

———— Schevill, R. "El episodio de Clavileño." *EE*, I. 115–125.

Relationship of the well-known episode in *Don Quijote*, Part II, 40 with portions of Clamades and Claramonda, Magalona and Pierres, and a dialogue in Villalón's *El Crotalón.*

Fernández de Oviedo. Rey, A. "Book XX of Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias.*" *RR*, XVIII. 52–57.

Identification of a copy of the above-mentioned work at the Newberry Library, Chicago, as the edition of 1548 or 1552 suspended at the instance of Las Casas

Góngora. Penney, C. L. *Luis de Góngora y Argote.* Hispanic Society (1926). 115 pp.

Biographical and critical sketch.

Lazarillo de Tormes. Tarr, F. C., "Literary and Artistic Unity in the *Lazarillo de Tormes.*" *PMLA*, XLII. 404–421.

Lazarillo de T. is no mere collection of episodes, but possesses a definite plan, an unmistakable continuity and many elements of unity hitherto unrecognized.

Leonardo de Argensola (L.). Green, O. H. *The Life and Works of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola.* (Pennsylvania.) 203 pp.

Biography based upon many new documents and a critical study of historical, dramatic and poetic works.

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Matos Fragoso. Heaton, H. C. *El ingrato agradecido.* Hispanic Society. 1926. lxiii+180 pp.

A critical edition based upon a manuscript version and two *sueltas* of a *remaniement* of a play ascribed to both Lope de Vega and Calderón. In the introduction emphasis is laid upon the play as an example of plagiarism.

Mira de Amescua. Anibal, C. E. "Another Note on the *Voces del cielo.*" *RR*, XVIII. 246–252.

Further discussion of the subject treated in *RR*, XVI and XVII in which the author argues that Mira de Amescua's use of kledonomancy is more probably derived from current superstitiion than from classical sources.

———— Anibal, C. E. "Mira de Amescua and *La ventura de la fea.*" *MLN*, XLII. 106.

Further evidence of Mira de Amescua's authorship of this play.

Quevedo. Rose, R. S. *Historia de la vida del Buscón llamado don Pablos; exemplo de vagamundos y espejo de tacaños.* Madrid. 405 pp.

Critical edition based upon the *princeps* (Zaragoza, 1626) with important variants derived from two manuscripts. The edition contains notes and an introduction stressing Quevedo's personality as reflected in the novel and the latter's relationship to other picaresque novels.

Romances. Buceta, E. "Traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del siglo XIX." *RHi*, LXVIII. 216–219.

Additional translations by Lockhart.

Salas Barbadillo. Place, E. P. *La casa del placer honesto.* (Colorado.)

Critical text based upon the *princeps* edition of 1620, with a good biographical introduction.

Torre (Francisco de la). Crawford, J. P. W. "Francisco de la Torre and Juan de Almeida." *MLN*, XLII. 365–371.

Arguments against identification (*RHi*, LXV) of the Spanish poet with Almeida.

Vega Carpio. Delano, L. K. "The Relation of Lope de Vega's Separate Sonnets to Those in His *Comedias.*" *Hisp*, X. 307–320.

———— Fichter, W. L. "Color Symbolism in Lope de Vega." *RR*, XVIII. 220–231.

Additional information on the color code based on references found in works of Lope de Vega.

———— García-Prada, C. "*Castelvines y Monteses* de Lope de Vega." *Hisp*, X. 67–87.

Discussion of date and analogies with *Romeo and Juliet.*

V. SPANISH LITERATURE SINCE 1700

Miscellaneous. Glascock, C. C. "Aesthetic Elements in the Art of Fiction as Advocated by Juan Valera, Pardo Bazán and Palacio Valdés." *Hisp*, X. 409–418.

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Schneider, F. "E. T. A. Hoffmann en España: Apuntes bibliográficos e históricos." *EE*, I. 279–287.

References to Hoffmann in Spain, and Spanish translations arranged chronologically from 1830–1924.

——— "Kotzebue en España. Apuntes bibliográficos e históricos." *MP*, XXV. 179–194.

Translations, performances of plays in Spain and critical references from 1800 to 1873.

Camba (J.). Onís (F. de). "El humorismo de Julio Camba." *Hisp*, X. 167–175.

Cruz (Ramon de la). Hamilton, A. *A Study of Spanish Manners (1750–1800) from the Plays of Ramón de la Cruz.* (Illinois.) 1926. 72 pp.

Espina (C.). Rosenberg, S. L. M. "Concha Espina." *Hisp*, X. 321–329.

Hartzenbusch. Corbière, A. S. *Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch and the French Theatre.* (Pennsylvania.) 93 pp.

Borrowings from French sources.

Pérez Galdos. Vázquez Arjona, C. "Cotejo histórico de cinco Episodios Nacionales de Benito Pérez Galdós." *RHi*, LXVIII. 321–550

Accuracy of documentation in writing *Trafalgar*, *La corte de Carlos IV*, *Zaragoza*, *Gerona* and *Cádiz*.

VI. LITERATURE IN SPANISH AMERICA

Cruz. Schons, D. *Bibliografía de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.* Mexico. 67 pp.

Most comprehensive bibliography that we possess of the Mexican poetess.

Gutiérrez Nájera. Walker, N. *The Life and Works of Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera.* (Missouri.) 83 pp.

Sigüenza y Góngora. Leonard, I. A. "A Great Savant of Seventeenth-Century Mexico: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora." *Hisp*, X. 399–408.

VII. FOLK-LORE

Espinosa, A. M. *Cuentos populares españoles recogidos de la tradición oral de España.* Vol. III. (Stanford) 1926. 160 pp.

118 folk-tales forming the third installment of this very important collection.

Gillet, J. E. "Cómo un rústico labrador engañó a unos mercaderes —A Sixteenth Century Folk-Tale." *RHi*, LXVIII. 174–192.

Edition of a rare folk-tale with discussion of analogues.

Mason, J. A., and Espinosa, A. M. "Porto Rican Folk-Lore; Folk Tales." *Jour. of Am. Folk Lore*, XXXVIII. 507–618.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

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V. ITALIAN

I. LINGUISTICS

Grandgent, C. H. "Unaccented Final Vowels in Italian." *Mélanges A. Thomas.* Paris, 1927.

The theory of Meyer-Lübke that Lat. *-as>-es*, and that *-es>i*, criticized, and a new theory proposed.

———— *From Latin to Italian.* An historical outline of the phonology and morphology of the Italian language. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1927. vi and 191 pp.

Jenkins, T. A. "On Newness in the Novel." *PMLA*, XLII, xliii–lix.

Concerns the meaning of Ital. *novella*, which is traced back through Ital. *novella d'amore*, the Rom. *novella*=a story relating a noteworthy speech, and the Lat.-Rom. *novella*=a speech showing originality, to the Cl. Lat. *novellus*=unusual.

Northup, G. T. "Spanish and Portuguese *Busilis;* Italian *Busillis.*" *Speculum*, II. 78–80.

The word derived from a story in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Vaughn, H. H. "Italian Dialects in the United States." *AS*, I. 431–435, and II. 13–18.

II. LITERATURE IN THE XIVth CENTURY

Dante. Austin, H. D. "Dante Notes, IX. Io sono amore angelico. *Par.* XXIII, 103." *MLN*, XLII. 305–310.

The *facella* which encircles the Virgin is not the archangel Gabriel, but a symbol of "the unanimous homage of all the angelic host."

Brewer, W. *Dante's Eclogues* (the poetical correspondence between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio). Tr. from the Latin into English blank verse. Boston, s.d.

Chapman, J. J. *Dante.* Boston, 1927.

Fletcher, J. B. "An Experiment in Metre for the *Divine Comedy* in English." *RR*, XVIII. 199–219.

Translation of five cantos of the *Inferno* in English *terzine*, the second verse of which is unrhymed.

Grandgent, C. H. "Rime and Rhetoric in the Divine Comedy." *GSL.*

An examination of passages in which the rhyme seems to afford a means of appreciating the poet's struggle with his medium.

———— "Confessio Dantis." In *Prunes and Prism*, etc. Harvard Univ. Press, 1928, pp. 161–182.

The *Commedia* considered as "a book of confession." A study of the passages which contain specific confessions. Virgil rebukes Dante's irrational "tendency to jump to conclusions."

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Krappe, A. H. "Santa Lucia." Aquila, officine grafiche Vecchioni, 1926. Estr. *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, II. 253–263.

The history of the legend of St. Lucy of Syracuse, supposed to be Dante's Lucia

Rand, E. K. and Wilkins, E. H. "A Concordance to the Battifolle Letters." Cambridge, the Dante Society, 1926.

An appendix to the *Concordance to the Latin Works of Dante.*

Spencer, T. "Chaucer's Hell: A Study in Mediaeval Conventions." *Speculum*, II. 177–200.

Includes discussion of Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante.

Wilkins, E. H. "Dante and the Mosaics of his *Bel San Giovanni*." *Speculum*, II. 1–10.

These mosaics probably contributed to the imagination of parts of the *Commedia.*

Petrarch. Bigongiari, D. "Adversaria Petrarchiana." *Speculum*, II. 206–210.

Emendations to the text of Petrarch's letters in Piur's *Petrarca's Buch ohne Namen etz.*

Wilkins, E. H. "On the Transcription by Petrarch in V. L. 3195." *MP*, XXIV. 261–268 and 389–401.

An exceedingly detailed and accurate tabulation and examination of all the evidence capable of throwing light on the poet's procedure in transcribing the autographical part of the Vatican MS 3195.

Boccaccio. Hammond, E. P. "Lydgate and Coluccio Salutati." *MP*, XXV. 49–57.

Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* is mostly derived from Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, but the declamation of Lucretia in Book II is from unpublished *Declamationes Duae* of Coluccio.

Hill, M. A. "Rhetorical Balance in Chaucer's Poetry." *PMLA*, XLII. 845–861.

Includes passages derived from Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and *Tescide.*

Montgomery, L. "Confided Property." *RR*, XVIII. 22–36.

The history of the story of Salabaetto in *Dec.* VIII, 10.

Wilkins, E. H. "An Introductory Boccaccio Bibliography." *PQ*, VI. 111–122.

——— *The University of Chicago Manuscript of the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium of Boccaccio.* Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, s.d. XIII and 81 pp. 14 plates.

A complete illustration in every sense, of the MS which once belonged to Coluccio Salutati, and has marginal notes by him.

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III. LITERATURE IN THE XVth AND XVIth CENTURIES

Gilbert, A. H. "Milton and the *Aminta*." *MP*, XXV. No. 1. Aug. 1927.

Prezzolini, G. "Four Hundred Years of Machiavelli." *The Living Age*, Sept. 15, 1927. From the *Revue de Genève*, July, 1927.

Rooke, M. "Libro del poema chiamato Città di Vita composto da Matteo Palmieri fiorentino, transcribed from the Laurentian MS XL 53 and compared with the Magliabechian II ii 41. Part I: Books I–II, xv." Northampton, Mass., 1927. xxvi and 241 pp. *Smith College Studies in Mod. Langs.* Nos. 1–4.

Contains, beside the diplomatic text with the Magliabechian variants, a *capitolo* of Leonardo Benci in praise of Palmieri, correspondence between the latter and Leonardo Dati the younger, and a Preface on the *fortuna* of the *Città di Vita*.

Snyder, A. D. "Coleridge on Giordano Bruno." *MLN*, XLII. 427–436.

Unpublished notes by Coleridge on Bruno.

Thorndike, L. "Some Unpublished Renaissance Moralists and Philosophers of the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century." *RR*, XVIII. 114–133.

Gregorius Chrispus, *De cultu humanitatis et honestatis libellus*; Bartholomeus Facinus, *De humane vite felicitate dialogus*; Joannes Nesius, *De moribus*; Nicolaus Fulginatis, *Opusculum de ideis*; Oliverius Senenses, *De deo et rerum naturalium principiis et summa beatitudine.*

Tilley, M. P. "The Comedy *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene*." *MLN*, XLII. 150–157.

Tomkis' play *Lingua* is indebted to Alione's *Comedia de l'omo e de' soi cinque entimenti.*

IV. LITERATURE IN THE XVIIIth, XIXth, AND XXth CENTURIES

Altrocchi, R. "Bracco and the Drama of the Subconscious." *North Am. Review*, March-April-May, 1927. Pp. 151–162.

Chatfield-Taylor, H. C. *Goldoni*, con prefazione di E. Maddalena. Bari, Laterza, 1927.

Translation of the work published in 1913, N. Y., with some abridgment.

Lemmi, C. W. "Leopardi's *Passero Solitario*." *MLN*, XLII. 316–317.

The blue rock-thrush connected by tradition with the "passer solitarius" of the Psalms.

Noad, A. S. "Ugo Foscolo and an English Magazine." *MLN*, XLII. 108–109.

The publication of Foscolo's essay "An Account of the Revolt of Naples during the Years 1798–1799."

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Schwartz, W. L. "The Significance of D'Annunzio's *Outa Occidentale*." *M L N*, XLII. 325–326.

The Japanese *Uta*.

Tonelli, L. "Il teatro italiano d'oggi." *Ital*, IV. 1–4.

———— "La critica italiana d'oggi." *Ital*, IV. 25–29.

———— "Narratori italiani d'oggi." *Ital*, IV. 57–60.

———— "La lirica italiana d'oggi." *Ital*, IV. 89–93.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Brown, S. M. "Mazzini and Dante." *Political Science Quarterly*, XLII. 77–98.

The political theories of Mazzini and Dante explained and compared.

Bush, Douglas. "Classic Myths in English Verse (1557–89)." *M P*, XXV. 37–47.

Boccaccio, M. Ficino, and N. Agostini's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, indicated as sources.

Lemmi, C. W. "Italian Borrowings in Sidney." *M L N*, XLII. 77–79.

Sources indicated: Berni, Dante, Della Casa, Tasso, Boccaccio.

Lo Parco, F. "L'austera, operosa e nobile vita di S.S. Pio XI." *La Vita Nuova*, anno III, pp. 107–118.

The historical researches published by the present Pope, former librarian of the Ambrosiana and Vatican libraries.

Northup, G. T. Review of the *Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula*, by W. J. Entwistle. *M P*, XXIV. 481–486.

A defense of the theory of the Italian origin of the Spanish Tristram romances.

Taylor, A. "The Emperor's New Clothes." *M P*, XXV. 17–27.

Mentions an Italian series of versions of this story.

Turner, A. M. "Rossetti's Reading and His Critical Opinions." *P M L A*, XLII. 465–491.

Includes Rossetti's Italian authors and his opinion of them.

Van Horne, J. "*El Bernardo* of Bernardo De Balbuena. A study of the poem with particular attention to its relations to the epics of Boiardo and Ariosto and to its significance in the Spanish Renaissance." *Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, vol. XII, No. 1., Feb. 1927.

J. E. SHAW.

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VI. GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

I. PHILOLOGY

Lotspeich, C. M. "A Single Principle for English and Primitive Germanic Sound Changes." *JEGP*, XXVI. 467–470.

Ascribes the chief sound changes of the Germanic languages to the tendency toward initial stress, illustrating by English examples and referring to *JEGP.* XXIV, 325 ff. for German.

Prokosch, Eduard. "The Old English Preterites Without Medial Vowel." *PMLA*, XLII. 331–338.

Discusses also the syncopated preterites of OHG and OS and Gothic and comes to the conclusion that the Preterites of the Preterite-Presents and of some strong verbs like *brachte* never had *i*, that the syncopation of *t* started in PG times in stems ending in *ɜ* or *h* and that this stage appears in Gothic and Prim. Norse. In OHG syncopation spread to stems in *d*, *t* and *f*; lastly preterites without *i* did not originally exist in the first class of weak verbs.

Old Norse

Larsen, Henning. "The Vocabulary of the Old Icelandic Medical Manuscript Royal Irish Academy 23D43." *JEGP*, XXVI. 174–197.

Lists all the many words occurring in the MS which are not yet recorded in the lexica of Old Icelandic or Old Norwegian.

Sturtevant, A. M. "The Suffix *-erni* in Old Norse." *SS*, IX. 267–270.

Considers *-er* to have been the same as the suffix of such consonant stems as *ader* plus the suffix *-ni*.

———— "Some Etymologies of Old Norse Words Dealing with the Supernatural." *SS*, IX. 151–160.

Suggests etymologies for *Dolgr, Flyka, Reimt, Skars, Skass, Ski, Skripi.*

———— "Zum Lautwandel ae: io: ia im Altnordischen." *GR*, II. 334–352.

A critical review of the various theories of this difficult problem, resorting in one case to analogy.

———— "Some Adverbial Formations in Old Norse." *MP*, XXV. 137–147.

Treats of formations of the type *ar-deg-is* "Early in the Day" and of four other forms of adverbs.

———— "Old Icelandic Notes." *GR*, II. 64–74.

Treats (1) words with the diminutive suffixes *ka* and *si*, (2) the adverbial usage of the past participle, (3) gives the etymologies of *inna, kja, stjana, svarka* and *sal-ern.*

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Dutch

Brookes. "Afrikans Language Recognized in South Africa." *Cur. Hist. Mag.*, XXV. 694–696.

Afrikans, based on a Dutch dialect of about 1700, has had its accidence and syntax influenced by Huguenot French and its vocabulary by English. Sixty years ago not one word of the language had been written, now it is the second official language of the Union of South Africa.

II. LITERATURE

Danish

Brandes. Julius Clausen. "Danish Wit and Wisdom in Later Days." *ASR*, XV. 366–369.

Discusses Georg Brandes, Sven Lange, a Danish novelist and Frederick Poulsen, poet and archeologist.

Blicher. Hans Brix. "Steen Steensen Blicher." *ASR*, XV. 595–601.

Brief account of the life and writings of this short story writer.

Oehlenschläger. Julius Clausen. "Adam Oehlenschläger." *ASR*, XV. 397–403.

Biographical sketch of the poet followed by a translation of his poem *The Golden Hours* by R. S. Hillyer.

Old Norse

Edda. A. L. Andrews. "Criteria for Dating the Eddic Poems." *PMLA*, XLII. 1044–1054.

A discussion of the various theories for determining the date.

———— L. M. Hollander. "Were the Mythological Poems of the Edda Composed in the Pre-Christian Era?" *JEGP*, XXVI. 96–105.

Collects evidence to show that many of the lays originated late and not before the introduction of Christianity.

Civilization. A. W. Brögger. *Kulturgeschichte des norwegischen Altertums* (*Harvard Univ. Press*, 26).

Mythology. P. A. Munch. *Norse Mythology, Legends of Gods and Heroes* (*Scand. Classics 26, Amer. Scand. Foundation*).

Sagas. A. L. Andrews. "Studies in the *Fornaldarsogur Nordrlanda*, II, The Hervarar Saga." *MP*, XXV. 149–161.

Divides the saga into six parts and tries to show the origin and the relationship of these different parts.

———— C. N. Gould. "They Who Await the Second Death." *SS*, IX. 167–201.

Detailed treatment of the material in the sagas dealing with the "Living Corpse."

Thor. P. R. Heyl. "Thor's Journey to Jötunheim." *Science Monthly*, XXIV. 503–506.

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Norwegian

Ibsen. A. N. Sturtevant. "Gleanings from Peer Gynt." *SS*, IX. 224–230.

Attempts the explanation of various passages in this difficult poem.

———— F. W. Chandler. *A Volume of Ibsen's Plays* (*Macmillan*).

Doll's House, Wild Duck, Hedda Gabler and Master Builder.

Novels. Hanna R. Larsen. "Recent Books in Norway." *ASR*, XV 690–692.

Review of novels by Cora Sandel, Kari Glöersen, Andreas Haubland, Jacob Bull, Olav Duun and others.

Tales—*Told in Norway. An Introduction to Modern Norwegian Fiction* (*Amer. Scand. Found.*).

A volume of twenty-two of the best Norwegian stories, prefaced by a brief introductory essay and provided with biographical notes.

Swedish

Bellman. C. W. Stork. "Bellman the Incomparable." *ASR*, XV. 220–230.

Critical estimate of the poet's lyrics illustrated by happy translations.

Bible. Abel Ahlquist. "History of the Swedish Bible." *SS*, IX. 119–144.

Continuation of former article treating the translation of 1917.

Strindberg. H. B. Blauvelt. "Strindberg the Eccentric." *Mentor*, XV. 50–51.

———— Yngve Hedvall. "Solid Offerings in the Swedish Book Market." *ASR*, XV. 298–302.

Among other things reviews Martin Lamm's analysis of Strindberg's plays and the Memories of Fröding by Manuel Helberg.

Karlveldt. A. J. Uppvall. "The Poetic Art of Erich Axel Karlfeldt." *GR*, II. 244–261.

Excellent treatment of the poetry of this great Swedish writer.

Literary Relations

Scandinavian. A. B. Benson. "Scandinavians in the Works of Washington Irving." *SS*, IX. 207–223.

Discusses the satirical treatment accorded to the early Swedish settlers in Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York.*

———— A. B. Benson. "Scandinavian Influences in the Works of William Dunlap and Richard Alsop." *SS*, IX. 239–257.

Treats the poems of these early American writers which are based on Scandinavian subjects.

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Old Saxon

Heliand. E. C. Metzenthin. "The Home of the Heliand. A Non-Linguistic Approach." *SP*, XXIV. 567–591.

Decides that not Werden but Corvey is the home because Louis the Pious never granted the former any favors whereas he fairly showered gifts on the latter.

Old High German

Hroswitha, B. I. Jarcho. "Zu Hrothsvithas Wirkungskreis." *Speculum*, II. 343–344.

Shows the influence of Hroswitha on the author of the *Vita Mahthildis Reginae II.*

Middle High German

Epics. F. W. Kauffmann. "Romantik und Gotik." *GR*, II. 189–201

An ingenious attempt to connect the epics written before the 13th century with Romanic architecture and those of the 13th with Gothic.

Easter Play. N. C. Brooks. "A Rheinau Easter Play of the Late Sixteenth Century." *JEGP*, XXVI. 226–236.

This play is found in a manuscript in the monastery library of Einsiedeln. It seems to have been written between 1573 and 1612 and is one of the few combining the *Elevatio* and the *Resurrectio* with the *Visitatio* of the Marys to the tomb. As it was published in a very inaccessible place it is here reprinted.

Passion Play. M. B. Evans. "The Passion Play of Lucerne." *GR*, II. 93–118.

A critical reprint of the first episode of the Creation and Fall of Man of the play of 1583 which contains no less than 48 episodes and about 12,000 lines.

Theatre. M. Jagendorf. "Student Theatres in the Middle Ages." *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XI. 699–704.

Brief discussion of the School dramas of the sixteenth century in England and Germany.

Sixteenth Century

Erasmus. Ernst Voss. "Erasmus Roterodamus in His Relation to Luther and Melanchthon." *JEGP*, XXVI. 564–568.

Brief account of the correspondance of these men showing the luke-warmness of Erasmus in the cause of the Reformation.

Hans Sachs. G. F. Lussky. "The Structure of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele in Relation to Their Place of Performance." *JEGP*, XXVI. 521–563.

All *Fastnachtspiele* written before 1550 were meant to be performed in inns or private houses or places not equipped with a stage. Plays of group II were all written after 1550 and were intended to be performed on some private stage. Plays of group III were probably meant for the *Meistersängerbühne*, they had formal prologues and epilogues just as the tragedies and comedies. Plays of the first group open and close with an informal speech, those of the second group open and close with a dialogue or a soliloquy.

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Ickelsamer. Otto Clemens. "Valentin Ickelsamer." *JEGP*, XXVI. 237–247.

Short biography and critical comments on the life and works of this sixteenth century grammarian.

Seventeenth Century

Grimmelshausen. Ernst Rose. "Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wesenskunde." *GR*, II. 279–286.

Gives reasons why *Simplicissimus* is representative of German character and should therefore be read by all students of German literature.

Eighteenth Century

Goethe. Kuno Francke. "Carlyle and Goethe's *Symbolum*." *PQ*, VI. 97–101.

Shows that the expression "Work and despair not" which is so popular in Germany in the form "Arbeiten, nicht Verzweifeln" comes from a free translation of Goethe's poem *Symbolum*, but does not occur in the original.

——— A. Woehl. "Goethe's Rules for Actors." *QJ Speech Educ.*, XIII. 243–264.

Hauptmann. F. B. Wahr. "Hauptmann's *Promethidenlos*." *GR*, II. 213–228.

A critical analysis of the poem, pointing out how directly it expresses the longings of its youthful author.

Italy. Else M. Saleski. *Italien im Lichte einiger deutschen Zeitschriften aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (*Wisconsin diss.*).

Kotzebue. Franz Schneider. "Kotzebue en Espana." *MP*, XXV. 179–194.

Traces the reception and performances of Kotzebue's dramas and the editions of his works from 1800 to 1873, the date of the last translation of one of his plays into Spanish.

——— Seven One Act Plays of Kotzebue (*Poet Lore*, XXXVIII, June 1927).

English translation of seven plays.

Lenau. J. C. Blankenagel. "Deeds to Lenau's Property in Ohio." *GR*, II. 201–212.

Reprint of certain documents with critical comments as source material for Lenau's life.

Lessing. E. V. Brewer. "Lessing and the Corrective Virtue in Comedy." *JEGP*, XXVI. 1–23.

Shows how Lessing stood under the influence of such English moralists as Shaftesbury, Home, Hutcheson and Dryden.

——— Paul P. Kies. "The Sources of Lessing's *Die Juden*." *PQ*, VI, 406–410.

Seeks to prove that Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* and Farquhar's *The Beaux's Strategem* are the chief sources of Lessing's play.

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——— Nathan the Wise, translated and edited by Leo Markun (*Haldeman-Julius*).

Schiller. J. C. Blankenagel. "Wallenstein and Prinz Friedrich von Homburg." *GR*, II. 1–11.

Points out how the character of the hero of Schiller's play influenced that of the Prince Elector in Kleist's drama.

Tieck. E. H. Zeydel. "A Note on Ludwig Tieck." *PQ*, VI. 80–83.

Defends Tieck against the accusation of changing his views frequently.

——— "An Unpublished Letter of Dorothea Tieck." *GR*, II. 12–15.

Reprint and interpretation of a letter written on June 3, 1833, describing the celebration of Ludwig Tieck's birthday on May 31.

Nineteenth Century

Geibel. E. H. Zeydel. "An Unpublished Poem of Emanuel Geibel." *PQ*, VI. 83–84.

A reprint of a poem on autumn not contained in any edition of Geibel's works.

Gerstäcker. G. H. R. O'Donnell. "Gerstäcker in America." *PMLA*, XLII. 1036–1043.

Brief account of the hardships G. passed through on his first trip to America.

Grillparzer. J. C. Blankenagel. "Carlyle as a Critic of Grillparzer." *PMLA*, XLII. 1027–1035.

Hauptmann. F. B. Wahr. "Gerhart Hauptmann *Das Bunte Buch*." *JEGP*, XXVI. 325–336.

Discusses the poems of this little known collection of Hauptmann's lyrics published in 1888, as a valuable record of the state of mind of the youthful poet just before writing *Vor Sonnenaufgang*.

Hebbel. H. W. Hewett-Thayer. "Ludwig Tieck and Hebbel's Tragedy of Beauty." *GR*, II. 16–25.

Attempts to show that Hebbel was influenced in choosing the theme of *Agnes Bernauer* by Tieck's novel *Vittoria Accorombona*.

F. L. Pfeiffer. "The Moral Problem in Hebbel's Drama." *GR*, II.

Tries to show that Hebbel did not live up to his distinction between moral and tragic guilt but confused the two.

E. H. Zeydel. "An Unpublished Letter of Hebbel." *PQ*, VI, 84–87.

Publishes a letter of Hebbel to Ottilie, Goethe's daughter-in-law and cites all the references to her in Hebbel's letters.

Heine. E. T. Scheffauer. "Three Unknown Lyrics of Heine." *Bookm.*, LXV. 276.

Translation of three poems recently discovered among the papers of one of Heine's contemporaries by Dr. Schade of Berlin.

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Heyse. Max Quadt. "Die Einkleidungsform der Novellen Paul Heyses." *GR*, II. 26–39.

Treats the *Novellen* from the standpoint of the *Einkleidungsform* which is characteristic of the tales from 1880 on.

———— "Die Grundlinien der Novellen-Komposition Paul Heyses." *JEGP*, XXVI. 166–173.

Shows that all Heyse's *Novellen* follow his *Falkentheorie* and are written with fine psychological analysis and in dramatic fashion.

Keller. F. L. Pfeiffer. "Gottfried Keller and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer." *GR*, II. 312–319.

A comparison of the characteristic writings of the two authors.

Lyric. S. Liptzin. *The Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany* (*Columbia Univ. Press*).

Deals with the social lyrics of the middle classes.

———— S. Liptzin. "The Lyric of Nascent Modern Realism." *GR*, II. 298–311.

Interesting account of the lyrics of Georg Herwegh, Karl Beck and other poets of the forties who deal with social abuses and economic distress.

Economic. John Whyte. "Economic Influences on the Literature of the Nineteenth Century." *GR*, II. 287–297.

Tries to show that when social themes are prominent in literature it is due to economic depression.

Contemporary Literature

Barlach. E. T. Hauch. "Ernst Barlach and the Search for God." *GR*, II. 157–166.

An attempt to explain the curious mysticism of Barlach's Dramas.

Biography. R. H. Fife. "The Place of Biography in German Literary History. The Problem." *GR*, II. 119–136.

Discusses the nature and amount of biographical material that should be included in literary history.

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Brief comment on books in English dealing with contemporary German culture and discussion of English translations of recent German novels.

———— W. R. Schweizer. *Vom deutschen Geist der Neuzeit.* N. Y., 1927.

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Lyrics. A. W. Aron. "Some Tendencies in the Modern German Ballad." *PQ*, VI. 270–276.

Shows that modern ballads are not at all romantic but deal in realistic fashion with the problems of the day.

Mann. J. Dresch. "Thomas Mann and the German Republic." *Liv. Age*, 333: 598–603.

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——— "German Letter." *Dial*, LXXXIII. 53–59.

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——— A. de Lowis of Menar. "German Letter." *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, IV. 328.

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Novelle. L. A. Shears. "German Genius in the *Novelle*." *GR*, II. 137–147.

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Religion. E. T. Mohme. *Die freireligiösen Anschauungen im Drama und Roman der neueren deutschen Literatur* (*Ottendorfer Series of German Monographs*, Nr. 17, N. Y. Univ.).

Able discussion of the various religious tendencies as found in the works of German writers from 1885–1914.

Theatre. Hans Krudsen. "Der Stand der Theaterwissenschaft in Deutschland." *GR*, II. 75–78.

Defines this new science and lists the investigations already made in it.

Werfel. Anna Jacobson. "Franz Werfel, Eine Würdigung." *JEGP*, XXVI. 337–349.

Critical discussion of the religious character of Werfel's poems and dramas which show him to be a seeker after truth and God.

——— Ernst Jockers. "Franz Werfel als religiöser Dichter." *GR*, II. 40–63.

Admirable treatment showing Werfel's deep religiosity in his lyrics and dramas.

——— T. W. Kauffmann. "Franz Werfel." *MLJ*, XI. 427–430.

Brief treatment of the basic ideas of Werfel's poems and dramas.

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Folklore

Taylor, Archer. "The Emperor's New Clothes." *MP*, XXV. 17–27.

Traces the story through Stricker's *Pfaffe Amis*, *Til Eulenspiegel* to Hans Christian Andersen and Ludwig Fulda, also giving parallel tales from Italian and Spanish sources.

Syntax

Mahr, August C. "Vom Optativ des kindlichen Spiels." *JEGP*, XXVI. 106–111.

Shows how children use the subjunctive as the mood of imaginary possibility (*der ideelen Möglichkeit*).

Proverbs

Jente, Richard. "Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde." *PMLA*, XLII. 865–874.

Denies that this proverb originated from a Latin word play on *aurora* (*aurum in ore*), but as a translation of the Latin *aurora musis amica*.

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY

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I

LEGENDS OF JOSEPH IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH*

1. Joseph as a Youth

THE account of Joseph in Genesis makes no mention of his precocity as a boy and deals but briefly with the beauty of his person. Indeed, it is not until he has become a man that he is described at all: Potiphar's wife cast her eyes upon him for "Joseph was a goodly person, and well favored." But at a very early date commentators felt that this was altogether inadequate. A body of Hebrew and Mohammedan legend about Joseph's boyhood soon developed: he was credited with an almost preternatural beauty and wisdom, a beauty and wisdom befitting one who was the favorite of Yahweh.[1]

According to Mussulman tradition Joseph was called the Moon of Canaan and wore on one of his shoulders a star-like point, an indication of the gift of prophecy.[2] The odor from his body, the Talmudists report, was so pleasing and pervasive that it drowned out the sweet smell of the spicery, balm, and myrrh of the Midianites who bought him from his brothers.[3] On Joseph's arrival in Heliopolis, chief city of Egypt, Musselman tradition tells us his face shone brighter than the sun which was then setting, and maidens and matrons ran out into the street to see him.[4] This last detail seems to have its counterpart in the Middle English *Iacob and Iosep:*

> Hi ladden Iosep into þe burȝ, þat riche was & strong;
> Castles heie & proute, stretes wide & long,
> Mani feir halle & mani feir bour,
> Whit so eni lilie, briȝt so eni flour.
> Muche was þe blisse þat was in þe burȝ,
> Iosep for to sullen hi ladden þurȝ & þurȝ.
> Þider comen kniȝtes & burgeis ful bolde,
> Hi comen into þe strete Iosep to biholde.
> Leuedis of boure & maidenes fre

* For the general plan of this article and for invaluable criticism throughout I am indebted to the late Professor O. F. Emerson.

[1] L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, tr. by H. Szold, II, 15; S. Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets*, p. 228.

[2] S. Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[3] Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 19.

[4] S. Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

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Comen into the strete Iosep to ise.
Ac þer þuȝte muche wonder mani a moder sone,
Hem þuȝte hit was an angel from heuene icome.[5]

His beauty is stressed, too, in an earlier part of the story. As he wanders alone in his coat of many colors over the plain of Schechem, before his captivity, Joseph appeals strikingly to the imagination. The legends in whatever language describe him as a handsome youth in a beautiful coat journeying unawares toward disaster. The coat is almost invariably mentioned. It is the material evidence of Jacob's love; it serves as a symbol of Joseph's superiority. So the poet of the Old English *Physiologus*, describing the beautiful coloring of the Panther, compares it to Joseph's coat:

Ðæt is wrǣtlīc dēor, wundrum scȳne,
hīwa gehwylces. Swā hæleð secgað,
gǣsthālge guman, þætte Iōsēphes
tunece wǣre telga gehwylces
blëom bregdende, þāra beorhtra gehwylc,
ǣghwæs ǣnlīcra, ōþrum līxte
dryhta bearnum, swā þæs dēores hīw,
blǣc, brigda gehwæs, beorhtra and scȳnra
wundrum līxeð, þætte wrǣlicra
ǣghwylc ōþrum, ǣnlīcra gīen
and fǣgerra, frætwum blīceð,
symle sēllicra.[6]

Josephus mentions the physical beauty as well as the superior moral excellence of Joseph:

Iosephum ex Rachela sibi natum Iacobus cum ob corporis venustatem tum ob animi virtutem (alios enim prudentia antecellebat) prae caeteris liberis amabat.[7]

Similar accounts in the *Historia Scholastica* and in the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* may have been based upon this passage in Josephus, for he is often referred to as an authority by Peter Comestor, and is mentioned by name elsewhere in *Genesis and Exodus* (v. 1281).

[5] *Iacob and Iosep*, ed. A. S. Napier, 1916, vv. 145–156.

[6] *The O.E. Elene, Phœnix and Physiologus*, ed. A. S. Cook, p. 75, Panther, vv. 19–30.

[7] *Flavii Iosephi Hebraei, Opera Omnia*, Tomus I, Franciscus Oberthür, Book II, Chap. II.

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Oderant eum fratres sui, quia a patre plus caeteris amabatur, tum quia in senectute genuerat eum tum quia praestantior corpore, et sapientior caeteris erat.[8]

According to *Genesis and Exodus*, Joseph at the age of sixteen was the most beautiful and the most intelligent of Jacob's sons:

> He was iacobes gunkeste sune,
> Brictest of waspene, and of witter wune.[9]

In *Cursor Mundi*, also, Jacob loves Joseph best of all his sons for the same reason:

> For he was fair, widuten sake,
> Of breder had he nan his make,
> . . . . . .
> þis was ioseph þa 'ele þat dredd
> þat loueword had a spedili spredd
> þat wise, þat chast at gentile,
> þat siþen suffrid su ;ret perele:[10]

Rabbinical story adds one more reason for Jacob's distinguishing Joseph from among his children. In him he sees reflected the loveliness of Rachel, most beautiful and best loved of his wives, whose death he mourns a long time. He needs only to look on Joseph to be consoled.[11] This extension of the Bible narrative, though not given in any English treatment, appears in the Old French *Mistére du Viel Testament*, in which the aged patriarch, after a prolonged lamentation over the death of Rachel, turns to his favorite son for comfort:

> Joseph, mon singulier confort,
> Je cuyde, se je te perdoye
> A pres la mére, et que la mort
> Me print, a gré je la prendroye.
> Tu es ma singuliére joye,
> Tu es en qui me resjoye,
> Tu es mon bien particulier,
> Tu es mon amour singulier
> Sans qui vivre je ne scauroye.[12]

[8] *Historia Scholastica, Liber Genesis*, Cap. LXXXVI, Migne *Patr. Lat.* 198
[9] Ed. R. Morris, *EETS*, v. 1910 f.
[10] *EETS*, Orig. Ser. 57, vv. 4044 ff. (Göttingen MS).
[11] Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 7.
[12] *SATF*, ed. Baron James de Rothschild, II, vv. 16606 ff.

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The precocity of the boy was early stressed by the Hebrews. Until his seventeenth year he attended the Bet ha-Midrash and acquired such a prodigious fund of knowledge that he was able to read the Halakot to his brothers. Even more, he attempted to offer counsel, on occasion, as to what conduct they should pursue.[13] The quotation already given from Josephus indicates that he was more intelligent than his brothers and excelled them in prudence. The earliest English reference to this mental superiority is in Alfred's *Orosius*. Joseph, though the youngest, is the wisest of Jacob's sons:

Ioseph, se þe gingst wæs hys gebroðra, 7 eác gleawra ofer hi ealle; þæt him ða ondrædendum þæm gebroðrum, hy genamon Ioseph, 7 hine gesealdon cipemonnum, 7 hine gesealdon in Egypta land.[14]

The Latin original reads:

Minimus aetate inter fratres Joseph fuit, cujus excellens ingenium fratres veriti, interceptum mercatoribus vendiderunt. A quibus deportatus in Aegyptum. . . . .[15]

According to Peter Comestor, as was pointed out above, Joseph "sapientior caeteris erat." Similarly, as has been shown, the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* and *Cursor Mundi* praise him for mental ability as well as for beauty.

Middle English writers follow the Bible story without significant variation in narrating Joseph's two dreams, the bargain of the brothers with the Ishmaelites and Joseph's departure as a slave. Hebrew legend elaborates somewhat the account of the purchase. For the twenty pieces of silver they receive, the brothers buy shoes:

We will not eat it, because it is the price for the blood of our brother, but we will tread upon him, for that he spake, he would have dominion over us, and we will see what will become of his dreams.[16]

This tradition is twice referred to by the prophet Amos:

Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes.—(II, 6.)

and:

[13] Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 5.
[14] *King Alfred's Orosius*, ed. H. Sweet, (I) iv.
[15] *Orosius*, ed. Sweet, (I) viii.
[16] Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 18.

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When will the new moon be gone. . . . . That we may buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes.—(VIII, 5 and 6)

The English mediæval stories do not mention the use to which the brothers put the money and they differ as to the price for which Joseph was sold. *Cursor Mundi* (v. 4194) gives the price as "tuenti besauntis" thus agreeing with the "viginti argenteis" of *Petrus Comestor*[17], but *Genesis and Exodus* (v. 1956) has "XXX plates." This confusion also existed among the earlier authorites, as Whiston shows in his notes on Josephus: "The Septuagint have twenty pieces of gold; the testament of Gad, 30; the Hebrew and Samaritan, 20, of silver; and the vulgar Latin, 30."[18]

When the false news of Joseph's death is brought home by the brothers, it is the father, Jacob, alone, in the Biblical account who grieves since Rachel, the mother, had died at the birth of Benjamin. Most Hebrew and Mohammedan legends follow the Bible here,[19] but according to Josephus, Rachel was still living when Joseph was abducted: Reuben advises his brothers not to kill Joseph because it would cause the mother too much grief if her son met death in unnatural fashion:

Rubelus vero, inter istos natu maximus, cum eos ita se habere vidisset, superque ea re consentientes, tentabat eorum impetum continere: ostendeus facinus fore audacissimum simul ac scelestissimum. Vt nefarium quidem et Deo visum iri, et hominibus flagitiosum, etiam non consanguinei caedem perpetrare; multo autem scelestius fratris necis reos deprehendi; quo sublata etiam in patrem redundaret iniuria, materque in luctum et orbitatem, non ex lege mortalitatis illatam, coniiceretur.[20]

All Middle English narratives agree with the Bible version in this point except the *Iacob and Iosep*, in which, as in Josephus, Rachel is still alive, for both mother and father weep together at the evil tidings:

> Þe moder feng to renden hire neb 7 hire smoc.
> Euer seide þe moder, 'Wo is me a liue,
> For mi sone Iosep be ich neuere bliþe.'[21]

[17] *Historia Scholastica, Liber Genesis*, Cap. LXXXVII.

[18] *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, W. Whiston, p. 44, note.

[19] Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 23; Cf. also S. Baring-Gould, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, Chap. XXVIII.

[20] *Flavii Iosephi Hebraei Opera Omnia*, Tomus I, Franciscus Oberthür. Lib. II, Cap. III, 1.

[21] *Iacob and Iosep*, ed. Napier, vv. 175 ff.

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This variation from the Biblical account is probably due to the author's ignorance of the events preceding the actual story of Joseph in the Bible. Or the author, even if he knew of Rachel's death, may have sacrificed truth for dramatic effect. Certainly the introduction of the weeping mother makes the scene more impressive. Or possibly the author was led astray by Joseph's second dream, in which the sun, the moon, and eleven stars make obeisance to Joseph. The sun is Jacob, the moon Rachel, and the eleven stars are his brethren. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Josephus makes a similar mistake.

According to the Bible the grey-haired Jacob weeps over the loss of his son and refuses to be comforted; he will go down into the grave (Vulgate: *"in infernum"*) unto his son mourning.

Peter Comestor likewise represents Jacob as saying that he will descend to Hell, but he proceeds to interpret this in accordance with the theological doctrine of the *limbus patrum:*

> Congregatis filiis, ut lenirent dolorem patris, noluit eos audire, sed dicebat: Descendam lugens ad filium meum in infernum. Erat enim tunc in inferno quidam locus beatorum, longe semotus a locis pœnalibus, qui ob quietem et separationem ab aliis sinus dicebatur, sicut sinum maris dicimus. Et dictus est etiam sinus Abrahae, quia etiam Abraham ibi erat in sui tentatione, usque ad mortem Christi.[22]

This passage unquestionably supplied the source for the similar statement in the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus:*

> His sunes comen him to sen,
> And hertidin him if it migte ben;
> "Nai! nai! quat he, "helped it nogt,
> Mai non herting on me ben wrogt;
> Ic sal ligten til helle dale,
> And groten ðor min sunes bale."
> (Þor was in helle a sundri stede,
> Wor ðe seli folc reste dede;
> Þor he stunden til helpe cam,
> Til ihesu crist fro ðeden he nam.)[23]

Cursor Mundi, while agreeing as to Jacob's words, omits the interpretation given by Peter Comestor:

> For þi suetenes and þi fair heu.
> Mi care sal euermare be new;

[22] *Hist. Schol.*, Lib. Genesis, Cap. LXXXVII.
[23] Ed. *EETS*, vv. 1979–1988.

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I wald sinc in-to hell depe,
wid mj son þar-for to wepe.[24]

2. Joseph as Potiphar's Slave

About Joseph in captivity a number of legends center. The first and perhaps the most curious of these has to do with *Potiphar*, Joseph's first master, and with the priest of On, *Poti-phera*, whose daughter Joseph later marries. The similarity between the two names is at once apparent. So apparent it is, in fact, that commentators very early confused Potiphar, the master, and Potiphera, the father-in-law. This confusion was destined in time to cause much perplexity for, as it was soon discovered, Potiphar was a eunuch, one of the chief of the eunuchs of Pharaoh.[25] And though *eunuch* might signify a chamberlain, a courtier, or an officer in general, its usual meaning was the one which Trevisa gave to the word in explaining Higden's Latin text: "Eunuchus is he þat is i-gelded, and such were sometyme i-made wardeynes of ladyes in Egipt." How then could Potiphar be the father of Asenath, Joseph's wife? The question perplexed St. Augustine: "quomodo spado filiam habere potuerit?" he asks. Or for that matter how could he have a wife? How could Potiphar, or Potiphera be at once eunuch to Pharaoh and a priest of On? St. Augustine admitted he could not solve the problem but at the same time insisted that, in any case, his faith was not endangered nor his belief in the truth of God's scriptures[26] shaken. Nevertheless, mediæval writers found a solution of the difficulty. The explanation which they adopted was clearly taken over from an early Hebrew tradition which is stated as follows by Dr. Ginzberg:

> Thus Joseph became the slave of the idolatrous priest Potiphar, or Poti-phera, as he was sometimes called. He had secured possession of the handsome youth for a lewd purpose, but the angel Gabriel mutilated him in such manner that he could not accomplish it.[27]

Among the Church Fathers the tradition is a common one,[28] but

[24] *EETS*, Or. Ser. 57, vv. 4225 ff.

[25] In the Septuagint: ὁ εὐνοῦχος φαραώ and in the Vulgate: *eunuchus Pharaonis*.

[26] Migne 34, p. 585: *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum*, CXXXV.

[27] Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 43. It will be noted that even in these early accounts the names Potiphar and Poti-phera are confused.

[28] S. Bruno Ast. accepts the legend in volume I, *Expositio in Genesim:*
Dicitur autem Putiphar iste ad nefarios usus emisse Joseph, quia pulcher erat

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the immediate source for the Middle English stories is, as usual, the *Historia Scholastica* which makes the following statements concerning Potiphar:

Hic habuet uxorum, et liberas, quia et Joseph filiam ipsius duxit uxorem, nec de eunuchis regis fuit, qui parvuli castrabantur. Sed Hebraei, quod videns Joseph elegantem, emit eum ut misceretur ei. Dominus autem custodiens Joseph, illum adeo infrigidavit, ut deinceps impotens fuerit coire, et tanquam eunuchus esset, ita quod videntes eum hierophanti arefactum, de more suo eum pontificem Heliopoleos, id est domus solis, creaverunt, et honoratior erat quam aute in principatu.[29]

The whole legend—the problem of the identity between eunuch and priest, and the marvelous explanation—appears for the first time in English in the *Genesis and Exodus:*

Putifar was wol riche man,
And he bogte ioseph al forðan
He wulde dun is lechur—hed
Wid ioseph, for his faire—hed,
Oc he wurd ðo so kinde cold,
To don swilc dede adde he no wold;
Swilc selðe cam him fro a-buuen,
God dede it al for ioseph luue (n).
Bissop in eliopoli
Men seið he was siðen for-ði,
Þog had he ðo wif(.) and bi-foren
Childre of him bi-geten and of hire boren,
Oc after ðis it so bi-cam,
Ioseph is dowter to wiue nam (vv. 1995–2008).

Trevisa later repeats the story at greater length and in more specific terms in his translation of Higden's *Polychronicon:*

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et decora facie; propter quod, exsiccatis testiculis, divino judicio sic eunuchatur; deinde vero sacerdos Heliopoleos constitutus, cujus filiam Joseph postea duxit uxorem. (Migne 164, p. 122.)

Rabanus Maurus explains Potiphar's impotence in much the same fashion:

Ubi quaeritur quomodo potea uxorem habere dicatur. Tradunt enim Hebraei, emptum ab hoc Joseph, ob nimian pulchritudinem in turpe ministerium, et a Domino virilibus ejus arefactis, postea electum esse, juxta morem hierophantarum, in pontificatum Heliopoleos, et hujus filiam esse Aseneth, quam postea Joseph uxorem acceperit. (Migne 107, *Comment. in Genesim* Lib. III, Cap. XXVII.)

[29] Migne *Patr. Lat.* 198, col. 1126, *Liber Genesis*, Cap. LXXXVIII. The *Hist. Schol.* was also the direct source of the corresponding passage in Higden's *Polichronicon.*

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þis Putiphar was not so eunuchus as þey þat were i-gelded in hir childhode, for he hadde a wyf and children, and Ioseph hadde i-wedded his dou3ter. But þis Putiphar say þat Ioseph was fayre, and bou3te him forto mysuse hym, þerfore God made þis Putyphar so colde þat he my3te neuere after have to doynge flescheliche wiþ his owne wyf na more þan þey he were eunuchus i-gelded, and þerefore, as he þat was most worshipful, he was i-made bisshop of God Heliopoleos.[30]

Other Middle English writers, whether through ignorance of the story or through a commendable selection in subject matter, omit this legend.[31]

3. Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

Of all the episodes in Joseph's career none impressed itself more strongly upon mediæval literature than that of his experience with Potiphar's wife. The historians, in dealing with Joseph's life, abridge incidents here and there but they seldom omit any details in this part of the story. The subject was a favorite one with the homilist because it afforded a striking example in treating the deadliest of the seven deadly sins. Also in both poetry and prose one finds more frequent allusion made to this incident than to any other in the life of Joseph.

Professor W. H. Hulme calls my attention to two Egyptian stories which present interesting analogues and may have served as

[30] Rolls Series 41, vol. 2, p. 306.

[31] A curious explanation of Potiphar's impotence is given in *Le Mistère du Viel Testament* (vv. 19815 f.). Potiphar's wife has fallen in love with Joseph, and, since he will not comply with her demands, she has him thrown into prison. Later her evil designs are brought to light and public shame falls upon her and her husband. Potiphar censures her roundly, saying that he will have nothing more to do with her; that he will become a eunuch and enter the ranks of the priests:

> Jamais, par les haulx Dieux j'en jure,
> N'auray de toy athouchement.
> Femme de faulx entendement,
> Maintenant congnois je comment
> Tu es plaine de toute ordure,
> Donnée au vice de luxure;
> J'ay par toy failly lourdement.
> Et, pour monstrer certainement
> Que jamais ne te toucheray,
> Les genitoires me feray
> Oster, de nature vasseaulx;
> Prince des Enuches seray
> Ou du ranc des sacerdotaulx.

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sources to the Biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The first of these is the story of "Anpu and Bata" (*Egyptian Tales*, translated from papyri by Professor Flinders Petrie, Second Series, pages 36–45). The wife of Anpu falls in love with Bata, her husband's younger brother, but Bata, like Joseph, repulses the solicitations of the wife. The arguments of the women are very similar in both accounts, as are those of the young men, who refuse to prove unfaithful to the trust reposed in them by their masters. The wives, in both cases, in order to be revenged, pretend that they have been assaulted, and, in both cases, the husbands punish the innocent young men. From this point on, the stories differ. "Khafra's Tale" (*Egyptian Tales*, First Series, pp. 10–16) tells the story of another wife guilty of infidelity. She is the wife of Ubaaner, who, like Potiphar, is an officer in the court of Pharaoh. As in the Biblical version, she casts her eyes upon a servant. But in the older story, the young man, unlike Joseph, succumbs. The ending differs, also, for the youth is fed to a crocodile, and the wife is burned and her ashes are cast into the river.

It is not strange that the Biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife should have been altered and expanded by legendary material.[32] The boldest of these alterations is one which first appears in Tertullian, who makes Joseph the slave of Pharaoh instead of Potiphar, and his temptress no less a person than the queen of Egypt.

> Joseph . . . . , fuit de genere sanctorum, junior inter caeteros fratres, sed excelsior . . . . ab iisdem fratribus per livorem venum in Ægyptum datus, sæviebat in familia regis Ægyptiorum Pharao, a regina minus pudica desideratus, sed quia non obequebatur, e contrario ab eadem delatus, a rege in carcerem datur.[33]

With the authority of this eminent Father of the Church, it is not surprising that this altered form of the story should have made its appearance also in several of the accounts in French and Middle English. The rôle of the wicked queen was familiar in popular stories, and temptation by a queen would serve to increase the moral virtue of Joseph.

[32] Professor Maurice Bloomfield in his paper, "Joseph and Potiphar in Hindu Fiction" (*Transactions Am. Philol. Assn.*, LIV (1923), 141–167), by showing how widespread this motif is in Hindu stories, suggests that it came originally from India. Certainly the *Seven Sages*, in which the Potiphar's wife motif supplies the center for the collection of stories, is of Oriental origin.—EDITOR.

[33] Tertullian, I, *Ad Nationes*, Lib. II, 8.

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Iacob and Iosep is the earliest writing in Middle English to give the altered version. Here Potiphar does not keep his slave long. He clothes him magnificently and gives him to "Pharaon þe king." It develops soon that "þe quene louede Iosep ase hir owe lif."[34] According to this account also the accusation against Joseph is brought before the King instead of before Potiphar and it is the King who throws Joseph into prison. Professor Napier in his Introduction to *Iacob and Iosep* (pp. xi, xiii) calls attention to the fact that these variations from the Biblical narrative occur also in at least four Old French verse translations of the Bible: namely, Herman de Valenciennes, Jehan de Malkaraume, *La Bible des sept états du monde*, and the *Traduction anonyme de la Bible entière*.

Andrew of Wyntoun, in the *Original Chronicle*, is the next person to use the legend. Potiphar in this history is not even mentioned. Joseph is carried by "strange marchandis" into Egypt and "þar he becoyme þe kyngis man." The queen then falls in love with him:

> Withe þe kynge weil luffit was he
> Off Egipte als and withe þe queyñ.
> Fra scho of hym a sicht had seyn,
> Scho walde haf gert hym̀ lyin hir by;
> Bot he refoysitt þat curtassy,
> For þe worschep of his larde,
> Þat al his gud put in his warde;
> But al anerly þe queyne,
> Scho rarande lowde withe criys keyn,
> Said Iosephe walde haf lyin hyr by,
> Qwhar to scho wowit hym besely.
> Þan was he put in harde presoune.[35]

It is possible that the legend was carried into England from France, for its currency on the continent is attested not only by the Old French verse translations mentioned above, but also by *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour*, compiled in 1371, and later translated into English by Caxton (1484). The book as a whole was written, if we are to judge by the title, for the education of the author's own daughters, yet the breadth of treatment makes of it a manual of instruction for all women. The Joseph story is cited as "an ensaumple upon this synne of lechery."[36] The author

[34] *Iacob and Ioseph*, ed. Napier, v. 195 ff.

[35] *The Scottish Text Society, The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun.* Vol. 2 Book 2, vv. 334 ff.

[36] *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, EETS*, Or. Ser. 33, p. 76.

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does not hesitate to do violence to historic truth in shaping the narrative to his didactic ends, for the queen dies an evil death because of her wickedness:

> And so the quene caste her loke upon Ioseph, and beganne to desire to haue hym to foly with her; and she shewed hym mani foly signes and semblauntz of fals loue and sinfulle. And whan she sawe and perceiued that he wold not medille with her, thanne she was wode for sorughe, and called hym into a chaumbre, and praied hym of foly. And he, that was a good man, said her that he wolde not medille with her, and that he wolde neuer be traitour to his maister and lorde. And [whan] she saw he wolde not graunt to her fals horible and dampnable wille, she caute hym bi the mantelle and beganne to crie, and saide, "This fals traitour wolde haue rauisshed and disworshipped me here." And thanne the kinge, thorughe her false subieccion, putte Ioseph into stronge prison, and therein kepte hym longe.

Though Joseph's temptress is made a queen in only a few versions of the story, his temptations are multiplied in many of them. The Book of Genesis deals briefly with his enticement: "And it came to pass, as she spake to him day by day, that he hearkened not unto her" (39:10). English writers increase the number of allurements and thus Joseph becomes a nobler character through his resistance. Wealth and influence Potiphar's wife offers, and, when these fail to win him, she resorts to threat, which is also futile. Thus in the *Genesis and Exodus:*

> Ghe bed him gold, and agte, and fe,
> To maken him riche man and fre,
> Wið ðan ðat he wið here wile;
> For scrið, ne ðret, ne mai ghe bi-geten
> For to don him chasthed for-geten;
> Often ghe ðrette, often ghe scroð,
> Oc al it was him o-like loð (vv. 2017–2024).

The *Cursor Mundi* gives a more vivid account:

> "Ioseph," sho said, "to þe lemman,
> Hendest of all i mak mi man,
> . . . . . .
> Þat es þat þou mi lefe wald be;
> O werldes welth to wale and wan
> Sal þou haf mare þan mai be gan;
> To mi lauerd sal þou be dere,
> Til oþer nain sal þou be pere" (vv. 4345–4356).

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Then follows the threat:

"Allas!" sho said, "ioseph, þis dai,
And has þou nicked me wit nay?
If i liue þou sal me proue
An iuel freind to þi be-houe;
I sal þe mak wit myn husband
Þe werst luue in al þis land" (vv. 4381–4386).

The details in *Iacob and Iosep* are much the same:

'Iosep,' quod þe quene, 'now þou art welcome,
Nou in mine boure ich þe haue inome.
Ich wole þe make richest man after oure kinge,
Þou ssalt habbe þi wil of fer & of gris,
Of gold & of seluer, of al þat feir is.
Þou ssalt haue þi wil of al Egipte londe,
Ssal neuere no man þine heste astonde.
& of one þinge iwis þu miȝt be bliþe,
Þer nis no man me so lef þat euere is aliue.
ȝif þou canst in boure louie me derne,
Þe prute of Egipte ssal þe nouȝt be werne.
Mid þat ilke worde heo gan him cluppe & kisse.
'Iosep, ich am þin,' heo seide, 'mid iwisse' (vv. 204–217).

And in the Old French *Mistère du Viel Testament* also, Potiphar's wife reminds Joseph that heretofore he has been only a servant but that if he will grant her desire, she will make him a noble:

Je te supplie,
Joseph, os ce que je vueil dire
Tu es celuy que je desire
Sus tout homme au monde vivant.
Tu as esté long temps servant,
Mais, se ma voulenté tu fais,
Je te jure Dieu que une fois
Te mettray eu grande noblesse.[37]

All Middle English accounts follow the Bible in the climax of the story: Joseph rushes from the house, leaving his mantle in the hands of Potiphar's wife, who then accuses him falsely before her lord. The time and place of the occurrence, however, differ with each English version. *Genesis and Exodus* is not very explicit; it says merely that Joseph was one time in her tent, without explaining the reason for his presence there:

[37] Tome III, vv. 18805 ff.

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An time he was at hire tgeld,
Þo ghe him his mentel for-held;
For he wiδ hire ne wulde speken,
Ghe δhenkeδ on him for to ben wreken (vv. 2025–2028).

A definite explanation is given in *Cursor Mundi:* Potiphar has gone out into the country:

Putifar ferd in to þe contre,
And ioseph dueld wit his meigne,
And has his goes all in hand,
Als he þat was his al weldand (vv. 4259–4262).

And later Joseph comes to the wife's bower to call her to lunch:

A dai he went in to þe bour;
Quen he had hir hend-li gret,
"Lauedi," he said, "com to þi mete."
"Yus," sco said, "bot ar i ga
Þou spek wit me a word or tua" (vv. 4338–4342).

In *Iacob and Iosep*, the freest and also the most poetic of the English versions of the Joseph story, a somewhat similar opportunity is provided: the husband is away hunting, which insures secrecy:

Hit fel in one daye, þe king was out iwent
To þe wode to ssete mid his bowe ibent.
Þe quene louede Iosep ase hir owe life,
Heo sente him after sone to speken hire wiþ (vv. 193–196).

Hebrew legend, however, has the most natural explanation of the Biblical passage "and there was none of the men of the house there within." The Nile has overflowed its banks and a public festival is toward. All Egyptians in the household attend except Potiphar's wife; she feigns illness in order to be alone with Joseph.[38] Josephus records the legend and Peter Comestor[39] after him, but no English writer repeats it.

4. Joseph and Asenath

The book of Genesis mentions Asenath only twice. In Chapter XLI:45, we read that Pharaoh gave her in marriage to Joseph: "Deditque illi uxorem Aseneth, filiam Putiphare sacerdotis Heliopoleos." And in verse 50 of the same chapter, we are told

[38] Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 53.
[39] *Opera Omnia*, Lib. II, Cap. IV, 3; *Historia Scholastica, Lib. Genesis*, Cap. XC

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she bore Joseph two sons. To the author of the book of Genesis, Asenath is important only as a link in the genealogical chain: from her spring the tribes of Menasseh and Ephraim. Here surely was romantic material for the makers of legends, and one would expect to find the material developed into high romance: Joseph, the hero, thirty and unwedded, favored by God and by Pharaoh; Asenath, loveliest among the daughters of the Egyptians. Yet with a single exception, the romantic story of Asenath was ignored by Middle English writers, who sometimes, indeed, even omit to mention her name and refer to her merely as "the daughter of Poti-pherah."

The single exception to this neglect of Joseph's romance in Middle English is *The Story of Asenath*, a poem of 933 lines in one of the Ellesmere MSS. in Bridgwater House.[40] The Middle English poem develops the story in the fashion of true romance: there is the royal love triangle, with the Pharaoh's son as the third member; there is the proud and scornful maiden, for Asenath, before she sees Joseph, despises him as the son of a shepherd, her ambition being to marry the highest ranking person in the land—Pharaoh's son; and there is even a battle, for Pharaoh's son in disappointment over the loss of Asenath resorts to arms in an attempt to kidnap her.

Asenath, the story tells, was the daughter of Potiphar, a prince and priest "of Pharao the kynges." She dwelt in "a ful high tour" adjoining her father's house. Ten chambers she has, furnished "with carpettis of cloth of gold," with precious gems, and with idols "wrouht of goold and siluer." So high-born a maiden would naturally think twice before accepting Joseph. She does, and the father goes alone to meet Joseph. But when Joseph enters the court, his carriage is so noble and his equipage so royal that Asenath is at once struck with remorse,—

> "Alas," sche said, "I haue misdo, dispisyng þis nobil man,
> When I called hym herdis sone of the land of chanan" (vv. 192 f.).

Joseph asks who the woman is that stands at the window and Potiphar brings Asenath down. At her father's request she offers to kiss Joseph, but he refuses "Ony swych womman for to kysse," who worships idols. In grief the love-stricken Asenath discards her idols, her precious jewels, her fine garments, and fasts for seven days and nights in sack-cloth and ashes. Then on the eighth day

[40] Ed. H. N. MacCracken. *JEGPh* IX. 226–264.

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she petitions Joseph's God in a very lengthy prayer and is answered by the appearance of an angel who, telling her the prayer has been granted, performs the miracle of the honey comb "þat bees made of paradise, of the dew of rosis þere." Joseph later returns, and the marriage follows. Pharaoh himself joins them and gives them his blessing. All Egypt rejoices for seven days. After a time Asenath desires to visit Jacob, Joseph's father, in Goshen. On her return she and her escorts are attacked by Pharaoh's son, who has secured the aid of Gad and Dan, Joseph's unfaithful brothers. Pharaoh's son is wounded by Benjamin and dies several days later. Pharaoh in grief over the loss of his son

> dide in þe age of nynty and nyne yeer,
> Leuynge his kyngdom to ioseph þat was hym leef and deer (vv. 876 f.).

Joseph then rules with great prosperity for forty-eight years, leaving the kingdom finally to Pharaoh's youngest son.

The sources of the story, so far as they can be traced, are given by Dr. MacCracken in his discussion of the poem. The anonymous author of the poem states in his Prologue:

> I toke on me þe cure,
> Asneth storie to translate after my cunyng,
> Fro latyn into englysh as god me sendeth oeure.

This Latin original has been lost, but an abridgement of it, from the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, is printed by Dr. MacCracken. Except for the omission of Asenath's prayer, and certain other minor differences, Vincent's version agrees with the Middle English one. The ultimate source is the Greek text which has also been translated into Syriac, Ethiopic, Slavic, and Armenian.[41]

5. Joseph Aids His Brothers

One of the strangest of the legends gathered about Joseph is that which deals with the coming of the brothers to Egypt to buy food when "Hunger wex in lond chanaan." The Bible in this section is brief almost to baldness (*Gen.* XLII:1, 2):

Now when Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, Jacob said unto his sons, why do ye look one upon another? And he said, Behold, I have

[41] Jewish Encyclopedia, under *Asenath*. Dr. K. Kaufman gives an excellent summary of the story.

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heard that there is corn in Egypt! get you down thither, and buy for us from thence.

How did Jacob learn that corn was to be had in Egypt? The Bible does not answer, but mediæval minds demanded some explanation, and an explanation was invented which is more remarkable for its ingenuity than for its geographical accuracy: When the Egyptian wheat was threshed Joseph threw the chaff into the Nile, which in its course flowed through the land of Canaan; Jacob, walking one day by the stream, saw the chaff and immediately advised his sons to follow the chaff to its source where corn would be forthcoming. The legend has all the marks of a pious invention. To the mediæval churchmen Joseph was a symbol of Christ. Elaborate and usually forced comparisons were drawn between the lives of the two. Bede, for example, discussed Joseph as an early type of the Master: Joseph was sold to the Midianites for thirty pieces of silver, Christ was sold for the same sum to the Jews; Joseph was tempted by Potiphar's wife, Christ was tempted in the Synagogue; Joseph became the savior of all Egypt, Christ of the whole world. How neatly this legend would fit into such a comparative scheme! As the magi were led to Bethlehem by means of a star, so the ten brothers found their way to Joseph by means of the floating chaff.

Though I have been unable to discover its patristic source, it is noteworthy that this story of the chaff appears in several Old French verse translations of the Bible: *La Bible des sept états du monde*, Herman de Valenciennes, and a fragment in MS. Harley 3775,[42] as Professor Napier points out in the Introduction to *Iacob and Iosep* (p. xiii). Probably from some such French source, the story seems to have been taken over into the Middle English *Iacob and Iosep*, as Professor Napier believes, although the text is defective through the cutting out of a leaf in the manuscript. Immediately following the gap, are the concluding lines of a speech, apparently by Jacob, in which he hesitates to endanger the lives of his sons by sending them to Egypt. Then the narrative proceeds:

> Ofte of þis smal chaf þis breþren brouȝten hom,
> & for wone of mete maden muche mon.
> Beniamin þe ȝunge bad his moder bred,
> & seide he was afingred þat he was neiȝ ded (vv. 330–333).

[42] Extracts from this fragment have been printed by P. Meyer in *Romania*, XXXVI, 188 ff.

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Accordingly, forced by the famine, Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn. The mention of the chaff makes it likely that the missing leaf contained the story of the chaff floating down the Nile.

In *Cursor Mundi*, moreover, which in the account of Joseph shows close agreements with *Iacob and Iosep*, the story of the chaff is found in complete form:

> In bokis find we of a wile
> þat Ioseph did þat was sotile,
> þe chaf of corn he kest vmquile,
> Into þe flum þat men call Nile,
> For-qui þat watir þat rennis þare,
> To Iacob hus it has þe fare (vv. 4749–4752).
> . . . . . .
> Betid þan in a littel quile
> Iacob 3ode walkand bi þe Nile;
> He sau apon þe watris reime
> Chaf cum fletand wid þe streme.
> Of þat sight wex he ful blith
> And til his sonis he tald it suith,
> "Childer," he said, "3e list and lete,
> I sau chaf on þe water flete;
> Queþen it comis i can noght rede,
> Bot doun it fletis ful god spede.
> If it be comen fra fer land
> Loke quilk of 3u sal take on hand
> For vs all take þis trauaile,
> þar-of es gode we ta consaile.
> Agayn þe flum to folu þe chaf,
> Corn þare sal we find to haf" (vv. 4777–4792).

A minor variant from the scriptural narrative occurs in connection with the visit of the brethren to Egypt. The Bible states that Joseph's silver divining cup was placed in Benjamin's sack on the *second* journey of the brothers to Egypt. *Iacob and Iosep* (vv. 400 ff.) and *Cursor Mundi* (vv. 4857 ff.) connect this incident with the *first* visit instead, though the cup was not concealed in the sack of Benjamin, for he had not yet come. *Iacob and Iosep* is alone in making it a golden cup, and also differs from the Bible in representing the cup as the property of Pharaoh instead of Joseph. In regard to this latter point *Cursor Mundi* vacillates. The sergeants in arresting the departing brethren charge them with stealing the King's treasure (vv. 4901 ff.), but when Joseph

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gives his account of the affair before the assembled Egyptians, he states—

> þai stall *mi* cupe a-wai to lede (v. 4936).

In describing the effect upon the aged Jacob of the news that Joseph was still living, both Middle English poems add graphic details to the picture. The Vulgate states merely: "Quo audito Jacob, quasi de gravi somno evigilans, tamen non credebat eis." When he was finally convinced that the good news was true, "revixit spiritus ejus." In the English poems Jacob is bedridden when his sons return from Egypt. *Iacob and Iosep* gives a particularly lively account of the scene which follows:

> þo Iacob iherde þat Iosep was iliue,
> Nas neuere for his child fader so bliþe,
> He caste awei his crucche, his mantel he feng,
> Feire he platte his her wiþ a selkene streng.
> He toc his benetene bat wiþ pal that was biweued.
> 'Of sor & of serewe nou ich am bireued,
> For nou me þuncheþ þat ich mai flen as an ern
> For þe loue of Iosep, mi leueste bern,'
> Iacob rod singinde, such hit were a child,
> 'For þe loue of Iosep nou ich am ȝung & wild' (vv. 513–522).

The narrative in *Cursor Mundi*, though less picturesque, is quite as detailed:

> Quen iacob, þat in bedd was wonn,
> Herd þam neuen ioseph his sun,
> þan bigan his ert to light
> And in his bedd can sitt vp-right (vv. 5161–4).
> . . . . . .
> þan wex iacob ferly fain,
> His bodi bigan to quick again.
> "Gif me mi clothes," þan said he,
> "And hastily þat we graithed be,
> Childer," he said, "lat vs gang,
> For into egipt thinc me lang."
> Israel wid þis vp lep,
> þat bi-for miht noght strid a step.
> Widuten asking ani help of son,
> þat quake wid ilk a lim was won.
> þat first for eld miht noght wel spec,
> To hast his sonis wald he reke,
> He cries on þaim as ȝong man were (vv. 5187–99).

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I do not know whether the Old French translations already referred to afford any precedent for the variation from the Biblical account in transferring the charge of theft to the first visit to Egypt or for the description of Jacob's joy on learning that Joseph is alive. The details in this latter scene, however, are such as any good story-teller might have added to give vividness to his narrative.

The episode of the famine in Egypt is prolific in legendary material as the many examples just noticed testify. A still further instance appears in Mandeville's *Travels*, in connection with the account of the pyramids. Mandeville rejects the notion that the pyramids were used as sepulchers: rather, they were Joseph's granaries in which grain was stored against the seven years of famine:

> Now also I schall speke of another thing þat is beȝonde Babyloyne aboue the Flode of Nile toward the desert betwene Affrik t Egypt þat is to seyne of the Gerneres of Joseph þat he leet make for to kepe the greynes for the perile of the dere ȝeres. And þei ben made of ston full wel made of Masounes craft Of the whiche ij ben merueylouse grete & hye And the toþere ne ben not so grete. And euery Gerner hath a ȝate for to entre withinne A lytill hygh from the erthe For the lond is wasted & fallen sithe the Gerneres were made. And withinne þei ben all full of serpentes And abouen the Gerneres withouten ben many scriptures of dyuerse langages. And summen seyn þat þei ben sepultures of grete lordes þat weren somtyme but þat is not trewe for all the comoun rymour & speche is of all the peple þere bothe fer & nere þat þai ben the Garneres of Joseph And so fynden þei in here scriptures & in here cronycles. On þat oþher partie, ȝif þei weren sepultures þei scholden not ben voyd withinne Ne þei scholde haue no ȝates for to entre withinne. For yee may wel knowe þat tombes & sepultures ne ben not made of such gretness ne of suche highness, Wherfore it is not to beleue þat þei ben tombes or sepultures.[43]

I have found no other account in which the building of the pyramids is ascribed to Joseph but the theory was evidently current that they were used as storehouses for grain because William of Boldensele, in his Latin pilgrimage to the Holy Land, argues at length against the belief, saying it was held only by the simple.

6. Joseph as a Diviner

In the Bible story Joseph, by his own statement, figures as a diviner. When his brothers are brought before him with the stolen

[43] *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. P. Hamelius, *EETS*, Or. Ser. 153, p. 34.

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cup, which has been discovered in Benjamin's sack, he frightens them by asking: "Cur sic agere voluistis? an ignoratis quod non sit similis mei in augurandi scientia?" (XLIV:15.) Divination to the mediæval ecclesiasts, however, was a very questionable science; the men who practiced it were demon-inspired and were not to be relied upon. Such is the warning given to the unlearned by a twelfth-century English homilist:

> Ne acse þu nanre wicce raedes, ne sech þu riht aet daeden. Soðlice God ascuneð swylce þing.[44]

From this point of view Joseph's own admission would seem to place him among the practitioners of the "fals horible and dampnable" science. Yet he is not taken to task by the Middle English exegetes. Skillful as these men were in quoting the Scriptures, they were more skillful still in explaining them away when it suited their purpose. A judicious omission here and there, an ambiguous English rendering of a clear Latin passage and the nefarious practices of the Hebrews were made to fit neatly into the mediæval code of ethics. These attempts to extenuate Joseph's practices, while not strictly legendary, are of sufficient interest to be noted.

There is no possible ambiguity in the passage in Genesis quoted above: in the Hebrew the word used is *menahesh*, the literal translation of which is "prognosticator from omens"[45]; this meaning the word retains in the Greek and in the Latin. Yet Ælfric, who was the first to turn the book of Genesis into English, translated this passage as follows:

> & he cwaeþ to him; Hwi woldon ge swa don? Wendon ge þaet ge mihton [be]diddrian minne gelican?[46]

Again, the author of the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* avoids express mention of divination:

> ðo quat Josep, "ne wiste ge nogt
> ðat ic am o wol witter ðogt?
> Mai nogt longe me ben for—holen
> Quat—so—euere on londe wurð stolen" (vv.2329-2332).

[44] *Early English Homilies*, ed. R. D-N. Warner, *EETS*, Or. Ser. 152, p. 7.

[45] M. Gaster, the latest writer on divination (Jewish), *Encyclopædia of Religion* and Ethics, Vol. IV, p. 807.

[46] *The Old English Heptateuch*, ed. S. J. Crawford, *EETS*, 160, Gen. XLIV: 15.

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It is evident that this is an intentional alteration, for the *Historia Scholastica*—the source book he usually follows in slavish fashion—repeats the very phrase of the Vulgate in this passage:

Illi autem redi erunt ad Joseph. Qui ait: An ignoratis quod non sit similis mihi in augurandi scientia.[47]

The easiest method of evading the difficulty was, of course, to omit the passage altogether. This the author of *Cursor Mundi* does, although he treats this section of the Joseph story at greater length than any other Middle English writer: Joseph reads his brothers a long sermon, exposing their perfidy before a great "gedderinge of folk"; he recounts the many benefits they have received at his hands and laments that such generosity should be requited so miserably, concluding with the statement, "If yee giue dome, þan sal þai hing" (v. 4946). The same omission occurs in *Iacob and Iosep:* Joseph shakes his head sorrowfully at his brothers and curses treachery since it brings so many guiltless men to ground, but he does not refer at all to his own ability to divine. The omission of this part of the story in other Middle English versions can perhaps be explained by the brevity of treatment.[48]

The second difficulty which confronted the mediæval theologians was presented by the rather extraordinary word *Zaphnath-paaneah*, the name which was given to Joseph by Pharaoh in gratitude for Joseph's services in the interpretation of dreams. The Vulgate turns the name into Latin: "Vertitque nomen ejus, et vocavit eum lingua aegyptiaca, Salvatorem mundi" (*Gen.*, Chapter XLI, 45). The Rabbins, etymologizing Zaphnath-paaneah as a Hebrew word, interpreted it as "revealer of a secret" and Josephus (κρυπτῶν ἐυρετήν, *Ant.*, ii, 6, 1) and Theodoret (των ἀποῤῥήτων, ἐυμηνεντήν, 1, p. 106, Schulz) interpreted it similarly. This meaning, it will be conceded, admirably suits the context in Genesis, since the name was bestowed on account of Joseph's success as an interpreter of dreams.

[47] *Petrus Comestor*, Migne 198. Liber Genesis, Cap. XCV.

[48] Even in so recent a work as *The Pulpit Commentary* (ed. Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence and Rev. J. S. Exell), however, an attempt is made to lessen the evil implications of Joseph's speech:

Divination by cups was practised by the ancient Egyptians. But no reason to suppose that Joseph actually used this art. It would have been inconsistent with his habitual faithfulness to God, and with the ascription to him alone of the power to reveal secrets. He was now acting a part (p. 49).

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Jerome, however, set this definition aside in favor of "salvator mundi" which still stands in the Vulgate. Isidore, likewise, though mentioning the Hebrew interpretation, rejects it and suggests an Egyptian etymology:

> Joseph . . . . hunc Pharao Zaphanath Phaaneca appelavit, quod Hebraice absconditorum repertorem sonat . . . . tamen quia hoc nomen ab Ægyptio ponitur, ipsius linguae debet habere rationem. Interpretatur ergo Zaphanath Phaaneca Ægyptio sermone salvator mundi. (*Orig.*, vii c 7, t. iii, p. 327, *Arev.*)

After Isidore, most Church Fathers[49] list both meanings: "a revealer of a secret," and "savior of the world."

Old and Middle English writers, accordingly, had before them two interpretations of the name given to Joseph. The unanimity of their choice is, therefore, significant. Ælfric's translation of Genesis is the first example: he rendered the word by "Middaneardes Hælend."[50] Ælfric, it is true, here gives a literal translation of the Vulgate, but it is noteworthy that he fails in his comments to record the alternative interpretation, though he must have known it, since his writings demonstrate his familiarity with the Church Fathers. The second example is the author of the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*. Peter Comestor, his direct source, explicitly gives both meanings for the name:

> Et vocavit eum lingua Ægyptiaca Phanecphane, id est Salvatorem Mundi, quod Graece Pontiphanec dicitur, Hebraice tamen sonat absconditorum inventorem.[51]

But the English writer apparently saw something objectionable in "absconditorum inventorem" and so wisely decided to omit *both* meanings. The third example is *Cursor Mundi*, which is also based in large part on the *Historia Scholastica*. *Cursor Mundi*, however, recognizes only one meaning:

> His name þai chaunged, fra þat our,
> And cald him "warld sauueour" (vv. 4664 f.).

Wyclif is the first English writer who records both meanings for this word. His translation in the text reads:

[49] S. Augustinus. Migne 34. *Quaest. in Heptateuchum* CXXXV; S. Hieronymus. Migne 23, p. 1049; Joannes Zonaras. Migne *P.G.* 134, I, p. 78; Angelomus. Migne 215, *Comm. in Gn.* CXV; Rabanus Maurus. Migne 107, *Comm. in Gn.* CVII.

[50] *The O. E. Heptateuch*, *EETS* 160, Gen. XLI: 45.

[51] *Historia Scholastica* (Migne *Patrol.* 198), Gen. Cap. xcii.

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And he turnede the name of Joseph, and clepide him bi Egipician langage, the sauyour of the world.

But in the margin he gives the other interpretation:

"In Ebrew it is schewinge priuitees, as Jerom and Lire seyen.

It is outside of our province to solve the etymological puzzle presented by this word.[52] Our present endeavor is to show that in mediæval time a prejudice existed against the "interpreter of dreams," and that the glosses on this word probably arose from a desire to free Joseph from any implication or connection with magic arts.

A third task, however, still remained for the Christian apologists in defending the reputation of Joseph: namely, to explain his frequent appearance in the scriptural narrative as an interpreter of dreams. To the ecclesiastical mind in the Middle Ages most dreams were hallucinations, either the false imaginings of a distorted fancy or, even worse, illusions inspired by the devil. Not even the freest translator, however, could suppress the interpretation of dreams in telling the story of Joseph. But where omission is not practicable, it is still possible to explain. And in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, one of the Greek Fathers, one finds the explanation which was generally accepted throughout the Middle Ages. According to Gregory, Joseph and Daniel—these two names are usually associated in patristic discussions of dreams—did indeed interpret dreams and their interpretations came to pass. Nevertheless, most dreams are false and the case of these men is not to be taken as an example. They were vicars of God in the land of the pagans, and on their prophecies depended the fate of empires.

Essentially the same explanation of dreams—not only those which Joseph interpreted but those of the other Biblical characters—is given by Robert of Brunne in *Handlyng Synne*. Cato and many wise clerks after him warn against dreams. Put no charge in

[52] I quote the following statement from the article of R. S. Poole in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of the Bible* (*sub* Zaphnath-paaneah): "Various forms of this name, all traceable to the Heb. or LXX original, occur in the works of the Early Jewish and Christian writers, chiefly Josephus, from different MSS and editions of whose *Ant.* (11.6.1) no less than eleven forms have been collected, following both originals, some variations being very corrupt." Poole gives a full account of the history of the word. Francis Llewellyn Griffith, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, translates the word as "Said God, he liveth."

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such vanities unless it is certain they come "þurgh pryuyte." Joseph the patriarch, Joseph the father of Christ, and Daniel the prophet would have placed no importance on their dreams had they not known them to be the secret instructions of the Lord:

> "3yf þey ne come þurgh pryuyte
> Þat god wyl shewe me or þe,
> Iosep of dremys had 3yue no kepe
> What hym was shewed yn hys slepe,
> Þat fadyr and modyr and al hys kynde,
> Þurgh hym shuld þey wurshyp fynde.
> . . . . . .
> Also hyt was shewyd pryuyle
> To Iosep þat wedded oure lady
> Þat with þe chyld þey shuldë fle
> To Egypt, that yche cuntre.
> Þys ys clepyd reuelacyun,
> To shewe before what ys to doun.
> 3yf þey com noght þurgh stodyynd,
> Þat tokene ys of selkouþe þyng,
> Daniel had noght wyst byfore
> Þe dreme of Nabugodonósore.[53]

Such dreams, the context indicates, come only on important occasions and being important, these occasions are also rare. God does not whisper nightly to the inmates of every hut or hovel. If one has been troubled by a vision, he should not consult a soothsayer or interpret the dream himself—the rank and file of laymen too easily become the dupes of the devil; one should seek out some holy man who through penance has achieved a clarity of outlook denied to his fellows.

Thus on all three counts—his indictment of himself, his questionable name *Zaphnath-paaneah*, and his interpretation of dreams—Joseph was exonerated. His character remained unimpugned. He was not to be ranked with the soothsayer and the diviner, with the dealers in necromancy and the workers in witchcraft, for such men were guilty of black magic.

Legends concerning Joseph were not confined even to the events of his life, but stories were told of the burial of his body and the marvelous means by which his coffin was discovered to Moses. These stories and the reflection of them in Cynewulf's *Elene* and the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* have already

[53] *Handlyng Synne*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, *EETS* 119, vv. 428–446.

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been discussed by Professor O. F. Emerson in his paper, "The Legend of Joseph's Bones in Old and Middle English,"[54] and it is not necessary to repeat what he has said. A reference may be added, however, to the interesting group of Talmudic texts relating to the burial of Joseph's coffin at the bottom of the Nile and its recovery by Moses, which were published by R. Schröter more than half a century ago.[55]

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[54] *Mod. L. Notes*, XIV (1899), 166–67.

[55] "Bar-Hebraeus Scholien," *Zft. der deutschen Morgenl. Gesellshaft*, XXIV (1870), especially pp. 537–540

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II

THE PEARL AND ITS JEWELER

To calle hyr lyste con me enchace
Bot baysment gif myn hert a brunt
I seȝ hyr in so strange a place
Such a burre myȝt make myn herte blunt.

THE modern reader of *The Pearl*, like the poet himself, would fain call the little maid of the vision by her own name, for this, he feels, would supply the key to the whole poem. The manifold allegory of *The Pearl* is designed, after all, to enhance its central figure, as are the multiple colors against which her little person is thrown into relief. We propose in this article, not only to call the maiden by her name, but also to suggest a name for the author of this masterly elegy and of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.*

To the modern man, who sends his mental traffic down one-way streets, the intricate maze through which medieval thinking habitually pursued its calm and uninterrupted course, is bewildering. Even Fact—the mainstay of the moderns—had many facets in the Middle Ages. At that time, when, to every thinking man, the whole universe was a symbol, when moral allegories lurked in every object in nature, and when, quite literally, there were sermons in stones and animals, the simplest statement of fact was capable of multiple interpretation.

Sometimes the overgrowth of interpretation was so luxuriant as to obscure the original fact; nevertheless medieval authors did not deny the importance of literal reality. Thus an incident in the Old Testament might be interpreted *allegorically* as a prefiguration of events in the New Testament, *tropologically* for the inculcation of moral truth, or *anagogically* with reference to the future life;[1] but this did not in the least negate the historicity of the incident.

This is an important and arresting truism. The attempted sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, the father offering his son, was commonly looked upon as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Christ, and was employed by artists as a plastic commentary on the Crucifixion scene;[2] yet no writer or artist thus employing the ancient

[1] These terms are taken from Emile Mâle's *L'Art Religieux en France (XIII^e Siècle).*

[2] Cf. for instance a carved altar in the Metropolitan Museum of Art which uses Abraham and Isaac, as well as other scenes in the Old Testament, to foreshadow the Crucifixion.

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sacrifice would deny its historical veracity. That is a modern heresy.

But in their earnest endeavor to get the medieval point of view, scholars have not infrequently out-Heroded Herod. They have been so absorbed by the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical interpretations that the possible historicity of their subject has sometimes escaped them. Perhaps no piece of medieval literature has suffered so much from this neglect as has *The Pearl*. The first commentators, to be sure, confined their attention to interpreting the ostensible purpose of the poem, stoutly maintaining that it expressed the grief of a father for the loss of his child,[3] who was spoken of sometimes as the jewel itself and sometimes as a little girl. But since then the critics have been more concerned with the moral and theological content of the poem. Carleton Brown, for instance, made a penetrating study of the theology of *The Pearl*,[4] particularly of the author's attitude to the relative values of merit and grace in the scheme of salvation. William Henry Schofield argued that the poem could not be an elegy written by an ecclesiastic (as he appeared to be) to commemorate a child of his, since such a child would necessarily be illegitimate; moreover, he pointed out that the two persons in the poem never refer to each other as father and daughter. He concluded, therefore, that "the child so-called never had any physical shape on earth, and that the poem is really a celebration of the virtue of clean maidenhood."[5] He also elaborated the suggestion (made by E. K. Rand[6]) that the author of *The Pearl* was indebted to Boccaccio's fourteenth eclogue[7]—a genuine elegy—for style and plan of treatment.

G. G. Coulton,[8] in his reply to Schofield's argument, pointed out several possibilities by which an ecclesiastical author could have a legitimate child (though he did not dispose of the objection that the language of the speakers in the poem is not paternal or filial in tone, or that the words *father* and *daughter* are not used). Charles G. Osgood further insisted[9] that of the many symbolical

[3] E.g., Israel Gollancz, ed. of the poem, 1891.

[4] "The Author of *The Pearl* considered in the Light of his Theological Opinions," *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 115–153. Professor Brown, by setting the limits of the poet's faith, was really helping to define him historically.

[5] "The Nature and Fabric of *The Pearl*," *PMLA*, XIX, 154–215.

[6] *Ibid.*, 204, n.

[7] Oskar Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Braunschweig, 1902, p. 79 ff.

[8] *Modern Language Review*, II (1906), 39–42.

[9] Ed. of *The Pearl*, Boston, 1906, Introd., p. xxxiii.

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interpretations attached to the pearl, maidenhood was by no means the most obvious or traditional one, either in the poem or elsewhere. In a second article Schofield answered some of the objections raised by his critics, and re-stated the grounds for his opinion.[10]

After this prolonged debate on the question: "Allegory *vs.* Elegy?", Jefferson B. Fletcher,[11] in an important article which unfortunately has been seldom cited, reminded the readers of the poem that it is not necessary to exclude either interpretation inasmuch as medieval allegory is always capable of a manifold interpretation. After quoting significant parallels to the wording of *The Pearl* in *De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis* of Albertus Magnus,[12] Professor Fletcher asserts that it is possible to grant all of the allegorical interpretations which the critics have proposed, and still believe in the historical existence of the child, just as Albertus in allegorizing everything connected with the Blessed Virgin regarded her none the less as an historical personage.[13] Much the same conclusion has been expressed more recently in different words by W. K. Greene,[14] and yet Sister Mary Madeleva,[15] in the most recent study of the poem, reaffirms its spiritual values.

It is fortunately unnecessary, after Professor Fletcher's article, to preface the present inquiry by demonstrating that the historical fact of *The Pearl* is not opposed to its allegorical significance. Rather, the study which is here proposed, turning aside from the problem of allegorical interpretation, deals entirely with the historical identity of the child and of the poet.

As author of the poem the only names which have been proposed are: "Huchown of the Awle Ryale"[16] and Ralph Strode.[17] Both of

[10] *PMLA*, XXV (1909), 585–675.

[11] "The Allegory of *The Pearl*," *JEGP*, XX, 1–22.

[12] *B. Alberti Magni Opera Omnia*, Parisiis MDCCCXCVIII, vol. 36.

[13] Fletcher, in drawing parallels between the Virgin and Pearl, stresses the fact that both were called *singularis*. In so far as this epithet is concerned, we believe it just as likely to have been applied to Pearl from the lapidaries. These treatises stress the uniqueness of pearls: *Unis* a num per ce k'est *sule*. (E.g., see Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, Paris, 1924, *Margarita*.) The poet's interest in stones is unusual. Cf. Stanza x.

[14] "*The Pearl*, A New Interpretation," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 814–27.

[15] *Pearl, A Study in Spiritual Dryness*, New York, 1925.

[16] Sir Frederick Madden attributed *Gawain and the Green Knight*, and by implication, therefore, *The Pearl*, to "Huchown," because of a passage in Wyntoun's Chronicle. See *Huchown of the Awle Ryale* by George Neilson, Glasgow, 1902.

[17] Israel Gollancz, Introduction, 1892.

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these suggestions, however, have been ruled out on linguistic grounds, since the poem is written in a dialect different from that which must have been spoken by either of the two men. The identity of the poet is, then, still an open question. And no conjecture has yet been offered as to the identity of the child.

I. WHO WAS *PEARL?*

Our theory concerning the immediate purpose of the poem—which, let it be said again, is not intended to invalidate its moral and spiritual interpretations—is, briefly this: *The Pearl* is an elegy written on the death of Margaret, granddaughter of Edward III, not by her father, but by some one closely connected with her father and the court and (possibly as guardian) with the little girl herself. This would explain the unfilal, unpaternal language, the epithets (such as *ryal*) used in descriptions, and, since the earldom of the girl's father was Pembroke, the use of a western dialect by the poet, who, even though born in Wales, might well have employed West Midland English.

Before turning to the facts which are to be presented, let us summarize the contents of the poem:

The poet enters an arbor in the "high season" of August, near the spot where he had lost his precious pearl, and, overcome by the fragrant odors of the flowers there, falls asleep. While in this slumber, he sees a marvelous vision. Across the stream which flows by his arbor, appears a glorious country, radiant with light, and in this country he beholds a maiden whom he had known well: she was dearer to him "than aunt or niece." She is richly clad in a gown of white, all trimmed with "pearls of ryal prys" and on her head she wears a coronet encrusted with pearls set in the design of the *fleur-de-lys*. He addresses her as "Pearl," seeks to cross the stream to her, but is warned not to. Heaven is not thus easily attained. Pearl tells him that she is the bride of Christ and a Queen of Heaven. Naturally the poet protests: "Strange it is that thou, who didst live but two years on earth, and knewest not the *Pater Noster* or Creed, art crowned a queen; countess surely had been enough." Pearl replies, however, that tender years and lack of knowledge are no bar to Heaven for those who come pure, even though untried by experience; further, that all the pure are made kings and queens in Heaven, where Mary is Empress. The poet, who is tenderly anxious about the maiden, is still unconvinced. She attempts to reassure him by the use of parable

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and theological argument. When he is more calm, he is permitted to see her in the Heavenly City, the New Jerusalem, near Christ, in the throng of maidens. This is the highest assurance of her welfare that he may have, but the dreamer desires yet more. He attempts to attain the other shore, falls down, and awakes in his arbor—on the very spot where he let his Pearl slip through his fingers.

Now let us investigate the facts about the fourteenth-century personages who may be concerned in this elegy. Edward III, it is well known, was passionately fond of pearls, and he was a devotee of St. Margaret, whose name signifies pearl. In 1333, he founded a perpetual service in honor of this Saint in a monastery near Berwick, to commemorate the victory which he had won over the Scotch at Halidon Hill on the eve of her festival.[18] In 1346, his daughter Margaret was born; and in 1359, at her marriage to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, he gave her, appropriately enough, *2,000 pearls as a wedding gift.*[19] It is also recorded that Edward crowned with a chaplet of pearls[20] a French knight whom he had captured; that he gave over 20,000 of them to his mistress, Alice Perrers;[21] and that he was fond of wearing them himself.[22]

Concerning the daughter, Margaret, whose marriage was signalized by the gift of 2,000 pearls, we know little. In 1367, the King authorized the payment of £100 for tombs for her and for another daughter, Mary, both of them in Abingdon Abbey.[23]

[18] *Œuvres de Froissart*, ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussells, 1875, XX, 50; Robert of Avesbury, *Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III*, Oxford, 1920, p. 23.

[19] *Issue Rolls of Thomas de Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter*, ed. F. Devon, London, 1835: 10 Dec. 33 Ed. III: To Simon Bochel, in money paid to him in discharge of £216 135 s. 4 d. which the Lord King commanded to be paid him for the marriage of Margaret, the King's daughter.

[20] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, "Edward III."

[21] Schofield, *PMLA*, XXIV, 588.

[22] *Œuvres de Froissart*, XX, 53 (a command of the King for "unam coronam de rubro velvet operandam cum grossis perlis, unam tunicam armorum—" quoted by the editor from the royal accounts for 1338–39).

[23] Issue Rolls, 41 Ed. III. Most modern authorities state either that Margaret died before her marriage (e.g., James P. Phillips, *History of Pembrokeshire*, London, 1909, p. 362) or that she left no issue when, after being married in 1359, she died in 1367 (e.g., George F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Garter*, London, 1841, p. 175). Judging from the epithet "our son" applied by the King to Pembroke in 1366 (Pat. Rolls. 40 Ed. III) as in contrast to "our kinsman" of the early rolls, Pembroke's marriage, though arranged for in 1359, was not consummated until 1366–67.

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But of particular importance to us is the fact that when Margaret died, she left a child—who was also named Margaret. Apparently the Bishop of Lincoln became responsible for confirming the appointment of clergy for the livings in her feudal property, which she had inherited by her mother's death. The document which proves this—and incidentally the existence of the little girl herself—is a letter addressed by John of Gaunt to the Bishop of Lincoln:

In the matter of the church of Thurleston in your diocese, which is now vacant and dependent upon our presentation on account of the minority of Margaret, daughter and heir of Margaret Hastings deceased, who held of us by feudal service, we wish to present to you our dearly-loved cleric Robert Erethede, asking you to admit the aforementioned man to the church, and that you ordain him in the same, and do whatever other things are incumbent upon you by virtue of your pastoral office. In testimony whereof we have ordained our seal to be affixed to the present documents, given in our manor of the Savoy, 3 December 1371.[24]

This document is dated 1371, four years after the child's birth. There is great likelihood, however, that she had died two years before in 1369,—the year of the plague—because a document of the Close Rolls of 49 Ed. III, mem. 23, records an arrangement made in 1369, whereby if Pembroke *died without issue*, his property should revert to the King.[25] This provision would hardly have been made in this form, without mention of his daughter, if she were then living; nor is she mentioned in the Pembroke records of later date. Moreover, the matters referr red to in John of Gaunt's register for the year 1371 and thereabouts, have to do with affairs which he had been unable to attend to during his stay in France, 1368–69. A document which mentions Margaret in 1371 need not necessarily indicate, therefore, that

[24] *John of Gaunt's Register* Entry 182. "Ad ecclesiam de Thurleston vestre Diocesis vacantem et ad nostram presentacionem spectantem racione minoris etatis Margarete filie et heredis Margarete Hastynges defuncte, que nobis tenuit per servicium militare, dilectum clericum nostrum Robertum Erethede vobis presentamus intuitu caritatis, rogantes quatenus ipsum Robertum ad ecclesiam predictum admittere et eum in eadem instituere velitis, ceteraque peragere que vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali. In cujus rei testimentium presentibus literis sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Data in manerio nostre de Savoyes tercio Decembris anno millesimo cccm° septuagesimo primo." This entry is duplicated in number 192, the only change being the correction of Robert Erethede to Robert de Staunton.

[25] See also Patent Rolls, 43 Ed. III, mem. 26, given at Westminster, Feb. 20, 1369.

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she was still alive then; and there is negative evidence that she was already dead in 1369, two years after her mother's death.[26]

John Hastings, father of the infant Margaret, was a favorite of Edward III. After his marriage he was referred to in the Patent Rolls as the "King's son,"[27] whereas he had appeared formerly as his "ward" and "kinsman." There is abundant evidence that he came in contact with many distinguished men of his day, especially with some of the literary figures. After the death of his first wife, he married another relative of Edward's, namely Anne, daughter of Walter Mauny (celebrated knight of Froissart's Chronicle) and of Margaret Plantagenet.[28] He and Walter Mauny and John of Gaunt are frequently mentioned in the same breath in the accounts of the war in France.

More significant still, John Hastings was brought into direct contact with Froissart, chronicler and poet, by his association with Edward and Philippa and Walter Mauny.[29] He became a patron of Froissart by virtue of this connection, and the Flemish poet makes due acknowledgement. In an elegiac, reminiscent poem, *Le Joli Buisson de Jonece*, he receives a consolatory visit from Philosophy (which recalls Boethius and *The Pearl* itself)[30] and a command from her to celebrate the seigneurs and noble dames who had been his patrons. First, Queen Philippa is mentioned in a passage of genuine admiration and regret:

Car elle me fist et crea.

Next, the author laments the subject of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchesse*, Blanche of Lancaster (who, like Philippa and little Margaret Hastings, also died in 1369), and others as well:

Aussi sa fille de Lancastre
Harol mettés moi une emplastre
Sus le cuer, car, quant m'en souvient,
Certes souspirer me convient
Tant sui plains de melancolie!

[26] Issue Rolls, 41 Edw. III. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Feb. 15, 1367: grant to Walter Tyrell.

[27] 43 Edw. III, mem. 26.

[28] A papal dispensation was necessary for this marriage, since Anne was related on her mother's side to John Hasting's first wife. Both ladies were of the royal family. See Cal. of Papal Registers, 1368. Kal. July, Montefiascone, f. 50.

[29] *Oeuvres de Froissart* XXII, 341.

[30] Schofield pointed out the similarity between Pearl and the Lady Philosophy of Boethius. PMLA, XIX, 175.

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Elle morut jone et jolie
Environ de vingt-et-deux ans,
Gaie, lie, friche, esbatans,
Douce, simple, d'umble samblance
La bonne dame ot a nom Blance.
J'ai trop perdu en ces deus dames . . ..
Encor ot la noble Royne
Une fille de bonne orine
Ysabiel, et de Couci dame.
Je doi moult bien proyer pour l'ame;
Car je le trouvai moult courtoise
Ancois qu'elle passast oultre Oise.
Le Roy d'Engleterre autant bien.
Son pere me fist ja grant bien,
Car cent florins, tout d'un arroi,
Recue a un seul don dou Roy.

The next patrons are of particular interest to us:

Aussi dou Conte de Herfort
Pris une fois grant reconfort.
Des dons monseigneur de Mauni
Me lo; ne pas ne les reni,
Et son fils de Pennebruc voir
En a moult bien fait son devoir.[31]

Thus a poet who was a follower of John Hastings might easily have come in contact with court personages and with court fashions in poetry, might have known Froissart personally, and might have been thoroughly cognizant of the conventions of the marguerite poetry,[32] and the elegies which were just then so profoundly influencing Chaucer (cf. *The Legend of Good Women* and *The Book of the Duchesse*). That the poet may have known Chaucer, also, seems very likely.[33]

Nine definite figures, then, may have pertinent connections with the poem: Margaret Hastings, who died at two; Margaret,

[31] *Poesies de Froissart*, ed. J. A. Buchon, Paris, 1829, pp. 334-335. A dedication at the head of vol. 4 of the Chronicles in several Mss, refers to Froissart's service of Philippe: "et pour l' amour du service de la noble et vaillant dame a qui j' estoie, tous autres grands seigneurs, ducs, comtes, barons et chevaliers, de quelconques nations qu'ils fussent, m'amoient et me veoient volentiers. . . . " (*Ibid*, 13).

[32] That the Pearl poet may have been influenced by the Marguerite poets was first suggested to us by Professor W. W. Lawrence. For this valuable suggestion and for reading our MS we are deeply indebted to him.

[33] Osgood p. xxi.

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her mother, who was the Countess Pembroke; Edward III, her grandfather; John of Gaunt, her uncle and guardian; John Hastings her father; Anne Mauny, who was her father's second wife; Sir Walter Mauny, the brave knight, father of Anne; Froissart, who enjoyed the patronage of Mauny, Gaunt, and Pembroke; and last, but not least, the poet of *The Pearl* himself. Let us see how certain lines in *The Pearl* suggest facts in the lives of our cast.

The name of the maiden and her earthly estate is probably suggested in the very first line of the poem:

Perle plesaunte to Prynces paye.

Let us venture to read this line as follows:

Margaret, pleasant for Prince's pleasure.

We are justified in translating "Perle" as Margaret, since the popularity of the lapidaries would assuredly have made the meaning of the word familiar at the court of Edward.

This line, then, shows plainly that a child is meant, and if we accept a secondary historical interpretation of the opening line, along with the allegorical one, we many see in it an indication that she was connected with royalty. Even without further clues we might have done well to search household records for a girl of the name of Margaret.

Fortunately, we are saved what might have been an arduous task. Stanza 41 of *The Pearl* contains so much potential biography that it is worth quoting entire. Margaret has just told the dreamer that she is a queen in Heaven. He objects:

That cortayse is to fre of dede,
Yf hyt be soth þat þou coneȝ saye;
Þou lyfed not two ȝer *in* oure þede;
Þou cowþeȝ nev*er* God nauþ*er* plese ne pray,
Ne nev*er* nawþer Pater ne Crede.
& quen mad on þe fyrst day!
I may not traw, so God me spede,
þat God wolde wryþe so wrange away;
Of cou*n*tes, damysel, par ma fay,
Wer fayr *in* heven to halde asstate,
Aþ*er* elleȝ a lady of lasse aray;
Bot a quene!—hit is to dere a date!

This fixes definitely the age of the little girl—she was not quite two years of age when she died.[34] Even allowing for the whimsical

[34] That is, if the poet is to be taken literally.

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tone that the poet assumes toward himself as the dreamer (it is the attitude which Chaucer takes, by the way, in the *Book of the Duchesse*), may there not be a special historical significance in his thought that Pearl is worthy to be a *countess* in heaven, but that to presume to be a queen is preposterous? Was Pearl by any chance a countess in her own right?

Even the poet is a little dubious about this, for he adds, "Or else a lady of less array [than countess]." If these are biographical facts they certainly were definite: the girl Margaret, who died when a mere infant, seems to have some claim to the title of countess, but that title is not clear, even in the mind of the poet.

Little Margaret Hastings may have been "plesaunte to Prynces paye" on earth as well as in Heaven since she was the daughter of Margaret, daughter of Edward III. Furthermore, for a short period after the death of her mother, she was clearly a countess in her own right, there being no other heir to the Pembroke title. But her father was already (in 1368) contemplating marriage with Anne Mauny, and in event of issue therefrom, Margaret Hastings would indeed be a "lady of less array."[35] Here is another indication of the probable subject of the elegy.[36]

When the dreamer first beholds Pearl, she is clad in "araye ryalle" (l. 191), all bedecked with pearls:

> Perleȝ pygte of ryal prys
> Þere mogt mon by grace haf sene,
> Quen þat frech as flor-de-lys
> Doun þe bonke con boȝe bydene.

If "ryal prys" may be translated "of royal worth" or "of royal purchase," it is quite possible that the poet recognized the actual pearls worn by the maiden. Are they perhaps the very pearls which the King gave to her mother and which upon that parent's death had descended to her? This is quite likely. The "araye

[35] Calendar of Papal Registers, 1368, Kal. July, Montefiascone, f. 50.

[36] Whether Margaret Hastings would legally be a "lady of less array" is a question for the lawyers to settle. Our point is that the poet himself is not clear as to what to call her, and cautiously adds this phrase to her title of countess. Perhaps he was not forgetful, either, that "Dame Mary de St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke," her grandmother, wife of Aymer de Valence, was still alive. It should be remembered that his dilemma is the result of trying to give the utmost satisfaction to both the living and the dead, and to use terms that do double duty for spiritual and temporal values. For Mary de St. Pol see *Calendar of Letter Books* (London) H. p. 348.

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ryalle" and the mention of the fleur-de-lys seem to link her definitely with the royal family. Edward III reinforced his claim to the French throne by wearing costumes decorated with the French lily.[37]

Both Gaunt, Margaret's uncle, and Hastings, her father, were in France when the little girl died. This would explain line 211:

Her semblaunt sade for doc or erle.

Here "sade" means "grave" or "concerned" rather than "dejected," its more modern meaning.[38] The line may mean that Margaret's face was grave with anxiety over the safety of Gaunt and Pembroke (perhaps an over-specific interpretation), or it was surprisingly grave for one of the high estate of dukes and earls. "For doc or erle" cannot be a rhyme tag, as Osgood insists (p. 65), for not only does our poet avoid this cheap literary practice, but also he never descends to inanity by giving a line no meaning whatsoever. No better proof of this can be offered than the great variety which he manages to give his refrains. Indeed it is very difficult to fancy what other interpretation could be suggested for the line than the one we have given here.

Assuming for the moment that the maiden *was* Margaret Hastings, we now turn to the question of the identity of the poet. And first let us try to define his precise relationship to the little Countess of Pembroke. He says of her

164 I knew hyr wel, I had sen hyr ere,

and

233 Ho watȝ me nerre þen aunte or nece—

These lines imply that the poet was bound to her by affection, though not necessarily by blood relationship. Moreover, the child speaks to him (l. 439) as "Sir," and he to her as "Damsel" (l. 489), both of them epithets of respect rather than intimacy. It is worth while recording that *damsel* is used as the technical appelation of Margaret, the mother, in the dispensation granted to John to marry a relative of hers after her death: here she is spoken of as "the late Margaret, daughter of King Edward, *damsel*, whom the said earl had married."[39] Here, by the way, is an explanation

[37] The fleur-de-lys appears in profusion upon the seal of John de Hastings. He is the only Pembroke to use it. Cf. *Archæologia*, XXI, 205.

[38] Cf. Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, 2127; *William of Palerne*, 228; and especially *The Destruction of Troy*, 3789, suggested by Osgood.

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for the absence of any reference to the child's mother in the poem: she was dead. Furthermore, the poet would be restrained from any allusion to her by Hastings' impending marriage to Anne Mauny. It has been gratuitously supposed that she was the author's wife and had been unfaithful to him, and that the silence concerning her was a punishment for her misbehavior! The attitude of both Pearl and the poet leads us to suppose that he was a person of some consequence in the Pembroke household, but plainly not the equal of either Margaret in rank.

Finally, our hypothesis of a court poet connected with John Hastings would explain the similarities in literary treatment between *The Pearl* and Chaucer's *Book of the Duchesse* and *Legend of Good Women*, since both men were ultimately affected by the Marquerite poetry of the French.[40] Professor Lowes has already pointed out the importance of this literary convention initiated by Guillaume de Machault so far as Chaucer is concerned, and the details need not be rehearsed here. Suffice it to say that the author of *The Pearl* evidently belonged to the same literary circle, and knew its conventions.[41] Our conclusions about him are curiously in accord with the surmise of Professor Osgood:

> Our poet was a person who had enjoyed great advantages. His reading, both religious and secular, shows this. . . . . His skill in argument, his occasional use of terms as "pretermynable" and "property," indicate a clerk. Along with this is the frequent reflection of the courtly life, and of familiarity with the best manners both of men and women, all of which suggests wide experience in the world, not only at the university, but in noble households. In the best sense our poet was an aristocrat.[42]

II. WHO WROTE *THE PEARL?*

Is it possible to suggest anyone in the circle of John Hastings who might have written the poem? There are some clues to be followed; let us see where they lead. Although the results of our

[39] *Cal. Papal Reg.*, 1368, Kal. July, Montefiascone, f. 50.

[40] For parallels with Chaucer, see Osgood, xxi. See our statement above for comparison of *The Pearl* with Froissart. Note the *Pearl*-poet's use of "mariorys" for either the stone or the flower, lines 206–8.

[41] This was no secret thirty years after the composition of the poem. Observe that in the crude drawings in the MS (f. 38) a large daisy is drawn at the feet of the maiden and another at the feet of her interlocutor.

[42] *Pearl*, Introduction p. liii.

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pursuit may be inconclusive, they are, perhaps, worth recording, if only as hints and suggestions. In the first place, it is highly unlikely that the Earl himself was the poet. The drawings in the MS, though of doubtful authority, represent a man older than Pembroke was at this time. Furthermore, the King's "son" was too busy during the life of his little daughter to have taken more than a conventional interest in her. Finally, the repeated notices of the Count's infidelity to his wife[43] lead us to doubt his interest in his daughter. Nor is John of Gaunt, one-time guardian of her estates, more likely. There is no indication that he was a poet; and during the two years of her life, he was even busier than her father. Neither of these men is of the type of the dreamer. The poet had lamented her alone (because her father and uncle were out of the country, and her mother dead?):

(242) Art þou my Perle þat I haf playned,
Regretted by myn *one* an nyghte?

Yet he had some definite relation to the child:

(233) Ho watz me nerre þen au*n*te or nece.

She was too young to have had a tutor, a person who otherwise might satisfy the requirements. Was the poet, perhaps, her immediate guardian?

This seems so probable that we may profitably inquire who, among Pembroke's followers, was likely to so honored.

Now it happens that John Hastings showed a signal mark of favor to five of his secular clerks just before leaving England in 1369: he enfeoffed them with all his lands,[44] no doubt because he had had proof of their singular attainments and because he could trust them. Perhaps he had given his little daughter into the charge of one of them two years before. The names of these men are Walter Amyas, John Abraham, John Donne, David Perkyns, and John Pratt. Is it possible to pick Margaret Hastings' guardian among these men?

Concerning David Perkyns, we have been able to discover nothing; nor of John Abraham. Walter Amyas is described in the Pembroke records as "his clerk, attorney-general of the said earl"[45]—certainly a position of trust. In the different royal records Amyas'

[43] E.g., in *The Brut of Engelonde*, EETS
[44] Close Roll, 49 Edw. III, mem. 23.
[45] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 42 Edw. III, mem. 23.

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name must appear more than thirty times, but always in a legal capacity. There is nothing to indicate that he was a poet.

Another name in the list of Hastings' clerks, however, seems to promise better results. In 1368, when Hastings was contemplating a second marriage, John of Gaunt became little Margaret's legal guardian. But John of Gaunt himself, being forced because of the wars in France in 1368–9 to be out of the country, must have had something to do with the appointment of her guardian *pro tempore*. Of Hastings' clerks, we can more easily determine the one whom Gaunt probably selected. In that invaluable register of his an entry appears, twice recorded, in which he refers to one of Pembroke's clerks as "nostre ame vallet Johan de Donne" and presents him with the living from a valuable estate in the "Rape de Hastynes, County Sussex."[46] No other clerk of Hastings' can be connected with Gaunt in any way. Is it not possible that John Donne was appointed guardian of the child, and that this living was Gaunt's acknowledgement for that service?

Donne's name indicates that his family came originally from Wales or Western England. John Donne, the Elizabethan poet, came of a family of Welsh extraction, using the same coat of arms as did Sir Edward Dwnn in the fifteenth century.[47] Finally the phrase "nostre ame vallet," used by Gaunt in referring to Donne, would indicate special favor, and is not dissimilar to the "noster delectus valet" used by Edward III of the poet Geoffrey Chaucer. There seems to be some reason for suggesting John Donne as both the guardian and the poet. He is at least the most likely of the men surrounding Pembroke and Gaunt of whom we have been able to find some record. Further trace of him may be more fittingly presented in connection with another poem attributed to the author of *The Pearl*.

III. *SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*

Of the three other poems in the manuscript of *The Pearl*, generally conceded to be by the same author, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is most deserving of our attention for the light it sheds on the authorship of *The Pearl*. It has generally been conjectured that this delightful romance is a poem connected with the Order of

[46] *Op. cit.*, Entries 496, 497.
[47] *D.N.B.*, "John Donne."

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the Garter,[48] and that it was written for the festivities attending the annual feast of that order on St. George's day, April 23, probably in 1370.[49]

The possible allusions to the Garter in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* are many. Its closing line is followed by the famous motto of that order,[50] "Honi soit qui mal y pense," the presence of which can hardly be explained unless it has some connection with the poem. Further details suggest that it was no mere caprice. In the poem the benchers about Arthur seem to the Green Knight to be "bot berdlez chylder" (l. 280). This suggests that the most conspicuous rank of them are but novitiates. Gawain quite decidedly is a neophyte—the weakest of all the assembly, he tells the king (l. 354). This, the reader will admit, is not the true Gawain of song and legend. Furthermore, the Green Knight is armed with an axe so decorated that it suggests a rod or instrument of initiation:

> Wyth tryed tasseleȝ þerto tacched innoghe
> On botoun of þe bryȝt grene brayden ful ryche (ll. 219–220.)

The year and a day which elapses in the poem resembles the year of good conduct not infrequently required of an aspirant to a secret order. The device of the pentangle (emblematic of the five knightly virtues) is the insignia, perhaps, of that order. Finally, the chastity tests followed by the ineffectual strokes of the Green Knight suggest the trials and ceremonial stroke of initiation (similar, for example, to the dubbing of a knight). That these things may have other than this significance is cause for concern only to one not acquainted with the possibility of manifold allegory in medieval poetry. The point to be noted here is the obvious connection of this poem with some secret order.

That this order was that of the Garter is perhaps indicated by the fact that after the third chastity test Gawain puts on a complete costume very like that worn by the Knights at this period, 1370–5:[51]

[48] John Manly, *Some New Light on Chaucer*, p. 69; I. Jackson in *Anglia*, XXXVII, 395.

[49] John Hastings had been admitted to the Order of the Garter in December, 1369. A poet of his household could hardly have been interested before then. In 1370 Hastings, Mauny, and Gaunt were all listed for robes. (Cf. G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, xiii and 8.)

[50] Beltz, p. xiii.

[51] Beltz, pp. 3–9; Manly, 60. Note the actual vestments—cloak, hood, surcoat and garter. The color of these garments changed yearly, though blue predominated. It was the order of the *Blue* Garter (Froissart C. 213).

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> He were a bleaunt of blwe þat bradde to þe erthe,
> His surkot semed hym wel þat softe wat3 forred,
> And his hode of þat ilke henged on his schulder,
> Blande al of blaunner were baþe al aboute (ll. 1928–31).

The green girdle placed about Gawain's waist by Bercilak's wife brings to mind the wearing of the girdle about the waist by the knights of that order,[52] while Arthur's command that it shall be worn as a baldric suggests (though less accurately) the collar with the ornaments and long braid, also a feature of the Garter costume. It should be remembered that Arthur was holding a fifteen-day feast when these events took place, just as the Garter festivities customarily lasted fifteen days, according to Froissart.[53]

Nor must it be forgotten that the patron saint of the Garter was St. George, for in the two versions of the St. George legend, both current in England at this time, there was sufficient similarity of chivalric theme for the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* to feel that his romance would be appropriate to the Garter festivities. In the more popular medieval version, which represents St. George as a knightly and adventurous sort of person, the hero beheads a dragon which he finds in a wild, marshy place. Moreover, he instructs the princess to pass a girdle about the monster, thus rendering it harmless and "docile as a hound."[54] These are some of the traits which may have caused the author to choose the Gawain and Green Knight story for a Garter poem. We should not for a moment maintain that the St. George legend is an analogue or source for the story of *Gawain and the Green Knight*, but we do believe that it suggested to the poet the fitness of the Gawain story for the festivities about St. George's day.

All studies of *Gawain and the Green Knight* lead one ultimately, of course, to a consideration of the Beheading Game episode in the Irish story of Bricriu's Feast. There are seven analogues in medieval romance, of which *Gawain* is but one. These seven have been studied in detail by Professor Kittredge,[55] and more recently by Professor Loomis,[56] who has pointed out details of remarkably close similarity between the English and Irish versions, including

[52] Beltz, p. lii.

[53] Chapter 213.

[54] S. Baring Gould, *The Lives of the Saints*, IV, 305. See also Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, EETS.

[55] G. L. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, Cambridge, 1916.

[56] Roger S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, New York, 1927.

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some that do not appear in the French. He identifies Curoi in the guise of the *bachlach* (churl) with the green Sir Berkilak, and suggests that the combination of the beheading game with the tale of the Green Knight's wife may already have been made in Ireland and that all seven medieval versions are independently derived.

It is easy to become involved in a maze of tenuous possibilities and conjectures, and many of these details may seem quite irrelevant to the problem of the authorship of *The Pearl*. But we give them for what they are worth, as suggestions which may lead others to more definite results than we have obtained. And one of these suggestions does connect Pembroke's household with story-tellers in Ireland. It was not difficult for a poet and clerk in the employ of Pembroke to obtain some version (possibly in French)[57] directly from Ireland. During this period Edward III insisted that all the English landholders in Ireland lend aid in person or by attorney[58] to the lieutenant governor. Now Pembroke was frequently represented by proxy in Ireland, his attorneys usually being his clerks.[59] From 1367 to 1369 inclusive the lieutenant governor of Ireland was the very picturesque character, Gerald Fitzgerald, Count Desmond, of whom the following sketch is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography:*

> The Irish annalists are enthusiastic in his praise. The "Four Masters" describe him as "a cheerful and courteous man, *who excelled all the English and many of the Irish in the knowledge of the Irish language, poetry, and history.*" (IV, 761; cf. note on p. 760.) He was called "Gerald the poet," and some short French verses attributed to him still survive in the "Book of Ross or Waterford," in Harl. MS 913 f 15^b, with the title "Proverbia Comitis Desmond." The point of these is not very evident beyond an ingenious play upon words (Croker, *Popular Songs of Ireland*, p. 287). He is also described as a mathematician and magician. He died in 1398, but the Munster peasantry long believed that he had only disappeared beneath the waters of Lough Air, near Limerick, and that every seven years he revisited its castle.[60]

Here is an Englishman in Ireland who would be as likely as anyone to know the original combination of the Beheading Game and

[57] Though not a necessary step, this would explain many of the differences in the Kittredge and Loomis theories.

[58] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Articles: Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Gerald Fitzgerald, Sir William de Windsor.

[59] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 43 Ed. III, Mar. 8, 1369; also *Cal. Papal Rolls*, Mar. 13, 1371.

[60] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Gerald Fitzgerald."

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Chastity Test. And certainly Pembroke's clerks in Ireland were in constant touch with him. If all of these "if's" hold, the clerks could have brought home to the poet in their own household the original legend of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* which they learned of or obtained through Gerald Fitzgerald. The consummate art with which he eventually handled it is no more than one would expect from the poet who had written *The Pearl*. But this point is extraneous to our main argument.

To return to more definite connections. The production of a poem especially suited for a feast of the Garter on St. George's day, in 1370, suggests in the poet a person closely associated with the English court, even if he was also closely associated with Pembroke. Now at least two of those clerks of Pembroke whom we have already considered as possible authors of *The Pearl*, found high employment in Edward's court while their master was in France. These were John Donne and John Prat, and it remains for us to marshall and record what little evidence we can concerning them. The latter became the "King's minstrel," while the former was appointed "valet of the King's kitchen"—which meant that he held himself ready to supply whatever entertainment the King demanded.

Two entries concerning these men, both from the Issue Roll, 44 Edward III, are valuable enough to quote in full:

Thursday, 25 April

To John Donne, valet of the King's kitchen, to whom the Lord the King, by his letters patent, lately granted 60 s yearly, to be received at the Exchequer during his life, for the good service rendered by him to the same Lord the King. In money paid to him, in discharge of the 30 s payable to him for his allowance—to wit, at Easter Term past, by his Writ of *Liberate*, amongst the mandates of this Term 1.10.0

Tuesday, 30 Day of April

To John Prat, the King's minstrel, to whom the Lord the King, by his letters patent, lately granted 7½ d. daily, to be received at the Exchequer during his life, for the good service rendered by him to the same Lord the King. In money delivered to him, in discharge of his same wages—to wit, from 1st day of October last past unto last day of March following, for 182 days, counting each day, by his writ current of Privy Seal, amongst the mandates of Michealmas Term last past, with the names of many others 5.12.9[61]

[61] See also entries of October 12 and Nov. 8, Issue Rolls 44 Ed. III.

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Here we find two of Pembroke's former clerks, Donne and Prat, appearing in court records of the year in which we should naturally look for the composition of *Gawain*. Is either of these men likely to have been the author of *The Pearl*? If so, which one? It may seem fantastic to attempt any answer to these questions. Even if we could be certain beyond a doubt that the subject of *The Pearl* is Pembroke's daughter; even if the author of the poem was demonstrably connected with Pembroke as clerk, we should have too little evidence about the clerks themselves to choose our man. This much may be said, however: we have seen that John Donne held positions of honor and responsibility under both Pembroke and John of Gaunt, and received rewards for them, and that the court entry concerning him is dated just after the feast of St. George. These are indications in his favor, especially since no other clerk of Pembroke appears in the service of John of Gaunt at the time when the latter was concerned with the affairs of Margaret Hastings. On the other hand, John Prat is definitely mentioned as the "King's minstrel"—which sounds much more like a poet than "valet of the King's kitchen!" The question must necessarily remain an open one. We can merely present such evidence as we have been able to gather, hoping that another investigator may begin where we have been compelled to stop, and settle the matter once for all. It is to be observed, however, that the case of Margaret Hastings as the subject of *The Pearl* is not dependent on the authorship of the poem by any one clerk whose name is known to us. We await eagerly the positive demonstration which we feel is most likely to come along the lines indicated here.

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III

WAS GILBERT PILKINGTON AUTHOR OF THE *SECUNDA PASTORUM*?

IN HIS recent paper, "The Authorship of the *Secunda Pastorum*"[1] Mr. Oscar Cargill brings forward an entirely new suggestion. Observing that the same bob-wheel stanza is used in the burlesque poem known as the *Turnament of Totenham*,[2] he makes a detailed comparison with the Towneley Play which discloses a series of striking similarities in humor and in characterization as well as in metre and language. The reader's surprise when these resemblances are called to his attention is quickly succeeded by astonishment that they had not been observed previously. On the basis of these similarities Mr. Cargill very plausibly concludes that the *Turnament* is also the work of the Wakefield playwright. And whatever difficulties one may find in following the further steps in Mr. Cargill's argument, he deserves the thanks of all students of the early drama for throwing this new light on the activities of the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*.

But having gone thus far, Mr. Cargill wishes, if possible, to find a name for his author. The Wakefield playwright, of course, is anonymous: nor is any name attached to the several texts of the *Turnament*. But among the MSS of the *Turnament* Mr. Cargill notes one, a well-known miscellany in the Cambridge University Library, which includes also a text of the *Northern Passion*.[3] At the end of this poem, though not at the end of the *Turnament*, appears the name Gilbert Pilkington. From the appearance of this name in this single MS, he draws the threefold inference: (1) Pilkington was the author of the *Northern Passion*; (2) he was, therefore, the author of the *Turnament*, to which his name is *not* attached; (3) he was also, *ex hypothesi*, the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*. This conclusion, however, is one which must be carefully examined.

Pilkington's supposed authorship of the *Northern Passion* is based on the colophon attached to the poem in Cambridge University MS Ff. 5. 48:

[1] *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 810–31.

[2] Percy's *Reliques* (Edinburgh 1858), II, 10–20; Hazlitt's *Remains of Early Pop Poetry* (London 1866), III, 82–97.

[3] See the description in my ed. of the *Northern Passion*, E. E. T. S., Or. Ser. 147, p. 14.

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Explicit Passio D*omi*ni
no*str*i ih*es*u chr*ist*i Q*uo*d D*omin*us Gilbert*us*
Pylkyngton Amen.

Thus far the colophon is in large letters: below in smaller letters is added:

Finis adest mete venit explicit *er*go valete[4]

The first point to be determined is whether "Quod Dominus Gilbertus Pylkyngton" denotes author or scribe. Previous to Mr. Cargill, authorities have said scribe;[5] but he points out with reason that a scribe would scarcely sign his name in the middle of a manuscript and nowhere else. Accordingly, this colophon must have been copied into Ff. 5. 48 from an earlier MS. The question then arises whether Pilkington was author of the *Passion* or merely the scribe of this earlier MS. The words "Quod Dominus Gilbertus Pylkyngton" might, of course, denote the author, as Mr. Cargill shows by reference to the *New English Dictionary*.[6] On the other hand, *quod* was also frequently used with regard to a scribe: "Explicit quod lewestoñ" after Chaucer's *Compleynt to his Empty Purse* in Cambridge University MS Ff. 1. 6,[7] and in MSS described by Mr. Herbert in the *Catalogue of Romances*, "Quod Impingham":[8] "Amen quod Johannes Smyth":[9] "Quod frater Johannes Englys ord. pred.";[10] "Quod Broun".[11] A closer parallel to the phrasing in MS Ff. 5. 48 is the colophon "Expliciunt Gesta Romanorum Quod R" in Hereford Cathedral Library MS O.iii.5.[12] A more expanded formula, recognized by Horstmann as scribal, is found in Cambridge University MS Dd.1.1 at the end of the *Northern Homily Collection:*

[4] Mr. Cargill's statement: "The colophon appears on fol. 47 in a MS of 132 leaves" (p. 827) is slightly in error. The MS has 140 leaves, and the colophon is on fol. 43a.

[5] Mr. Cargill (p. 826) quotes Hartshorne; see also Sir Sidney Lee, *D.N.B.*, XLV (1896), p. 293.

[6] P. 826, note 26.

[7] Professor C. S. Northup of Cornell University found this reference for me in Flügel's *Concordance to Chaucer*. The stroke over the *n* is not given in Miss Hammond's *Bibliographical Manual*, p. 392.

[8] J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* III (London 1910), 254.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 336.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 521 and cf. p. 315.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 622, 637.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

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Dominicalia evangelia et miracula valde bona et notabilia in lingua Anglicana, quod Staundon. Dives divitias non congregat absque dolore, Non tenet absque metu, nec deserit absque dolore, quod Staundone.[13]

Furthermore, the "ergo valete," which Mr. Cargill states was not the usual farewell of a scribe, occurs as a scribal addition to the "Alphabetum Narrationum" of B. M. Additional MS 25,179:

> Finis adest mete. nunc explicit ergo valete.
> Pro merce tali; nunquam tantum calamavi.
> Sed retributum; fore largum. iam puto tutum.
> Preco Dei narrat. quod quarcus ego vocor errat.[14]

In this case certainly the Latin quotation seems to have been added by a weary scribe concluding his labors. The colophon to the *Passion*, then, might refer either to author or to scribe.

Nevertheless, the use of the title *Dominus* and the elaborate capitals in which the name is displayed make it probable that the scribe who copied Pilkington's name in MS Ff. 5. 48 in the colophon of the *Northern Passion* understood him to be the author of that poem.

It is doubful, however, whether the ascription in this MS can be regarded as possessing any authority. Pilkington's name is lacking in the other eight MSS[15] of the *Northern Passion* so that the ascription to him rests on the unsupported testimony of this single MS, which, according to Sir James Murray, was written in "the middle of the 15th century."[16] Not only is Cambridge University MS Ff. 5. 48 a late MS, but it offers a decidedly poor text of the *Northern Passion*.[17] When the relationship of the MSS. of this poem is examined, it appears that the existing Cambridge MS (**F**) was copied from a lost MS (**d**), which was copied from another lost MS, which may have been copied from the original. Very likely still other MSS actually intervened, but **F** was at least three removes from the original, and over a hundred years later. It is unlikely that five other MSS (**D, I, Ad, G_5,** and **G_1**), all presenting a better text than **F**, should have omitted an author's signature which **F** alone preserved. Much more probably a MS intermediate

[13] Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg., neue Folge* (1881), pp. lxvii, lxix.

[14] *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 440.

[15] I exclude the two fragmentary MSS, which do not contain the end of the *Passion*; see EETS, Or. Ser. 147, pp. 9–17.

[16] *Thomas of Erceldoune*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, EETS, Or. Ser. 61, p. lvii.

[17] EETS, Or. Ser. 147, pp. 39–41, 47.

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between **d** and **F** was signed by Gilbertus Pilkington; and the scribe of **F** copied the signature, perhaps himself believing that he was naming the author.[18] At all events, the evidence of the Cambridge MS is not sufficient to establish Gilbert Pilkington as the author of the *Northern Passion;* and unless he wrote the *Passion*, no reason remains for connecting his name with the *Turnament* and the *Secunda Pastorum.*

Conceding, however, for the sake of argument, that Pilkington was the author of the *Northern Passion*, what reason is there for regarding the *Turnament* as the work of the same person? Mr. Cargill summarizes his argument under four heads: "(1) from tradition, (2) inclusion in the same manuscript, (3) use of alliterative verse, and (4) antagonism to romance materials."[19] These four points may be briefly considered.

(1) The "tradition" that Pilkington was the author of the *Turnament* consists in the fact that it was ascribed to him in 1631 by William Bedwell, who first printed this poem. But apparently Mr. Cargill failed to observe that Hartshorne had already called in question Bedwell's authority for this statement:

> Bedwell, we are told, held this poem to have been written by one Gilbert Pilkington, thought to have been sometime parson of Tottenham, and author of another poem entitled "Passio domini Jesu Christi." From these circumstances I apprehend that Bedwell published from this very MS and that his authority for attributing either poem to Pilkington was no other than the rubric before noticed.[20]

In other words, the "tradition" recorded by Bedwell appears to be nothing more than an inference based upon the colophon in the Cambridge MS. And it has been rejected—probably on this ground—by Sir Sidney Lee in his article on Gilbert Pilkington.[21]

[18] Mr. Cargill (p. 819) accepts my statement that the dialect of **F** is of the northern part of the West Midlands, and implies that very little difference would be evident between the speech of western Lancashire and that of the East Riding of Yorkshire. Since Mr. Cargill and I agree that the scribe found Pilkington's name in his copy, the real question is not the dialect of **F**, but of the *Passion* itself. A study of the rime-words (EETS, Or. Ser. 147, pp. 21–22) indicates that the *Passion* may have come from the district around Wakefield; but since it shows none of the fifteenth-century characteristics noted below, the language, as well as other considerations, indicates an earlier date than the *Secunda Pastorum.*

[19] Art. cited, p. 829.

[20] C. H. Hartshorne, *Anc. Met. Tales* (London, 1829), p. xiv.

[21] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XV, 293.

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(2) "Inclusion in the same manuscript"—Mr. Cargill's second point in support of Pilkington's authorship of the *Turnament*—is even less satisfactory evidence. MS Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 48, as described by Hartshorne, contains no less than twenty-seven pieces of verse, of which the *Northern Passion* is No. 5 and the *Turnament* No. 12. Among the contents of this MS are, on the religious side, Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests* and several pieces from the *South English Legendary* and, on the secular side, a *Riming Chronicle of England, The Mourning of the Hare, Thomas of Erceldoune* and *Robin Hood and the Monk*. The mere inclusion of two poems in such an extensive miscellany offers no basis whatever for suspecting identical authorship unless confirmed by other considerations.

(3) Mr. Cargill asserts that the *Northern Passion* "has the same alliterative characteristics"[22] which appear in the *Secunda Pastorum* and the *Turnament*. The characteristic alliteration in these two poems, as he defines it elsewhere, is as follows:

> The scansion of the line is determined usually by the alliterative syllables, as in Anglo-Saxon poetry, with the single exception that the riming syllable always seems to demand a stress of its own.[23]

The system of alliteration used in the *Turnament* will be sufficiently illustrated by a four-line quotation:

> There was many [a] bold lad ther bodyes to bede:
> Than they toke thayr leve, and homward they yede:
> And all the weke afterward graythed ther wede,
> Tyll it come to the day, that thay suld do ther dede.[24]

When the alliteration in the *Northern Passion* is examined, however, a different situation appears. Usually only two words in a line alliterate, and many lines have no alliteration. The opening lines afford a fair sample:

> Lystenys now I wyll 3owe tell
> Of mykell pyte I may 3ow spell
> Off ihesu þat all hase wroght
> And sythen owre sawles full dere boght
> For he wald noght oure saules tyne
> Wyth-owten sakke he tholyd pyne

[22] P. 823.
[23] P. 818.
[24] Percy's *Reliques* (Edinburgh 1858), II, 13.

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Thys passion I wald ȝhowe tell
Þare-on me must a stund dwell
Als Mathew Marke luke & Iohn
Þare-in acordys in-tyll one
For to fulfyll þe hald lawys
He fasted fully fourty dawys.[25]

This is far from the rich alliteration of the nine-line stanza; it is no more than might be expected in any Northern poem. In fact, more copious alliteration appears in the opening lines of the *Cursor Mundi*:

Man yhernes rimes for to here,
And romans red on maneres sere,
Of Alisaundur þe conquerour;
Of Iuly Cesar þe emparour;
O Grece and troy the strang strijf,
Þere many thosand lesis þer lijf;
O brut þat bern bald of hand,
Þe first conquerour of Ingland;
O king arthour þat was so rike,
Quam non in hys tim was like,
O ferlys at hys knythes fell,
Þat aunters sere I here of tell. (1–12)[26]

No one would argue that the alliterative characteristics of the *Cursor*, called by Mr. Cargill "a thoroughly conventional piece of work,"[27] approach those of the *Turnament*; and the couplets of the *Northern Passion* are even less marked by alliteration. Clearly the verse of the *Passion* does not connect it with the author of the *Turnament of Totenham*.

(4) As for "antagonism to romance materials," it is in a sense true that the author of the *Northern Passion* intended his poem as "a counterblast to the popular romance."[28] So did any adaptor of Biblical stories for a popular audience. The *Cursor Mundi*, for example, expresses much more pronounced opposition to the romances in lines following those quoted above.[29] Yet a distinction should be made between antagonism to romance expressed by a straightforward narration of Bible stories, and antagonism which shows a consciousness of the romance manner. Herod's directions to his "knyghts" about slaughtering the Innocents[30] rather

[25] EETS, Or. Ser. 145, pp. 3–5.
[26] EETS, Or. Ser. 57, p. 8.
[27] P. 816.
[28] Cargill, p. 823.
[29] EETS, Or. Ser. 57, vv. 1–72.
[30] Cargill, p. 824.

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definitely imitate the style of the romances, and the *Turnament of Totenham* ridicules both the style and the subject matter. In the *Northern Passion*, on the other hand, specifically romance devices are not used either seriously or humorously.

The evidence, then, which attributes the *Turnament* and the *Passion* to the same author is quite unconvincing. And if the *Secunda Pastorum* is considered along with the *Turnament*, the contrast to the *Passion* is even more striking. Where in the *Northern Passion* are the signs of "genuine ability in handling comic situations" and an "interest in the realistic portrayal of native characters"?[31] Even in such a likely incident as the story of the smith's wife forging the nails,[32] the additions of the Englishman to his French source show no sense of humor and little that can be called realism. To be sure, it might be argued that in an early translation from the French the author failed to show his latent humorous and realistic ability; but in the *Northern Passion* I fail to detect even a latent sense of humor. Without stronger evidence than has been presented, I cannot attribute the mildly conventional *Passion* to so vigorous and original a talent as the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*.[33]

[31] Cargill, p. 813.

[32] *Northern Passion*, EETS, Or. Ser. 147, pp. 169–73.

[33] In an addendum (p. 831) Mr. Cargill finds additional proof for Pilkington's authorship of the Towneley Play in Miss Lyle's discussion of the *Northern Passion* and the Towneley Passion group (Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, VIII, 3, 1919). The following points deserve mention. (1) The *Passion* is not "employed extensively in four plays in the cycle." A critical examination of Miss Lyle's parallels on pages 5–28 indicates that extensive parallels are found in Towneley XX (*Conspiracy*, though she does not cite the closest parallel of all; see EETS, Or. Ser. 147, p. 87); and fewer parallels in XXII (*Scourging*) and XXIII (*Crucifixion*). Those in XXI (*Buffeting*) are negligible. Mr. Cargill is right that my statement in the *Northern Passion* introduction needs qualification; it should read (p. 86): "Except in passages due to York influence, the debt of the Towneley cycle to the *Passion* is confined to Play XX." (2) The form of the *Passion* used in the "Pilkington stanza sections" of the Towneley plays is not the original version found with Pilkington's name in Cambridge University MS Ff. 5. 48, but the later expanded form of some MSS of the *Northern Homily Collection* (see EETS, Or. Ser. 147, pp. 3–6). If the parallels between the *Passion* and the Towneley plays proved identity of authorship, they would indicate that the Wakefield master is not Gilbert Pilkington but the editor of the *Northern Homily Collection* in Harleian MS 4196. (3) "Professor Cady's theory that the couplets and quatrains are editorial" (*JEGP*, X, 572) has been refuted by Mrs. Frank, "Revisions in the English Mystery Plays" (*Modern Philology*, XV, 565–72)

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Furthermore, the dating of the Wakefield master's work is an important consideration. Mr. Cargill places the *First* and *Second Shepherd's Plays* as early as 1355,[34] his only positive evidence being references in the plays to burdensome taxation, sheep rot, and perhaps to the Black Death. These passages, however, are general in nature, and seem to Mr. Pollard consistent with the state of the country fifty years later.[35] Mr. Cargill also states that the date 1355 "brings the plays into the general period of cycle composition in England."[36] By this I suppose he means the formative stage of the cycles, not the long period of the revisions which were made before our fifteenth (or sixteenth) century manuscripts. When was this formative stage? The Chester cycle, the most homogeneous of the four, has sometimes been dated as early as 1327[37]; but the relation of the vernacular source, the *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, to Higden's *Polychronicon* implies a later date, probably well within the second half of the century.[38] For the York Plays Miss Smith's date of 1340–50 has been generally accepted.[39] And Pollard places the beginning of the Towneley Plays not long after.[40] The formative period, then, might roughly be stated as 1340–60. But the Wakefield master's work is not part of the original Towneley Cycle. Students recognize at least three stages in the development of the cycle[41]: an original group of plays in couplets and familiar six-line stanzas, a later borrowing from York (or a septenar revision), and a still later addition of plays in the complicated stanza of the *Secunda Pastorum*. Clearly even if the original Towneley plays were as early as 1340–50, the work of the Wakefield master in the last stage of development would not belong to 1355.

In connection with Mr. Cargill's effort to assign a definite date to these plays, Miss Lyle's suggested date for an earlier stage in the cycle may be examined. She believes that the separation of

[34] Pp. 811–12.

[35] EETS, Ex. Ser. LXXI, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

[36] P. 812.

[37] Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage* (Oxford 1903), II, 145; Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers* (New York 1907), 130–33.

[38] EETS, Or. Ser. 166, pp. xlii–xliii.

[39] Gayley, p. 133; Pollard, *English Miracle Plays* (Oxford 1898), p. xxi, gives 1360.

[40] EETS, Ex. Ser. LXXI, p. xxviii.

[41] *Op. cit.*, pp. xxvii–xxviii; Marie C. Lyle, *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles* (Research Pub. Univ. Minn. VIII, 3, 1919), pp. 100–1.

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the Parent Cycle into York and Towneley had taken place before 1390; that is, that what Pollard called the stage of York borrowing was over by that date.[42] Obviously convenient as such a specific date is, the evidence for it must be carefully scrutinized. There are two steps in her reasoning: (1) where one play in Towneley corresponds to two or more in York, Towneley represents the more primitive stage; and (2) the Towneley Creation play had by 1390 been split up into six York plays. Both statements are based on insufficient evidence.

(1) Miss Lyle states: "Some intermediate stage, like that to be seen in the Towneley cycle, must have intervened between the stage represented by true-Coventry and that represented by York in 1415. In certain parts of the Towneley cycle, it is possible to see that stage of development, in which the earlier plays had already begun to break up, but had not yet reached the highly developed stage represented by the Burton lists. The incidents presented in the Towneley Creation group are elaborated into six distinct plays in York, and the Towneley Passion group of four plays into eight plays in York. Single Towneley plays have been separated into two or three distinct pageants in York: the Towneley *Conspiracy* into three, the Towneley *Scourging* into two, the Towneley *Crucifixion* into two, the Towneley *Resurrection* into two, the Towneley *Magi* into two, and the Towneley *Noah* into two. It thus becomes evident that the Towneley cycle represents that intermediate stage of development through which the York cycle must surely have passed before it reached its present highly developed stage."[43] There are, then, seven Towneley plays which she believes were broken up into two or more plays in the York cycle at some time before 1390. This may be true for the *Noah* play (Towneley III, York VIII–IX), though our Towneley *Noah* has been rewritten by the Wakefield master and so is not itself part of the original cycle[44]; also for the *Magi* (Towneley XIV, York XVI–XVII), except that the splitting of the play into two

[42] *Op. cit.*, pp. 107–8. Miss Lyle's theory is not really so different from Pollard's as at first sight appears. For according to her the parent cycle was formed at York (p. 106) and the Wakefield crafts used the existing York cycle as a basis for theirs; that is, instead of "borrowing" five separate plays, they borrowed the whole set and adapted it to their needs. Since Wakefield was a smaller town with less highly developed crafts, they would need to condense several York plays into one, and thus a play like the Towneley *Creation* might result.

[43] P. 107.

[44] Lyle, pp. 87–90.

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occurred not before 1390 but as late as 1431[45]; and probably for the *Crucifixion* (Towneley XXIII, York XXXV–XXXVI).[46] But in the *Conspiracy* (Towneley XX, York XXVI–XXVIII), the *Resurrection* (Towneley XXVI, York XXXVIII–XXXIX), the *Creation* (Towneley I, York I–VI)[47] and perhaps the *Scourging* (Towneley XXII, York XXXIII-XXXIV),[48] the structure of Towneley is such as to suggest the joining of at least two earlier plays. This is proved for the *Conspiracy*,[49] and accepted by Pollard and Miss Lyle herself for the *Resurrection*.[50] In other words, Miss Lyle's statement that Towneley represents a more primitive stage of cycle development rests on slender evidence. Rather certain of the Towneley plays appear to be an amalgamation and revision of a stage where there were more crafts and more plays.

(2) The Creation group is important to Miss Lyle in determining her date: she needs to show that a parent-cycle play covering the Creation through the Expulsion from Eden is found in Towneley I; and that York Plays I–VI are a division of some such play. Yet the Towneley *Creation* bears evidence not of homogeneity but of revision and combination, as may be seen from the following analysis:

Towneley I		*York*
1- 60 (aabccb)	The Creation, to the fifth day	II Plasterers
61-161 (couplets and stanzas)	The Creation and the Fall of Lucifer	I Barkers
162-197 (aabccb)	God creates Adam and Eve	III Cardmakers
198-249 (couplets)	God puts Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden	IV Fullers
250–end (couplets)	Man's disobedience and fall from Eden	V Coopers
(A gap in the MS)	Adam and Eve driven from Eden	VI Armourers

Surely it is more reasonable to suppose that the Towneley author was combining a series of separate plays such as we find at York

[45] *Op. cit.*, pp. 56–60.

[46] *Op. cit.*, pp. 83–4.

[47] See next paragraph.

[48] The first part treating of the actual scourging has been rewritten by the Wakefield master. At stanza 28, the beginning of the *processus crucis*, the scene changes, John enters with a speech that might well be an introduction to a new play, and the metre is different.

[49] EETS, Ex. Ser. LXXI, pp. xxiii, xxvi.

[50] Lyle, pp. 47–8, 84–5; EETS, Ex. Ser. LXXI, p. xx.

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and at Beverley,[51] than to insist that the heterogeneous Towneley play was "elaborated into six distinct plays in York."[52] Now unless the Towneley cycle does represent an intermediate stage before York, the date 1390 has no significance. How does Miss Lyle arrive at that date? Since in 1390 the York Plasterers mention payment toward their pageant and the Cardmakers toward theirs in 1397, each must have had a separate pageant in 1390; that is, York II (*The Creation to the Fifth Day*) was separate from York III (*God Creates Adam and Eve*).[53] Yet if this kind of argument is legitimate, it leads to some curious conclusions. In 1388(?) the Fletchers mention payment toward their pageant and in 1395 the Bowers toward theirs[54]: did the two have separate pageants in 1388? Was York XXIX (the *Denial and Caiphas*) two plays in 1388? Furthermore, in 1394 the Glasiers paid toward their pageant and the Sadlers towards theirs in 1398[55]; does that mean that the *Harrowing of Hell* (York XXXVII) was two plays in 1394? But according to Miss Lyle, this play had its present shape before 1390.[56] A more reasonable interpretation of the items in the craft records is that "al oeps de lour pagyne de Corpore Christi" sometimes refers to a pageant shared with another craft. Of course I am not denying that the York Creation plays (like the Beverley) were separate at an early date; I am contending that Miss Lyle's 1390 has no significance in reasoning out the formation of the Towneley cycle.

If, then, in attempting to date the Towneley Plays we find Mr. Cargill's suggestion of 1355 far too early for the Wakefield master, and Miss Lyle's 1390 as the separation of York and Towneley meaningless, what evidence may be found, especially for the Wakefield master's work? Difficult as it is to discriminate in fifteenth-century manuscripts, an application of language tests[57] may indicate on which side of 1400 the *Secunda Pastorum* belongs. Open *e* is confused with close *e*, since *bemeyne* 55 (O.E. bimænan) rhymes with *kene* (O.E. cēne); *mene* 130 with *keyn* and *weyn* (O.E. wēnan); and clene 709 (O.E. clæne) with *meyne* and *teyn*

[51] See the list in Chambers, II, 340.

[52] Lyle, p. 107.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Lyle, p. 103.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Op. cit.*, pp. 46, 107.

[57] See *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York 1909), III, 502–3 and Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford 1904), VI, xl–xli.

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(O.E. tēona). Syllabic *e* is disregarded when *skard* 289 (pa. pple.) rimes with *hard*, *shepard*, and *hederward*; and in 648 with *upward* and *gard*. Uncertainty as to *gh* appears in *syght* 284 riming with *lyft* and *shyft*, though *syghtys* 137 rimes with *nyghtys*, *lyghtys*, and *wyghtys*. In other plays usually attributed to the Wakefield master may be found the same characteristics.[58] The lateness of these forms militates against Mr. Cargill's suggestion of 1355 for the *Secunda Pastorum*, but fits neatly with Pollard's dating in the first decade of the fifteenth century.[59]

If, then, the *Northern Passion* belongs to the first third of the fourteenth century, and the *Second Shepherd's Play* to the early part of the fifteenth, clearly they are not by the same author; and if Gilbert Pilkington wrote the *Passion*, he is obviously not to be identified with the Wakefield master. As to the *Turnament of Totenham*, Mr. Cargill proves convincingly its marked similarities in spirit and style with the *Second Shepherd's Play*, but only the most far-fetched analogy to the *Passion*. And an examination of the rime-words of the *Turnament* shows close kinship with the Towneley play, including the characteristically fifteenth century forms. We find *bede* 119 (O.E. bēodan) riming with *lede* (O.E. laedan); the past participle *spared* 86 riming with *rereward*; and *foght* 168 riming with *oloft* and *croft*, though elsewhere *-ght* rimes more regularly.[60] There is, however, one marked peculiarity of the Towneley play not present in the *Turnament*: the confusion of *ay* with *a* and *oy* with *o*. This was characteristic of the Towneley scribe, and also, as many rimes show,[61] of the Wakefield master, though it was probably not found in the formative stages of the cycle.[62] Absence of this peculiarity

[58] In *Noah* (Towneley III): st. 4, *lord:restord:accord:discord*; st. 37, *fynd:behynd:pynd*; st. 44, *here:were*; st. 52, *here:there*. In the *First Shepherd's Play* (Towneley XII): st. 3, *mene:tene*; st. 33, *nyght:dyght':fryght':benedyght*; st. 42, *chyld:begyld:myld:unfyld*; st. 56, *lorde:recorde:restorde:worde*. In the *Buffeting* (Towneley XXI): st. 7, *dowte:owte:sowked:lowked*; st. 17, *word:bord:spurd:torde*; st. 24, *mene:weyn*.

[59] EETS, Or. Ser. LXXI, p. xxviii.

[60] *kyȝt:ryȝt:sevenyȝt* 33; *sevenyȝt:fyȝt:myght* 42; *bryȝt:lyȝt* 149; *nyȝt:syȝt:lyȝt:plyȝt* 199.

[61] Towneley XIII, *swane:wane:fane:payne*, st. 5; *goys:suppos:noys*, st. 25; and see also stanzas 26, 37, 48, and 75.

[62] In Towneley I (*Creation*), V (*Isaac*), and VI (*Jacob*), I find only one instance in rhyme: *peasse:saysse*, I, 122.

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from the *Turnament* would seem to indicate close relation between the poem and the play rather than identity of authorship.

To summarize: the positive evidence is not sufficient to claim Gilbert Pilkington as the author of the fourteenth-century *Northern Passion*. If he did write the *Passion*, he most certainly did not write either the *Secunda Pastorum* or the *Turnament of Totenham*. These two belong to the fifteenth century, and are closely connected in spirit and verse, though one difference in dialect would make doubtful identity of authorship.

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IV

A NEW EXAMINATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE TOWNELEY PLAYS

THE purchase in 1922 by the late Mr. Henry E. Huntington of the unique manuscript of the Towneley plays has given permanent domicile in the beautiful Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California, to an invaluable document that has passed through many hands during the past century and a quarter.[1] In its new home this document has become accessible for fresh study to many American scholars who had never before been privileged to see it.

[1] The previous history of the manuscript has been involved, not only in complete doubt as to its whereabouts before 1814, but in uncertainty regarding some of the dates and conditions of transfer since that date. Incomplete histories of the manuscript are found in the EETS edition, pp. ix–xii, and in Chambers' *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 413. Adding those items which I have gleaned from various scattered sources, we have the following genealogy of possession:

(1) As part of the library of John Towneley (1731–1813) of Towneley Hall, near Burnley, Lancashire, it passed, through the sale by Evans of Pall Mall, London, on June 8, 1814, for £147 to

(2) John Louis Goldsmid, from whom it passed, presumably in the Evans sale of the Goldsmid library in December, 1815, to

(3) John North, from whom, through the Evans sale of North's library in May, 1819, it returned, for £94, 10s. to

(4) The library of Towneley Hall. The MS was in this library in 1822 when the *Judicium* was edited by F. Douce for the Roxburghe Club. It was still in this library in 1836 when the editors of the Surtees Society edition thanked Peregrine Edward Towneley, Esq., for permission to transcribe the plays. (The inscription "P. E. Towneley 7 Park St Westminster" appears in pencil on the front fly-leaf verso of the manuscript.) I have been unable to find it listed among the "MSS in the library of Colonel Towneley at Towneley Hall" in the fourth report of the Historical MSS Commission published in 1874. However, it passed, through the second sale of the Towneley library, conducted by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge in June, 1883, for £620 to

(5) Mr. Bernard Quaritch, who still owned it when the EETS edition was published in 1897. He sold it in August, 1900, to

(6) Edward F. Coates, after whose death (August 14, 1921) it was sold, through Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on February 8, 1922, to

(7) Mr. Henry E. Huntington, who transferred it to the United States and shortly after placed it in its present home.

For many of the above specific details not previously mentioned in histories of the manuscript, see B. Quaritch, *Contributions Towards a Dictionary of English Book Collectors*, 1892–99, and Wm. Y. Fletcher, *English Book Collectors*, 1902. For the ownership of the manuscript previous to 1814, see the latter part of the present article.

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In spite of the fact that the Towneley plays have been twice edited (first for the Surtees Society in 1836, and again for the Early English Text Society in 1897), no satisfactory description of the manuscript has ever appeared in print. In order to obtain an exact notion of the state of the manuscript the student of these plays has had to piece together items—among them some of the highest significance—scattered here and there in introductions, footnotes, and bibliographical comments. In these circumstances it is quite possible also that still other details have escaped attention. Accordingly, with a view to securing any further information obtainable and of finding an explanation for certain puzzling peculiarities which have previously been noted, I have thought it worth while to undertake a systematic examination of the manuscript. The ensuing tabulation of facts presenting the results of this examination includes, not only all of the previously noted facts (so far as they have come to my attention), but a considerable number of items of significance hitherto unnoted. For convenience of reference, and with a view to presenting for the first time a comprehensive account of the document, the items have been classified.[2]

[2] It was through the courtesy of the late Mr. Chester M. Cate, Librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, that I was privileged to make this examination. I am deeply indebted to Captain R. B. Haselden, in charge of the Manuscript Department, for his generous assistance in deciphering numerous scrawls, and in explaining several puzzling peculiarities in the state of the manuscript, as well as to several British and American scholars, including Professors Charles Sisson, Karl Young, and Joseph Quincy Adams, for coöperation in various aspects of this investigation. Grateful acknowledgment is also due to the authorities of the Huntington Library for permission to reproduce two pages of the manuscript (folios 73b and 90a). Reproductions of two other pages of the manuscript will be found in the catalogue of the Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge sale of Feb. 8, 1922 (folio 111b) and in the Surtees Society edition, p. xx (portion of folio 80a).

[3] Previous descriptions of the binding (and manuscript) were made: (1) for the Sotheby sale of June 27, 28, 1883 (reading "olive morocco extra, gold tooling, tooled leather joints and gilt edges, by C. Lewis, back broken"); (2) by A. W. Pollard for the EETS edition, 1897 (merely quoting the Sotheby sale description); (3) for the Sotheby sale of Feb. 8, 1922 (reading "olive Morocco gilt, inside gilt borders, plain blue end-papers, in a red pull-off case"). None of these descriptions mentions the label on the back or the peculiarity of the separate pieces of leather pasted on the front and back covers. The back is not now broken. There is no specific description in the Surtees Society edition. I have not had access to the sales catalogues published for the three sales of the manuscript previous to the publication of the Surtees Society edition (i.e., the Evans sales of 1814, 1815, and 1819.—See note 1, above). All three of the catalogues in question are listed in the printed catalogue of catalogues in the British Museum.

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A. Binding.

Olive morocco gilt. In the center of each cover a coat of arms (described below), concealed by a slightly raised diamond-shaped piece of leather carefully pasted over, within an oblong panel of 3-line fillets forming an interlaced geometrical design. Doublures with inside dentelle borders. Plain blue end-papers, white on the inside. Back in six compartments with gilt scrolls, except the second with an inscription, "COLLECTION OF ENGLISH MYSTERIES. MSS," and the fifth with "CIRCITER. 1430." All edges gilt. No binder's name or mark, but pretty certainly the work of Charles Lewis (1786–1836). Red pull-off case. Huntington Library accession mark: HM1.[3]

The coat of arms, whose presence beneath the pasted piece of leather was first suspected when Captain Haselden and I were giving careful scrutiny to the binding, is that of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid (1778–1859), London financier and one of the founders of University College, London, and second cousin to John Louis Goldsmid, owner of the manuscript from June, 1814, to December, 1815: "Per saltire, erm and ermine, on a chief gules a goldfinch ppr. between two roses or. Crest—A demi lion arg. in the paws a bundle of twigs erect or, banded az. Motto—'Concordia et sedulitate'."

B. Press Mark.

On folio 1a, just beneath the title, in black ink: 13½: 35
F: 35

This is almost certainly the press mark of one portion of the Towneley family library, going back in all probability to the time of Christopher Towneley (1604–1674), the great collector.[4]

C. Number and Size of Leaves.

132 leaves, twelve inches by eight and one-quarter inches.

D. Signatures.

Of the signatures preserved, all are in black ink (in extreme lower right-hand corner), except for L and S, which are in red and probably the work of the rubricator instead of the scribe. The sewings for all of the signatures except the last (V—folios 125–132) can be seen. Folios 129–132 (containing all of Plays XXXI and XXXII—both out of place) may, therefore, have no connection with folios 125–128.

E. Lacunae.

1. Between folios 2 and 3 (Plays I and II) twelve leaves missing, Sig. A3 to B6. Sig. C1 discernible on folio 5a. The writing on folio 2b

[4] An examination of the Towneley MSS in the British Museum kindly made on my behalf by Mr. Eric G. Millar at the instance of Dr. Montague Rhodes James has revealed four MSS (Add. MSS 32101 and 32104–6) bearing press marks similar to the one described above. The last three MSS are transcripts by Christopher Towneley. All four were acquired at the Towneley sale of 1883, the sale which disposed of the cycle of plays to Mr. Quaritch.

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runs to the bottom of the normal writing space, showing that nothing was intentionally left blank.

2. Between folios 15 and 16 (as now numbered) two leaves missing (Sig. D4 and D5 lacking). End of Play IV and beginning of Play V lacking.

3. At bottom of folio 19b a full inch of space left from the bottom of the normal writing space, showing either intentional omission of following material or a breaking off in the material itself. End of Play VII (folio 19b) lacking, the last written words being "evermore withouten end." Folio 20 is very thin. 20a is entirely blank except for several blurred words in very pale ink written on the top line, and evidently a copy (in a late 16th century hand) of the first line of the MS on folio 19b (opposite): "All that shall stand hym before." There are, intermingled with these words, indecipherable traces also of other writing in another hand. Folio 20b shows clear traces of having been filled with writing, all of which has been carefully removed with pumice stone. The normal writing space is in places practically worn through, whereas the margins are yellow and of normal thickness.

4. Between folios 61 and 62, two leaves missing (Sig. K4 and K5). End of Play XVII (on folio 61b) and beginning of Play XVIII (on folio 62a) lacking. No space left at bottom of 61b or top of 62a, thus indicating no intentional omission on the part of the scribe.

5. Between folios 121 and 122, twelve leaves missing (Sig. S2 to T5). End of Play XXIX (on folio 121b) and beginning of Play XXX (folio 122a) lacking. The writing on folio 121b runs to bottom of normal writing space. No break at top of folio 122a.

6. End of Play XXXII (on folio 132a) lacking. At bottom of folio 132a are the words "finis huius" in a later hand than that of the text of the play.

F. Physical Condition of Leaves.

1. Vellum, on the whole well preserved, but with the margins closely cut in binding. About one-half inch cut off.

2. Excisions: Two leaves, 110 and 118, have portions of the margin cut out, as though for the removal of names. Folio 46a has a roughly circular hole, one inch in diameter, in the lower right-hand corner, possibly the result of injury.

3. Evidences of hard usage (as indicated by soiled paper, blurred ink, and much thumbed corners, in contrast with the comparatively clean and apparently little-handled pages of the remainder of the MS):

26b—signs of much use (Play IX, lines 64–108)
38b and 39a—signs of hard use—almost illegible in places (XIII, lines 12–102)
40b—signs of hard use (XIII, lines 192–237)
50b—splotches of brown ink
52a—dim text
62b—signs of hard use (XVIII, lines 57–100)

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63a—almost illegible in places (XVIII)
70a—signs of hard use (XX, lines 352–401)
77a—signs of hard use (XXI, lines 309–354)

4. Erasures:

7b—after the red token under the title a heavy black line has been drawn over a very carefully made erasure. The matter erased had evidently a close connection with the title of the Play of Noah.
20b—entire page carefully erased.
57b—(XVI, line 263)—"Pope" erased.
66a—(XIX, line 197)—"v" erased in "vi."

G. Titles.

In large red letters, from one-half to one and one-quarter inches high, except for Play XXXII, whose title is in black.

"Wakefield" in red after the titles of Plays I and III. In both cases the name of the town appears as a part of the title and was not added afterwards.

On folio 67a "Conspiracio" in the title is followed by a small letter "c" in red ink.

H. Initial Letters.

Fair-sized letters (from three to three and one-half inches high), plainly ornamented in black ink, in some cases with very slight red ornamentation. The black ink has partly turned to brown.

Folio 80a has a large initial "D" which has no connection with the ensuing text, from which it is marked off by a red line. (See the photo of this page in the Surtees Society edition, p. xx.) Explained under "N" below.

I. Date of Text.

Except for the alterations, all the plays but the last were evidently written by the same scribe about 1450. Play XXXII is in the hand of another scribe, writing in the early part of the 16th century.

J. Stage Directions.

1. All stage directions are in black ink in 16 plays (I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XIII, XIV, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI).

2. All stage directions are in red ink in two plays (XX and XXVI).

3. Stage directions in red and black: (a) Play VIII—two directions (lines 393 and 415) in black; two directions (lines 89 and 109) in red; (b) Pláy XVIII—one direction (line 48) in black; one direction (line 192) in red; (c) Play XXVII—two directions (lines 284 and 290) in black; one direction (line 97) in red. All red directions but one (XXVII, 97) are run in with the text, all black directions but one (XXVII, 290) are outside the text.

4. No stage directions in eleven plays (II, IX, X, XI, XII, XV, XVI, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXXII).

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5. All stage directions are in Latin except for Play XIV, lines 504, 510, and 522, which are in English. All English directions are in black ink. This same play also contains a Latin direction in black ink (line 84).

K. METRICAL INDICATIONS.

The riming lines are connected by lines in black ink (see photos of folios 73b and 90a). In Play XXXII the beginning of each stanza is marked by a uniform symbol in the left margin. As indicated by the EETS edition, folio 78b shows the central rimes in all *aaaa* lines marked by bars, and folio 92a has dots (:) taking the place of bars.

L. INDICATIONS OF SPEAKERS.

The names of the speakers appear in black ink on the right side of the page (not close to the edge) at the beginning of each speech. The speeches are separated by heavy lines of red ink.

M. "EXPLICIT

1. The work "Explicit" appears in black ink at the end of six plays (II, III, V, VI, VIII, XXXI).

2. The word "Explicit" appears in red ink at the end of 21 plays (IX to XVI inclusive, and XVIII to XXX inclusive).

3. The word "Explicit" is absent only in those five plays whose conclusion is missing (I, IV, VII, XVII, XXXII).

N. SCRIBAL ERRORS.

1. The text of folio 6a precedes the text of folio 5b, the scribe either having skipped 5b by mistake or, after having begun 5b at the wrong point (being misled by the coincidence that the first three words of 5b and 6a are identical),[5] having decided to finish out the page. He has rectified the error by using the following devices:

(a) in the upper left-hand corner of folio 5b, a note in red ink (partly cut off by the trimming of the margin) reading (as emended in the EETS edition, p. 17): "[M]d that this syde of the leyfe [sh]uld folow the other next syde [ac]cordyng to the tokyns here maide [an]d then after al stondys in ordre," and followed by the token "℔ b" in red, and (b) in the lower right-hand corner of 6a, a direction consisting of a bracket and token (both in red) enclosing (in black) the first words of the text on 5b: "℔ Bot now syn he is broght etc ℔"; in the lower right-hand corner of 5a, a similar direction consisting of a bracket and a different token (both in red) enclosing (in black) the first words of the text on 6a: "℔ Bot now syn thou has etc ⁊=⁊"; in the upper left-hand corner of 6a, the direction (in red): "⁊=a/"; and, in the lower right-hand corner of 5b, a direction consisting of a red bracket followed by the first words of the text on 6b (in black): "℔ Bot harke boy I have a counsel etc."

[5] Moreover, folios 5a, 5b, 6a, and 6b all begin with the word "Bot."

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2. Folio 80a has at the top a large initial "D," which has no connection with the text on that page. The editor of the EETS edition mentions this peculiarity without attempting an explanation. The reason is clear when one turns to folio 73b (which was intended for the last page of the new gathering) and sees that another initial "D" (of a different design, however) begins a new play here (XXI, *The Buffeting*).[6] The scribe had probably "knocked off" work on the previous play (XX) when he had come to the end of his gathering (72b). When he resumed his work of transcription, he forgot that he had not really finished with the previous play, and started the next play by making the initial "D" on what is now folio 80a, but would have been 73a except for his mistake. Then, realizing his error, he drew a red line around the initial, reversed the fold of this leaf, and made a new initial on the opposite page (73b) as newly folded. This allowed him another page (73a) for the completion of the previous play. When he came to 80a (with the previously made but useless initial), he simply used the rest of the page for the text that he happened to be transcribing at that point. While of no literary significance, this explanation reveals the expedients resorted to by the mediaeval scribe and answers a puzzling question which the editors have heretofore left untouched.

3. Folio 121a begins a new gathering (Sig. S). The first line, to be spoken by Matthew ("Certis lady thou saye full wele: he will us"), has been cancelled. The explanation is similar to that for the error noted on fol. 80a: the scribe began the page by copying a previous line of the play (line 190, folio 119a), also spoken by Matthew, and later realized his error.

O. Alterations.

To the comments in the EETS edition on alterations in the text and the state of the text (on folios 1b, 3a, 5a, 5b, 6a, 21a, 28b, 35b, 37a, 39a, 39b, 40b, 45b, 47a, 49b, 51b, 57b, 66a, 67a, 71a, 73b, 81b, 98a, 104b, 112a, 112b, 127b, 129a, and 130b), should be added the following facts (in addition to those cited under F, G, H, K, N, P, R, S, and T):

48a—"Secundus rex" (XIV, 128) written in black ink (16th century) over the same words, faded out.

66a—entire stanza 25 (XIX, 197) struck through. In the right-hand margin, in a later hand, in *black* ink, "corectyd & not playd," meaning apparently that the stanza was omitted in performance.

88a—"ffor theym to thole payn" (XXIII, 353) added under the line "ffor theym to thole this payn"—apparently by the same hand.

111b—four black lines drawn through the large red title of Play XXVIII (RESURRECCIO Dn̄i) and "Thomas Indie" written in small black letters below at the left (16th century).

[6] Cf. the accompanying plate of fol. 73b with the reproduction of fol. 80a in the Surtees Society edition.

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121a—first line (XXIX, 318) spoken by Matthew ("Certis, lady," etc.) cancelled. Scribe's error, explained under "N" above.

P. Additions of Extraneous Matter.

In addition to undeciphered scrawls on folios 7a, 8a, 11a, 12b, 31a, 48b, 56a, 61a, 71a, 78b, 81a, 108a, and 121b occur the following items (all in hands later than the text, mostly 16th century and after):

4b—middle of bottom margin, the word "will" copied from the line above.

7a—below "Explicit mactacio Abell," the word "mactacio" copied from the line above.

20a—top of page, copy of first line of 19b.

20b—"your," close to left margin.

35b—opposite lines 253–270 in left margin, two lines:

Memorandum that I Samul

Memorandum that I [S Humer?]

44b—at top of page, the flourish of the first letter cut off at the top of the page, a word in large black capitals which seems to be "DELTR" or "BELTR."

45a—top of page, the word "Memorandum."

61a—two or three words at the side parallel with the margin, opposite lines 57–72, that seem to read: "no Merokkan, assoda" (or "assada").

66b—in bottom margin, upside down, the words "In the name of," doubtless originally followed by a proper name (perhaps "God") evidently cut off by edge of page.

73a—at top margin, beginning at right angles to top edge, the letters "[?]igan." The rest cut off by top edge.

73b—(see plate)—at top, the words: "Thomas Hargraues g holy & go holynes and godlynes is the."

—at left margin, the remainder of a word, "non" being left, the rest cut off.

90a—(see plate)—close to outside margin, parallel with edge of leaf, the inscription: "Thomas Hargraues of Burnley."

—at bottom of page, the inscription: "James blake bourn [or possibly "bowrn"] by."

95b—opposite line 272 in left-hand margin, "mnipotenti," the first part of the word being cut off.

97b—at top of page, "Your louinge freund Willm."

101a—in top margin, portions of three words, one under the other, at right angles to the top edge: "Joh," ["Sfo"?], ["G"?] (the rest being cut off).

107b—above initial letter, the word "John."

112a—portion of a bar of music at top, cut off by top edge.

—in right margin, a scrawl that seems to be "Crony h."

116b—in left margin, parallel with edge, "In my nam."

118b—at top of page, a scrawl that seems to be "Be yt known."

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holynes and godlynes

The xxiiij Colupsyzacõ

O [illegible] Pius tostos

O [illegible] thou and I passe
do amis [illegible] go: and I crye[illegible]
but thou [illegible] of thayn tho: gette thou no grace
but endlasteyng do: for [illegible] thou [illegible]

Pius tostos

Thy mys is mose // thou oid gette thou grace fyre
Thou [illegible] do gose // [illegible] and fyll folyll

Crede tostos

It is dond to dye: thus to be gangyng
the [illegible] for the: mekill [illegible] stangyng
but at last [illegible]: out of [illegible] langyng
be thou [illegible] of thy: [illegible]
[illegible] // [illegible] the people [illegible]
Dyne ladies and thyne take // thus art thou brogte in blunder

No kender

Pius tostos

Thou can not say agayne: If thou be trew
Goin mon holde the saue: and that shalt thou rew
[illegible] can thou payne: and lege ladies nede

Crede tostos

Shalt be ye atayne: for [illegible]

On this matter

Many [illegible] that thou shide // Of [illegible] do ay not [illegible]
Do gud that thou had // Haldon still thi [illegible]

Pius tostos

It is better syr still: thou rise vp and fall
Thou has long had thi will: and made many brall
At the last [illegible]: and for [illegible]

Crede tostos

If [illegible] // I shall not the shall

Iudyng it

[illegible] // [illegible]
[illegible] // do the [illegible]

Pius tostos

[illegible]: [illegible]
[illegible] // [illegible]

Crede tostos

Townley MS., fol. 73 verso, slightly reduced from 11⅞ in. to 11½ in.

That he schuld make vs tempyllers — And gar it dwyn dwbne fast
And yit he sayde he schuld it pase — he lyes that euer vs att
As eett as it drawe within thyse dayes
And for this lyes in great dispyte
We will departe his clothyng tyte — Bot he can more of arte — prima pastor
Yeid as swyft as myght I thyght
Bot will we this maistrett preue — And whyman take his paynte — 2a pastor
Had I wold thou we schape this clothe — 3a pastor
Nay for sothe that dare I lothe — Thou dare it all gane spyll
Bot assent thou to my red
Bett vs all emell had — And thou is nowe begyll — 4ta pastor
Had we bestaryd vs all dyll I drad
This is myn by comon lad — Nay not thorawyn — prima pastor
Had sen it may no better be
Thou with the with it for me — aye thynk thou art fulfawyn — 2a pastor
Had sertes se ye not yond schad
It is dyuten yonder within a thyk — Had sen that we drak emell — 3a pastor
Thar is nowan that is on lyfe
Bot it dare pulte as myght I thryfe — That dyst it thar schuld put — 4ta pastor
To se fast and lat vs loke
That is dyetyn on yond bake — And that it may bemeyn — prima pastor
A thefmore I take thereon
A thefmore I thynke I fan — All is not worth a beyn — 2a pastor
Yis for sothe me thynk I se
Thesen dyuten langage thyse — Pbyck and latyn
And gyfe me thynk dyuten thesen
For it is sayd forto expone — Thou red by appolyn — 3a pastor
Yes as I am a trak knyght
I am the best lettyn dyght — Of this compayny
I will go withsomen delay — Bethals dyes bittirly — 4ta pastor
And tell you that it is to say

Jamys Blake bowen

Townley MS, fol. 90 recto, slightly reduced from 11⅞ in. to 11½ in.

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—one-third of the way down, opposite line 128, the words "Our nam allde [t . . . .?]."

121b—at top of page, what seems to be "[P]GAW."

131a—at bottom of page, "finis" (in a later hand than the text and probably in the same hand as the "finis huius" on 132a), surrounded by a black line.

132a—at bottom of page, "finis huius," in a later hand than the text of the play.

—below and to the left of this at extreme bottom of page, three lines of writing, the first two reading:

"by me the
by me [R^{c} J D ?]"

and the third (upside down) reading "the first day of [July ?]"

Q. Dates.

None whatever found, though special search was made for dates.

R. Names of Crafts.

Folio 1a—in extreme right margin at top under the title and in black ink, with the initial letter "B" crudely ornamented, the word "Barkers" (probably in a 16th century hand).

Folio 3a—at extreme right, just beneath the title, the end of the second word cut off, the words "Glover Pag" in black ink (probably in a 16th century hand).

Folio 21a—in upper right corner, in a hand of about 1600, in black ink. the words "Litsters pagonn." Half-way down the page, well inside the right margin, in an older hand (probably middle 16th century), the words "lyster play" in black ink.

Folio 107b—under the title, in black ink, the words "fysher pagent" (probably in a 16th century hand).

S. Names of Persons.

1. John (folios 101a, 107b).
2. William (folio 97b).
3. Samuel (folio 35b).
4. Allde (folio 118b).
5. Thomas Hargraves (folios 73b and 90a).
6. James Blake bourn (folio 90a).
7. P. E. Towneley (in pencil on front fly-leaf, verso).

(All of the above names, except No. 7, are in black ink. The first four are in hands of the 16th or 17th century. The two examples of No. 5 are in the same hand, probably of the early 17th century. No. 6 is a late 16th or early 17th century hand. No. 7 is of course 19th century. Nos. 5, 6, and 7 are almost certainly signatures. The others are doubtful.)

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T. NAMES OF PLACES.

1. Burnley—on folio 90a, in black ink ("Thomas Hargraves of Burnley").

2. Wakefield—in the titles of Plays I and III, in red (folios 1a and 7b).

Many of the items appearing in the above tabulation, it may be admitted, have no apparent significance. Yet the presentation of all items of *possible* significance should have value to the student, and from an assemblage of the entire body of facts, and particularly from the considerable number of items now noted for the first time, one may hope that further study may be able to gain some useful results.

There are four problems, in particular, to be considered, toward the solution of which this assemblage of facts may contribute.

(1) There is the problem of transcription, involving the number of hands employed on the manuscript, and the date or dates at which the work was done. It has been assumed by all who have concerned themselves with the manuscript that, except for the last play (XXXII), which is apparently an addition in an early sixteenth century hand, the entire manuscript is the work of one scribe, writing about 1450. After comparing many passages of the text, some taken at random, but some involving portions suspected to be written by different hands, I have found virtually nothing in the appearance of the handwriting to discredit the view that it was the work of the same scribe. Moreover, the fact that the titles are all in red and made in a uniform manner, that the initial letters are all in simple black with very slight but uniform ornamentation, and that the speech indications are uniformly made (the names of characters at the right in black ink, with the speeches separated by lines of red ink) strengthens the evidence supplied by the main body of the text.

Yet there are four peculiarities that raise a question. In the first place, the signatures, while mostly in black, are in two cases in red (L and S). In the second place, the stage directions are not uniformly indicated: Eleven plays have no stage directions; sixteen plays have them all in black ink; two plays (XX and XXVI) have them all in red ink; and three plays (VIII, XVIII, and XXVII) have some directions in red and some in black. The only English stage-directions are in Play XIV, which also contains a Latin direction, all the directions in the play being in black ink. In the third place, the "Explicit" in twenty-one plays is in red ink, whereas in six plays (II, III, V, VI, VIII, XXXI) it is in

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black ink; in five plays only, and all of them unfinished, is the "Explicit" missing. These peculiarities may be due merely to the exigencies of transcription. Yet two points are worth noting: first, that there is no deviation from the black stage-direction in the first seven plays, that the black "Explicit" appears only in the first eight plays and Play XXXI (*Lazarus*), which is misplaced, and that the signatures for the early plays are likewise all in black; second, that every one of the plays which deviates from the uniform use of black stage-directions in Latin (VIII, XIV, XVIII, XX, XXVI, and XXVII) belongs to the "York-borrowing" stage—the second of the three stages designated by Pollard and substantially endorsed by Bunzen, Gayley, and Chambers. May these facts not suggest, if not the work of more than one hand, a possible difference in the character of the original manuscripts from which the one copy was made? May they not even suggest widely separated sources or localities from which the originals were derived?

The fourth peculiarity has to do with the curious gap occurring at folio 20. Folio 19b contains the last portion of the unfinished play of *The Prophets*. The editor of the EETS edition notes (page 64, note 1): "This Play is unfinished, the rest of fol. 19b and the whole of fol. 20 being left blank." This is true, but it does not tell the whole truth. For, not only does there appear at the top of 20a a blurred copy of the first words on the opposite page (19b), but the whole of 20b was at one time written upon, though every trace of writing has been carefully removed with pumice stone, so that the leaf has been worn extremely thin. It is, of course, barely conceivable that a scribe might take the pains to rub away the previous writing merely to save a leaf of vellum. But in that case, why did he not use it? The next play (*Pharao*) begins in the normal way at the top of 21a, and is the first play to depart from the use of Latin stage-directions in black ink. The reason for leaving folio 20 unused, the significance of the copied passage, the intentional breaking off in the play of *The Prophets* before the bottom of the page had been reached, and the change in the character of the stage-directions in the play immediately following the gap are all puzzles for which an explanation must be sought in the conditions under which this manuscript was prepared.[7]

[7] The three errors made by the scribe (the confusion of the text on folios 5b and 6a; the misplacement of the initial "D" on folio 80a which necessitated the

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(2) The second problem concerns the use which has been made of the manuscript—whether it was ever used in connection with the production of the plays, or was compiled simply for some monastic purpose, to preserve an official record of the plays, or to satisfy some antiquary's curiosity. Whatever the original use to which the document was put, it is certain that it has passed through many hands, has been often read, and has seen hard usage. The pages have been closely trimmed in binding, thus depriving us of a full half-inch of the original leaf. Two excisions have been made in the margins, possibly for the removal of names. Eight pages show specially hard use, notably three pages of Play XIII. Thirty-two pages contain scribblings of various kinds, sometimes mere copies of words in the text, sometimes names or parts of names. In many cases these scribblings seem to be preliminary pen-trials preparatory to the writing or signing of a deed, a will, or letter; many of them have no apparent significance. The numerous erasures show that real attention has been given to the text, particularly to those parts against which there was objection on religious grounds. It seems quite possible that this text of Plays XVI, XIX, and XXVI may actually have been in the hands of someone intimately associated with their staging, particularly in view of the marginal note "corectyd & not playd" opposite stanza 25 of Play XIX. The presence of two full proper names and of several Christian names (some of these conceivably names of actors) is another indication that the manuscript has been handled by many persons, and the occurrence of several lacunae is evidence either of (1) carelessness in the preservation of the document, or (2) removal of leaves containing objectionable matter, or (3) loss of some parts through their dispersal in the hands of other persons than the one holding the main body of the text.

(3) The third problem relates to the successive owners of the manuscript. The style of the binding points to Charles Lewis as the binder, and may through him reveal the owner who caused it to be bound. The concealed coat of arms of the Goldsmid family, discovered in the course of my examination of the book, must

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making of a new initial; and the false start on folio 121a) might easily be accounted for by the fact that they are all connected with the beginnings of "gatherings" (signatures C1, M1, and S1) and that the time elapsing between periods of work on successive gatherings or the mere interruption of attention caused by making up a new gathering made for incoherence in the scribe's application to his task.

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have been placed on the covers between June, 1814, and December, 1815, while it was in the possession of John Louis Goldsmid (if, indeed, he was not responsible for the binding itself). The press-mark makes it probable that the manuscript was in the Towneley family at least as early as the time of Christopher Towneley (d. 1674). The names of Thomas Hargraves and James Blackbourn (see the plates of folios 73b and 90a) point almost certainly to Lancashire, where the names of these families have long been prominent, though Blackbourns are found also in Yorkshire.[8] The names "John," "William," "Samuel," and

[8] I have discovered, among a very large number of individuals of the Hargraves or Blackbourn families, the following persons bearing the names of *James* Blackbourn or *Thomas* Hargraves:

(1) Thomas Hargraves, buried 8 Jan. 1566 at Burnley (Lancashire) parish church (*Burnley Parish Registers*, Rochdale, 1899).

(2) Thomas Hargreaves, referred to under several entries in *The Registers of the Parish Church of Blackburn in the County of Lancaster, 1600–1660*, Cambridge, 1911.

(3) James Blackburne, of Richmond, Yorkshire, baptised 2 Feb., 1644–45 (Rev. F. J. Poynton, *Genealogical Memoranda relating to the family of Blackburne*, etc., London, 1874. This same volume cites the mention of the same "James Blackburne" in the will of his brother, John Blackburne, who died in 1661).

(4) James Blackburne, of Hale (Lancashire), son of John Blackburne (died 1786, aged 93) and Catherine Ashton (died 1740). See Joseph Foster, *Lancashire Pedigrees*, London, 1873.

(5) Thomas Hargreaves, of Oak Hill, near Blackburn, Lancashire (1771–1822). See Burke's *Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1846.

(6) Thomas Hargreaves, died 24 July, 1737, aged 32 (inscription in churchyard of Lancashire parish church, *Chetham Society Publications*, new series, 59, page 753).

(7) Thomas Hargreaves, named as "churchwarden for Scotforth, Ashton, Stodday, and Thurnham" for the year 1845 (*Chetham Society Publications*, new series, 59, page 784).

I have found no mention of a James Blackbourn (or any similar spelling) in the Burnley *Parish Registers*, the parish registers of Blackburn, or in Beazley's *Calendar of persons . . . . in Lancashire and Cheshire*, The Record Society, 1922.

None of the facts about the above-listed persons seems to warrant any positive connection with the two men whose names appear on the manuscript. Nor do I know of any fact that would definitely establish the connection of any one of them with the Towneley family. Agnes de Towneley (grand-daughter of Peter de Tunlay or Towneley—13th cent.) married John de Hargreave and died without issue (Burke's *History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1835). The members of the Towneley family most likely to have acquired the manuscript are: Sir John Towneley (1473–1539), who was educated at Whalley Abbey school, built a library at Towneley Hall, and saw the closing of the abbey and the execution of the abbot; his son, Richard Towneley (1499–1556), who was probably a Protestant; Christopher Towneley (1604–1674), who, according to Fletcher (*op. cit.* 231) "was the collector of many of the old manuscripts disposed of in the second sale of the

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"Allde" have interest but, unfortunately, in our present state of knowledge, no significance.[9] The mention of Burnley, however, would seem to fix the residence of a possible one-time owner. The appearance of this place-name, and the appearance of the Lancashire family names of Hargraves and Blackbourn lend color to the suspicion (in harmony with the tradition latest reported by Douce) that the manuscript, if not the plays themselves, may have had some connection with the Abbey of Whalley, only a few miles from Burnley, rather than with some monastic house in Yorkshire. The presence of certain important erasures already described suggests that at the time they were made the manuscript was in the hands of persons unfriendly to the Roman Church.

(4) The fourth problem, intimately connected with the third, concerns the original home of the cycle. The evidence that has commonly been accepted as pointing strongly to Wakefield or vicinity is, of course, slight in amount but, in the absence of contrary evidence, seemingly sufficient. It consists of (a) the mention of "Wakefield" in connection with the titles of Plays I and III (in red ink, *as part of the titles*, it should be remembered, and not as later additions), (b) the mention, in later hands, of four crafts (which, of course, might have been found in almost any other large town), (c) the references to "the gudeboure at

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Towneley library which occurred in 1883"; and John Towneley (1731–1813), who "as a book-purchaser .... was considered among the most heavy-metalled and determined champions in the field" (Fletcher, *op. cit.* 226–231). The ascription by Mr. Oscar Cargill ("The Authorship of the *Secunda Pastorum*," *PMLAA*, XLI, 810–831) of the authorship of *Secunda Pastorum* to Gilbert Pilkington has much to commend it to serious consideration. But his suggestion (*op. cit.* 830) that the manuscript may have been acquired by Sir John Towneley from the related Pilkington family of Wakefield (between whom and Gilbert Pilkington he has, however, established no connection) savors too much of begging the question. In fact, there is fully as much reason in the suggestion of Mr. J. W. Walker (reported by Matthew H. Peacock, "The Wakefield Mysteries," *London Times Literary Supplement*, March 5, 1925, page 156) that the Towneleys acquired it through their connections with the Nowell family of Wakefield. Three separate connections with the Nowell family were made by the marriages of Sir John Towneley's children.

[9] It is noteworthy that the following "Johns" have some connection with the problem: Sir John Towneley (1473–1539), John Nowell (16th cent.), John Towneley (1731–1813), John Louis Goldsmid (early 19th cent.), and John North (early 19th cent.). I have discovered no "Samuel" in any of the families under consideration. "Allde" is a good old English family name, recalling the 16th century printers, John Allde and his son Edward Allde.

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the quarellhede,"[10] "Horbery,"[11] and "the crooked thorn,"[12] and (d) the record of payment having been made to a player from Wakefield who took part in the production of the York cycle.[13] To this evidence must be added the asserted tradition of the Towneley family (reported by Douce, but later abandoned by him in favor of the Whalley ascription) that the book had belonged "to the Abbey of Widkirk, near Wakefield[14]; and the evidence recently reported by Mr. Peacock from the records of the Wakefield Burgess Courts of 1533 and 1566, proving for the first time that the trade-gilds did actually produce plays (though not necessarily those under discussion) in Wakefield.[15] The items presented as a result of my re-examination of the manuscript add nothing that would help us in deciding as to the assignment of the plays to Wakefield. But the following points may be noted for what they are worth. In the first place, the first dean of Whalley Abbey was the founder of the Towneley family in the ninth century, and the abbey continued a prosperous establishment until it was dissolved in 1537. It was probably more prosperous than any monastic house in the neighborhood of Wakefield. Furthermore, Towneley Hall is only a few miles from the Abbey, with which the Towneley family had intimate relations, Sir John Towneley (1473–1539) having been educated in the Abbey and witnessing the dissolution; moreover it is just outside of the city of Burnley, with which the manuscript is associated by the inscription "Thomas Hargraves of Burnley." May the Abbey of Whalley not have had some connection with the composition or compilation of this cycle, getting material from various sources (thus accounting for such local allusions as the references to Horbery and the "crooked thorn")? In the second place, how shall we explain the appearance of the name "Wakefield" as a part of the title of *two* plays only? If the entire cycle of plays was produced at Wakefield, why are these two alone—and these not in consecutive order—designated as "Wakefield" plays? Does not the mention of Wakefield in the case of these two plays establish

[10] Play II, line 367.

[11] Play XIII, line 455.

[12] Play XIII, line 403.

[13] Smith, L. T., *York Plays*, xxxviii.

[14] E. E. T. S. edition, page x.

[15] Peacock, Matthew H., "The Wakefield Mysteries," *London Times Literary Supplement*, March 5, 1925, page 156. See also the reply of Russell Potter, *ibid.*, April 30, 1925, page 300.

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a presumption that the others were *not connected with Wakefield*? The evidence supplied by the four craft names is of a different character, since these names are added by a *later hand* and in *black ink*. They were not, therefore, associated with the plays as originally compiled.

The question of the real home of the Towneley cycle is a knotty one, and the evidence here presented instead of loosening the knot tends to tighten it. In the absence of more substantial evidence for another place, we cannot abandon Wakefield, especially in the light of Mr. Peacock's recent discovery, but we can hardly be content with an ascription which is so far from established. We must continue to look for fresh evidence that will either confirm the ascription beyond doubt or assign the cycle definitely to another community. Will Yorkshire give place to Lancashire?

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V

THE YORK PLAYS AND THE *GOSPEL OF NICHODEMUS*

IN HER study of the relationship of the York and Towneley Plays, Dr. Marie C. Lyle[1] directed special attention to a series of discrepancies which she found between the description of the York plays given by Burton in his list in 1415 and the extant text of these plays. Noting the fact that these discrepancies occurred in plays which incorporated material from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*, she undertook to account for them by supposing that these plays as we have them represent a revision, made subsequent to Burton's list, under the influence of the Middle English metrical *Gospel of Nichodemus*.

The group of plays concerned are five: namely, York XXX, XXXIII, XXXVII, XXXVIII, and XXXIX. Of these Miss Lyle writes:

> Of the plays which contain additions from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*, four differ from the description given them by Burton. The plays described by him correspond to material derived from the *Northern Passion*, but they contain no mention of any material derived from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*.[2]

The theory which Miss Lyle puts forward appears to offer a new clue for determining the chronological development of the York cycle, and the importance of her conclusions seems to justify a detailed comparison of these five plays with the description of them given by Burton.

York XXX, the play of the Tapiteres and Couchers, is called *The Dream of Pilate's Wife; Jesus before Pilate*, and consists of four chief incidents.[3]

1. The Bedding of Pilate, for which no source has been found, so that it is thought to be the original contribution of the Couchers.[4]

[1] *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles.* University of Minnesota, 1919.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[3] Miss Lyle (p. 31) further divides these into nine incidents.

[4] I have searched the legendary histories of Pilate for the source of this incident presented by the Couchers, but have discovered nothing beyond a possible suggestion in Pilate's letter to Herod: "And when Proclas my wife and the Romans heard these things they came and told me, weeping, for they were also against Him, when they devised the evils which they had done unto Him. So that *I also was on the*

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2. Percula's Dream and the Appearance of the Devil, which occurs in both the *Gospel of Nichodemus* and the *Northern Passion*.[5]

3. Beadles adoring Christ and description of Entry into Jerusalem, from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*.[6]

4. Accusations against Jesus, and Pilate's sending Him to Herod in Galilee, from the *Northern Passion* and the *Gospel of Nichodemus*.[7]

The description in Burton accounts only for this last group. It is number 33 in Burton and is as follows[8]:

Tapisers / Couchers { (33) 30. Jesus, Pilatus, Anna, Cayphas, duo consiliarii, et iiij^{or} Iudei accusantes Jesum.

On the discrepancy between play XXX by the Tapisers and Couchers and this account given by Burton, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith comments as follows:

It is curious that no mention is made by Burton of dame Percula, Pilate's wife, nor of any of the personages in the first scenes, which must have been prominent and popular. A later note in the Register seems to refer to another play for the Couchers:[9] it may be that there were two plays on this subject and that Burton describes the (shorter) one not registered.[10]

At all events, it is clear that the description in Burton does not, in this case, correspond to the play as we now have it, and that the incidents which are not described seem to have been based very largely upon material from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*.

The second play to be considered is York XXXIII, given by the Tyllemakers, which is entitled *The Second Trial before Pilate Continued; the Judgment of Jesus*. This play has six groups of incidents, as follows:

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couch of my bed in affliction, and put on a garment of mourning, and took unto me my 50 Romans with my wife and went to Galilee" (Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 374).

The first three incidents in this play are exactly such as might have been added by the Couchers' gild, which appears to have been one of the newer crafts (see below, note 30).

[5] The verbal agreements between the *Gospel of Nichodemus* and this play are given by Miss Lyle (p. 31, note 5). The possible relation of the appearance of the devil in this play to the *Northern Passion* was pointed out to me by Professor Brown; see *Northern Passion*, Harley MS 4196, fol. 74b–75.

[6] See Miss Lyle, p. 31. Miss Smith also noted this relationship (*York Mystery Plays*, p. 283).

[7] Miss Lyle, p. 31.

[8] Miss Smith, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

[9] Cf. note 30, below.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv, note.

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1. Those connected with the accusations (Pilate boasting, etc.).
2. Those connected with the bowing of the standards.
3. The deliverance of Jesus instead of Barabas.
4. The scourging, crowning, and mocking.
5. The handwashing.
6. The condemnation.

The only part certainly dependent on the *Gospel of Nichodemus* (i.e., which shows verbal parallels) is the bowing of the standards. The description by Burton is as follows:

Tielmakers Milners [Ropers Seveours][11] Turnours Hayresters Bollers	(36) 33. Jesus, Pilatus, Cayphas, Anna, sex milites tenentes hastas cum vexillis, et alij quattuor ducentes Jesum ab Herode petentes Baraban dimitti et Jesum crucifigi, et ibidem ligantes et flagellantes eum, ponentes coronam spineam super caput eius; tres milites mittentes sortem super vestrum Jesu.

The list certainly fails to describe the hand-washing; and the casting of lots for Jesus' garments[12] does not occur in the play as we now have it; but the discrepancy cannot be accounted for on the basis of later additions from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*, since the incident shows no relation to that poem. However, Miss Lyle thinks she detects a discrepancy between the play and the list which *can* be accounted for on this basis. Burton's mention of "sex milites tenentes hastas cum vexillis," in her opinion, does not refer to the bowing of the standards. "It is impossible," she says, "to decide whether Burton's reference to the six soldiers carrying spears and ensigns provides for the incident of the bowing of the standards or not, but because of the detail with which the incidents of this play are described by Burton, it probably does not."[13]

[11] Both the MS of Burton's List and the MS of York XXXIII afford evidence that this play passed through the hands of several guilds, thereby giving opportunity for revision, even though it was not mentioned in the body of Burton's description. In the Burton MS the word *Milners* is written over and the words *Ropers* and *Sevours* are added in a later hand. Moreover, the York MS verifies this later handing of the play over to the Milners, for the original ascription to the *Tyllemakers* is crossed through, and *Milners* is written in a later hand as a fresh heading on five of the pages of this piece. See Miss Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv–v and 320.

[12] The casting of lots for Jesus' garments was originally the subject of the Millers' play, but when the Millers combined with the Tylemakers, the whole incident was contracted into a few lines at the end of 34, 35. See Miss Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. xxv and 347, 358.

[13] Miss Lyle *op. cit.*, p. 32.

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Much as one would like to believe this, the evidence against it seems very strong; for although in many plays Jesus is brought in with soldiers, especially before King Herod, where ceremony would be in order, still this is the only mention of banners in the whole of Burton's list. This seems to indicate that the banners did actually have some part in the action, and if any, why not the incidents from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*?

The third play to be considered is York XXXVII, the play of the Sadilleres, called the *Harrowing of Hell*. It is almost identical with Towneley XXV, and there can be no doubt that both texts depend very largely on the vernacular *Gospel of Nichodemus*.[14] The incidents of the play are as follows:

1. The joy of the patriarchs at Jesus' appearance at the gates of hell.
2. The consternation of the devils.
3. Argument of Jesus and Satan.
4. Binding of Satan by Michael.
5. Exodus of patriarchs and prophets to Paradise.

The following is Burton's description:

Sellers[15] / Verrours / Fuystours { (40) 37 Jesus spolians infernum, xij spiritus, (vj) boni et vj mali.

"Obviously," remarks Miss Lyle, "this description refers to another play, since there is no mention of spirits in the extant version."[16] The present writer is at a loss to understand this statement, for the characters in Hell are: the departed spirits of seven righteous (namely, Adam, Eve, Isaiah,[17] Symeon, Johannes Baptista, Moyses and David), and five devils (namely, Belsabub, Sattan, Belliall, Primus diabolus, and Secundus diabolus). These latter are bound by Michael and Jesus. To be sure, the number of good and evil spirits does not agree exactly with Burton's six and six, though the total number is twelve. It is

[14] For extensive parallels see W. A. Craigie, "The Gospel of Nichodemus and the York Mystery Plays," *Furnivall Miscellany*, 1901, p. 54. Note that these parallels are more verbal than structural, so that the relation between them need not necessarily appear in Burton.

[15] Above the word *Sellers* is written *Sadellers*; and the word *Glasiers* is written over the word *Verrours*. The brackets around the first "vj" indicate later interlineation. See Miss Smith, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

[17] Written "Isaac" in error.

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also to be noted that the interlineation of the first "vj" indicates some uncertainty as to the number in the list. Here, then, as in play XXXIII, we do not seem warranted in accepting Miss Lyle's contention that the differences between Burton's list and the York plays as we now have them are due to the later additions from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*. In the case of XXXIII, it is true, incidents are included which are not mentioned by Burton, but these extra incidents are not among those which depend on the *Gospel of Nichodemus*; in the case of XXXVII, the description of Burton, though very brief, shows no variation from the extant text.

The fourth play to be studied is York XXXVIII, the play of the Carpenteres. This is described as "*The Resurrection; fright of the Jews*," and is parallel to Play XVI in Towneley, "*Resurrectio Domini*," though the lines are not altogether identical.[18] The incidents are as follows:

1. Uneasiness of Pilate, Anna and Cayphas.
2. Accusations of the Centurion.
3. Pilate, anxious, sets a watch at the tomb.
4. The soldiers sleep and Jesus comes out of the tomb.
5. The Marys come to seek Him.
6. The angel tells them He is risen; they go.
7. The terror of the soldiers.
8. They tell Pilate of the Resurrection.
9. Pilate bribes them to say He was stolen by 20,000 men.

The characters in the play are: the three Marys (1. Maria Magdalene, 2. Maria, mother of James and John, 3. Maria Salome), four milites, Pilatus, Anna, Cayphas, Centurio, and Angelus.[19] This seems to correspond perfectly with Burton's list with the exception of the Centurion who is omitted altogether. The list is as follows:

Carpenters [Junours Cartwrightes Caruour Sawers][20]	(41) 38. Jesus resurgens de sepulcro, quatuor milites armati, et tres Marie lamentantes. Pilatus, Cayphas [et Anna. Juvenis sedens ad sepulcrum indutus albo, loquens mulieribus]

[18] Miss Smith gives both texts; see pp. 396–420.

[19] Jesus does not appear in the *Persons of the play* and this action is provided for only by a rubric *Tunc Iesu resurgente*, and to this a marginal note is added in a later hand: *Tunc angelus cantat Resurgens.* See Miss Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 406, note 1.

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Obviously, the chief difference between the play and the list is the part of the Centurion, and this is the part which is certainly taken from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*. As Miss Lyle observes,

> No mention is made by Burton of the Centurion's reproach against the Jews, nor of his recital of the overcasting of the weather at the time of Jesus' death given so much prominence at the beginning of the extant play. This material is derived from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*, and if it had been included in the earlier play, it seems likely that Burton would, at least, have included the name of the Centurion in the list of characters.[21]

With this statement we can agree, though perhaps she goes too far when she adds: "Apparently, its omission is to be explained only upon the ground that the material from the *Gospel of Nichodemus* was not included in the cycle at the time of its formation."

In the case of the last play (XXXIX) the evidence is ambiguous, as Miss Lyle recognizes in her summary:

> Since the additions from the *Gospel of Nichodemus* in play 29 (the play of the Bowers and Flecchers) the *Examination before Caiphas and Peter's Denial*, did not necessitate the introduction of an extra character or of a new incident, it is impossible to determine whether the play, as described by Burton, refers to the extant version or to an earlier play. Burton's description is too meager in detail to help much.[22]

The play as a whole is based upon the *Northern Passion*, with the introduction of material from the *Gospel of Nichodemus* in the matter of additional accusations.[23]

Summarizing the results of our comparison, we find that two plays in their present form contain *Gospel of Nichodemus* material which is lacking in Burton's description; namely, the rôle of Percula in XXX and that of the Centurion in XXXVIII. On the other hand, in *The Second Trial* (XXXIII) and the *Harrowing of Hell* (XXXVII), though perhaps there is not agreement in all

[20] The words in brackets are added later, showing again, as in the case of Burton 36 and 40, that this play went through the hands of more than one group of gilds, undergoing changes as a result. Miss Smith gives additional evidence regarding the change in ownership of this play; see p. xxvi, note 4.

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

[22] Burton's description reads as follows:

> Bowers / Flecchers — (32) 29. Jesus, Anna, Cayphas, et iiij^{or} Judei percuciente et colaphizantes Jesum; Petrus, mulier accusans Petrum, et Malchus.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 33; Miss Lyle gives verbal parallels in her note 14.

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details between Burton's description of them and the text as we have it,[24] the discrepancies cannot be accounted for on the basis of later additions from the *Gospel of Nichodemus*. In fact, material from this source was already present in the form of these plays described by Burton. This in itself presents a decisive objection to Miss Lyle's view that these plays represent a revision subsequent to Burton's list.

Furthermore, it becomes possible, on the basis of the comparison just made, to fix the date of this revision within fairly close limits. Professor Craigie[25] has proved beyond doubt that the York *Harrowing of Hell*, as well as some other plays in this cycle, borrowed directly from the *Gospel of Nichodemus* in MS Harley 4196, which is generally dated about 1400. Accordingly the revision of the York play must have been later than 1400. On the other hand, as we have already seen, it must have been earlier than 1415 when Burton wrote his description of the plays.

With the limits of the York *Harrowing of Hell* thus defined, we may examine the chronological foundation of Miss Lyle's argument for the original identity of the York and Towneley cycles. Her theory, in brief, proceeds on the assumption that the six plays[26] which in the two cycles are practically identical are survivals of the original "parent cycle." Among the six plays thus assigned to the parent cycle, however, is the *Harrowing of Hell*. This would make it necessary to push back the date of this play previous to 1390, the year which Miss Lyle gives for the probable separation into distinct cycles. But this dating of the *Harrowing of Hell* directly conflicts with Professor Craigie's evidence from MS Harley 4196, which Miss Lyle accepts without question, and which she supports by additional parallels. Moreover, if the *Gospel of Nichodemus*, as she believes, "manifests itself not only in the appropriation of material, but in the adoption in several plays of its characteristic stanza—the Northern Septenar,"[27] this would involve the elimination from the "parent cycle" of *Pharaoh* and *The Doctors*, as well as the *Harrowing of Hell*, that is, of three of the six identical plays upon which she

[24] This is, of course, true of plays other than those containing *Gospel of Nichodemus* material. Compare, for instance, note 12, above.

[25] See Craigie, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–61.

[26] *Pharaoh, Doctors, Harrowing of Hell, Resurrection, Last Judgment*, and part of *On the Way to Calvary*.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

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bases her metrical reconstruction. In other words, when tested by chronology, Miss Lyle's argument for the original identity of the two cycles appears to be essentially self-contradictory.

Miss Lyle's thesis rests upon an hypothesis, the basis of which she makes no attempt to prove. Scholars will hardly accept a reconstruction of the "parent cycle" of York and Towneley until it has been demonstrated that these six plays have actually escaped revision.[28] The evidence which has thus far been presented seems rather to favor the view advanced by Mrs. Grace Frank[29] that revisions introduced in the texts of the craft plays were eccentric rather than systematic, inasmuch as they were conditioned upon changes in the organization of the groups of craft-gilds which undertook the presentation of the plays. An ample basis for working out this theory in the case of the York Plays has been supplied by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith,[30] who has carefully traced the documentary evidence relating to the changes in the ownership of the several plays. By checking up this evidence in connection with the *Gospel of Nichodemus* material it might be possible to throw some new light on the manner and purpose of the revision of these plays. It seems more hopeful, at least, to account for the changes on the basis of revision by individual gilds rather than by the theory of a consistent metrical revision of the cycles.

[28] Miss Lyle says: "In spite of independent revisions through which other plays passed after the separation of the two cycles, these plays retain practically their parent form. They may therefore be considered direct evidence of the original identity of the two cycles" (p. 56).

[29] "Revisions in the Early English Mystery Plays," *Mod. Phil.*, XV, 181–88.

[30] In the Introduction of her ed. of the *York Plays*. As a further bit of evidence relating to the Couchers (who joined with the Tapiteres in giving Play XXX) I quote her note appended to Play XIX, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, given by the "Gyrdellers and Naylers:"

"On lf. 73 is the word Mylners crossed through; on the back of the same leaf is noted in a late hand, 'This matter of the gyrdlers agreyth not with the Couche3 in no point, it beginneth, Lyston lordes unto my Lawe'." As a matter of fact, this sounds like the first line in York XXXVIII, the play of the Carpenteres, where the first words are by Pilate and are "Lordingis, listenys nowe unto me." Miss Smith continues: "It does not appear what this refers to. Play XXX is by the Tapiteres and Coucheres, but it does not begin with this line. I have no mention of Couchers among my extracts from the City records, though several as to the Tapiters; probably the Couchers were a newer craft" (*York Plays*, p. 146). For a further instance of a play which was transferred from gild to gild, see note 11, above.

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On the whole Burton's list, it must be admitted, has not so far thrown much light upon the problem of revision, but if it has put out the false gleam of "the Original Identity" theory, it may save scholars further unnecessary labour, as well as a faulty commitment.[31]

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[31] See, for instance, Mrs. Grace Frank (*Mod. L. Notes*, XXXV, 45): "This dissertation, the most notable contribution in recent years to the study of the relations between the York and Towneley Cycles, presents in admirable form a most plausible solution of that problem."

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VI

EDMUND WALLER AS A MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

TO ONE who has followed the growth of the scientific movement in England toward the middle of the seventeenth century and the organization of the Royal Society in 1661, Edmund Waller's appearance as a charter member of the Society is no surprise. His association, while still a young man, with Lucius Cary and his philosophical friends at Great Tew placed him early in the main current of liberal thought in religion and politics which, interrupted by the outbreak of civil war, was turned aside into scientific channels. Though less intelligent and courageous than Cary and Edward Hyde, for example, Waller ran a parliamentary course which, with all his vacillation, was roughly parallel to theirs. Expelled from the House of Commons, fined and banished from England, though he was reconciled to Parliament, was made a commissioner of trade and wrote his "Panegyric to my Lord Protector" on Cromwell's death in 1658, he was taken as a sincere enough royalist when he greeted the King with a similar ode on his return two years later. That Waller was a royalist counted in his favor when it came to choosing members of the Society who were not particularly interested in science; for the scientific movement itself, carried on under the Commonwealth in informal meetings largely by mild parliamentarians and a few equally mild royalists who had managed to remain in England, became royalist in its temper so far as the honorary membership was concerned upon its incorporation as the Royal Society. At that time, problems of organization and administration were paramount, while science itself was far from technical, embracing the arts and touching language and literature themselves. The founders of the Society, therefore, solicited members from all "Religions, Countries, and Professions of Life" that they might not fall short of the "largeness of their own declarations."[1] That Waller was a poet in some favor at court, then, was reason enough in itself for his becoming a member of the Royal Society.

Waller had, however, more particular claims to membership in the new Society. During his sojourn on the continent, besides observing the activities of the *virtuosi* of France and Italy, he

[1] See Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge*, 1667, p. 63.

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came into close personal contact with Thomas Hobbes, from which he could scarcely have come off without some interest in philosophy and science. His even closer association with John Evelyn during the same time marks the beginning of his connection with the English scientists, with whom Hobbes himself was, of course, in constant conflict. The four years' acquaintanceship with Evelyn on the continent was only temporarily interrupted by Waller's forgiveness by the Parliament and his return to England in January, 1651–52. Evelyn himself was soon back at home and Waller had the opportunity of addressing an ode "To his Worthy Friend Master Evelyn, upon his Translation of *Lucretius*." They became fellow members of the Board of Trade when Evelyn himself was appointed a commissioner upon the Restoration. Evelyn, who had become a leading participant in the informal meetings of the natural philosophers, was most active in enlisting the interest and securing the patronage of the King.

Waller was proposed as a member of the Society on 2 January, 1660–61, at the meeting following Evelyn's own nomination. He was elected on 16 January, his name duly appearing in the charter, granted some time later, as one of the original fellows.

Waller's interest in the affairs of the Society seems to have been greater than that of any of the other poets who were members except Abraham Cowley and Thomas Sprat. Neither William Hammond, Thomas Stanley, John Denham nor even Dryden himself—all of whom were members—seems to have taken so active a part in the Society. Thus, on 15 May, 1661, along with Robert Boyle, John Wilkins, Seth Ward, John Wallis, Evelyn and others, he was appointed to a committee "for erecting a library, and examining the generation of insects."[2] When, on 20 May, 1663, experiments "of killing frogs with pitch, quick-silver and vinegar" were made, Waller observed "that toads love to come abroad out of the woods and other shady places in moist and cool weather." And,

> Mention being made of toads infecting sage, Mr. Waller alledged, that it had been observed in a Microscope, that sage had little cavities, used to be filled with small spiders, and that this was the cause, which made the plant noxious, if not well washed.[3]

[2] See Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London . . . .*, 1756, I, 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, 241.

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At the same meeting, Birch records,

> Mr. Waller related, that in an iron candlestick, such as wax-candle is wound upon, after the candle was burnt down to that part, which clasps it in, and had heated it, there was heard about that part a noise like that of a death-watch, continuing for a while, and then ceasing, and that putting his finger upon it, when somewhat cooled, he found the iron beat like a pulse.[4]

On this occasion also

> Mr. Waller related, that in a beech-wood of his the beech being cut down, other kinds of trees succeeded, as hazels, willows, and fallows, that had never grown there before.[5]

At another meeting, on 8 July,

> Mr. Waller suggested, that verjuice being excellent sauce, the vines yielding it might be planted more plentifully in England.[6]

Waller's interest in botany seems to have been considered in the appointment of special committees at the meeting of 30 March, 1664, for his name appears, along with that of Evelyn, in the list of members of the "georgical" committee.[7] Thus one may imagine a continuation in the Royal Society of that common interest of two gentlemen, now holders of country estates, who in former times had "footed it thro' [the] pleasant fields and medows" that lay along the Euganean Hills.[8]

Waller's last appearance as an active member of the Society seems to have been in connection with a committee appointed on 7 December, 1664, "for improving the English language."[9] The meetings of this committee, as well as those of the Society itself, were interrupted by the plague and the fire. When the regular work of the Society was resumed, some two years later, only the most faithful of the members reappeared. Within a few more years, the older leaders having been disabled by age or removed by death and the distinguished group of newer ones still to come, the affairs of the Society reached a very low ebb. By 1672 attempts were being made to collect arrears in the payment of regular dues.

[4] *Ibid.*, 242.
[5] *Ibid.*, 243.
[6] *Ibid.*, 272.
[7] *Ibid.*, 407.
[8] John Evelyn, *Diary*, 5 July, 1646.
[9] Birch, I, 499–500.

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Stringent regulations were drawn up and enforced to the extent of expelling eight delinquent members on 18 November, 1674. After another campaign in 1682 the names of twenty-three more members were dropped from the roster, and, three years later, forty-seven more were passed upon to be dropped from the anniversary list.[10]

It is as one of these delinquent members that Waller last figures in the records of the Royal Society. Henry Oldenburg, who had been appointed to see him about paying his arrears and signing a bond to cover the weekly dues, reported, on 25 February, 1674–75, that he "put it off with an expression of merriment, that he thought it best to forget and forgive one another for what was past, and to begin upon a new score."[11] Apparently, however, Waller took no steps toward beginning upon a new score. Abraham Hill was appointed to see him about the matter again seven years later, reporting that

> Mr. Waller said, that the plague happening some time after the Society was established, and he being perpetually in parliament had never been able to attend the Society, either to serve them, or receive any advantage thereby: that he was now of a great age, had lost half his fortune for the king, and having a great charge of children, hoped, that he should be considered as others, who had not been able to wait on them as well as he: and he humbly took leave to consider how he might be able to serve them.[12]

It is recorded in the minutes for 8 March, 1681–2, that

> Mr. Waller's answer being read, it was ordered, that Mr. Houghton should again attend Mr. Waller, and see to get what he can of his arrears, and make as good a composition with him as possible.[13]

Apparently Waller made some satisfactory settlement, for he was not among the forty-seven who were ejected at that time. Thomas Birch, writing his history of the Royal Society in 1756, inserts a respectful notice of Waller's death in 1687.

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[10] See Birch, III, 63 ff.
[11] *Ibid.*, 191.
[12] *Ibid.*, IV, 130.
[13] *Ibid.*, 133.

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VII

CONTEMPORARY SATIRE IN OTWAY'S *VENICE PRESERVED*

From the accession of Charles II, English drama manifested a continuous strain of political satire, most of it in favor of the Court party. The Roundheads, the citizens, the Presbyterians, the opposers of the Crown, above all the foremost Liberal of the day,[1] Anthony Ashley Cooper, later the Earl of Shaftesbury, were fair game to be attacked in a prologue, an epilogue, and even at times in a full-length character portrayal or an entire play.

Especially was this true during the troublous years 1678–1682, during which five of Otway's plays were produced. The two struggling theatres of the time, dependent alike on Court patronage and Court sanction, with audiences drawn chiefly from the Royalist faction,[2] became openly partisan. During these four years, few plays were produced which were not largely political in their allusions, if not in their entire plots. Of these plays many served their factional ends and have been forgotten. Otway's *Venice Preserved*, through its passion and its beauty, has so completely outlived its contemporary allusions that the modern reader is likely to slight them, and the modern editor who approaches the play without special study of the history of the period is sure to misunderstand them.

The Cavalier Parliament of 1661–1678, though monarchist in sentiment and loyal to Charles personally, did not support all of his policies: it opposed the French *rapprochement* and the Dutch Wars, and it demanded the continuance of the repressive acts against Catholicism. Moreover, it was opposed to the creation of a standing army, and during the eighteen years of its existence it came gradually to demand the control of appropriations, primarily for the sake of thwarting the King's desire for a standing army.

But despite its partial independence, the Cavalier Parliament had stood as a buffer between the King and the Country party; its successor was so certain to be less favorable to Charles that not

[1] Shaftesbury is variously described by friends and foes as "the great Liberal" and as "the wickedest man of a wicked age." More reasonable is the estimate of G. M. Trevelyan: "A sceptic who believed in civil liberty and religious Toleration for all Protestants. . . . . Sometimes the servant, sometimes the enemy of Cromwell and of Charles II., he was always the servant of civil freedom and the enemy of a persecuting State Church" (*England under the Stuarts*, 9th ed., 1920, p. 364).

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until 1678 was the Opposition able to force a dissolution, which was followed by an overwhelming Whig victory at the polls. In 1677 Shaftesbury, after an ineffectual attack on the constitutionality of so prolonged a session, was confined in the Tower for a year without trial, and was able to secure his freedom only by an abject apology to the House of Lords.[3] But long before 1678 Charles, depending more and more upon secret grants from France to maintain his freedom from Parliamentary control, had extended his arbitrary power and had prorogued the Parliament from time to time, although he dared not dissolve it.

The King was repulsed for a time by the Parliamentary inquiry into the Popish Plot in 1678, when "the truths that would have saved the Whigs remained hid, but a liar came to their deliverance;"[4] and it was not until after more than three years of life-and-death struggle with the Whigs, headed by Shaftesbury,[5] that the King triumphed in the main purpose of his tortuous policy—the absolute supremacy of the Crown.

Venice Preserved was first acted in February, 1682, at a time when the struggle of Charles for arbitrary power was being rewarded with success. The Oxford Parliament had been dissolved by the King nearly a year previously; and, with a three-year pension from Louis XIV, Charles was able to rule England for the remaining years of his life without summoning a parliament.[6] Shaftesbury, the former Lord Chancellor but never a real confidant of Charles, had for nine years known of the King's secret adherence to the Catholic religion;[7] and during that time he had come gradu-

[3] The influence of the Court on Restoration Drama is especially well treated by Allardyce Nicoll, in Chapter I of *A History of Restoration Drama*, Cambridge, 1923.

[3] W. D. Christie, *A Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury*, London and New York, 1871, II, 259.

[4] Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

[5] John Pollock, *The Popish Plot: A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II*, Lond., 1903, p. 260: "In the panic of the Popish Plot and the wild agitation of the Exclusion bill that struggle, exasperated by the Dover treaty and the Catholic intrigues, came to a head. Its consequence was the Rye House Plot, the perfection of Whig failure. In that struggle too the conflicting principles found their absolute exponents in the two wittiest and two of the most able statesmen in English history, each gifted with a supreme political genius, each exclusive of the other, each fighting for personal ascendency no less than for an idea, for principle no less than for power, Charles II and the Earl of Shaftesbury."

[6] Pollock, *op. cit.*, pp. 256–57. Richard Lodge, *The History of England from the Restoration to the Death of William III.* (1660–1702), Lond. and N. Y., 1912, Chapter X.

[7] Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 87–88. Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

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ally to surmise much of the underlying policy of his royal master.[8] As late as 1679 there had been hopes of drawing Shaftesbury back into the party of the King,[9] but before the dissolution of Parliament in March, 1681, the breach was final. Soon afterwards Shaftesbury was arrested on a charge of treason supported by suborned witnesses,[10] and was brought before a grand jury in London. But he was saved from certain sentence to death (he would have been tried by a special jury of peers of the King's own choosing[11]) when the grand jury refused to declare a true bill. Even after this virtual acquittal Shaftesbury was held, at first in confinement and later on bail, until February, 1682, the month in which Otway's play was produced. Within the year following, Shaftesbury had failed as a revolutionary leader, had escaped to Holland, and had died in exile.

It is against the party of Shaftesbury that every line of contemporary satire in *Venice Preserved* is directed. The Popish Plot is attacked or belittled—in the Prologue as a fraud, in the play itself as a thing of no consequence. Parliament, dissolved by the King in the preceding year, is held up to scorn. And Shaftesbury himself, the chosen friend of John Locke, and for all his faults, the chief Liberal leader of the age, is attacked in every conceivable way, both as a malicious leader and as a doting fool, as a man of unbridled licentiousness and as an impotent weakling. Dryden, with more skill as a satirist, could concede that there was some truth in the Popish Plot, and that Shaftesbury was a man of great native ability and of real integrity as a judge;[12] with Otway there is as little attempt at artistic restraint as at truth or consistency. Every

[8] Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 136.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, 352. Burnet's *History of My Own Time*, ed. Osmund Airy, Oxford, 1900, Part I, II, 248, note 1.

[10] Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 419–426.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 427.

[12] *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part I. Montague Summers, the latest editor of Otway, apparently adopting the precept that "the Devil was the first Whig," ignores all contemporary evidence in Shaftesbury's favor and denies him all excellence except in the degree of his crimes (*The Complete Works of Thomas Otway*, Lond., 1926, III, 277–8): "that lewd and hateful wretch, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, who may not untruly be said to have been one of the founders of the Whig faction. Patron and friend of the vile Titus Oates, true to no principles . . . . steeped himself in every species of disloyalty, treachery, and crime . . . . branded with the brand of Judas and of Cain, he found it convenient to fly to Holland in November, 1682, and there in the following January this execrable monster breathed his last, leaving 'A Name to all succeeding Ages curst'."

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charge which more than forty years of public life had raised against Shaftesbury is hurled at him with frightful vehemence.

With such exceptions as Davies, who, to some degree, followed fairly direct traditions, and Genest, who followed Davies in part, later commentators have taken their history from such partisan sources as Dryden's satires on Shaftesbury; and they have repeated from one edition to another the incorrect or at least inadequate explanations of their predecessors. For this the historians are partly responsible; there was no authentic life of Shaftesbury until a a half century ago, and special study of the Popish Plot has been even more backward. As one historian says, "There is nothing in English history of equal importance with the Popish Plot of which so little is known." However, the main events of the time can perhaps be followed with sufficient clearness for most of our present purposes.

Otway seems to have been on principle a Tory and a Royalist; in addition, he was a Court poet. During a period of four and a half years, the King, on account of the excitement of the Popish Plot, attended the theatre much less than usual. Of the twelve plays he is known to have seen, six were by Otway.[13] He saw *Venice Preserved* in February, 1682, perhaps, according to his custom, at the first night's performance. None of Otway's plays would seem to have been withheld from performance by the King's order, as was the fate of many other plays of the time (even including one of Dryden's). It was no easy task for the playwright to suit the exacting political requirements of the Court. Tate complained bitterly of the suppression of his *Sicilian Usurper* on the third day, despite his careful wrenching of the plot so that "every scene is full of respect to Majesty, and the dignity of Courts, not one altered page, but what breathes loyalty."[14]

The two royalist poets who seem to have given most satisfaction at this time were Dryden and Otway, both of whom, according to tradition, followed hints from Charles himself for the attacks directed at Shaftesbury.[15] The frequency and the tone of Otway's

[13] Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 311; records from the Lord Chamberlain's department of the Public Record Office.

[14] J. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage, etc.*, Bath, 1832, I, 294.

[15] Lodge, *op. cit.*, 462. The Hon. Roden Noel, *Thomas Otway*, London, 1888, pp. 288–89. *Ibid.*, p. xlvii: "But Otway, to use his own words, only got 'the pension of a prince's praise'; and a gracious permission to lampoon the greatest statesman of the age, which he did accordingly."

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political allusions in his other plays are indicated by the citations in the footnotes.[16] Of *Venice Preserved* it is usually stated that Otway attacks Shaftesbury under the character of Antonio, and that the Prologue and the Epilogue are attacks upon him and upon the conduct of the inquiry into the Popish Plot. The sub-title of the play, *A Plot Discovered*, has been repeatedly pointed out as a reference to the Popish Plot. Further attempts to trace allusions have been halting, and often utterly erroneous.

In six respects contemporary allusions may be traced farther and more precisely than previous students of the play have done: (1) in the frequent recurrence of formal swearing; (2) in the portrayal of Shaftesbury as Renault; (3) in the more open assault on Shaftesbury as Antonio; (4) in the explicit references to the Popish Plot; (5) in the reduction of the serious aspects of the conspiracy, which in Otway's source (Abbé Saint-Réal's historical romance, *Conjuration des Espagnols contre la république de Venise en 1618*, either in the original French text of 1674 or in the English translation of 1675) was of vast magnitude, to a bubble which collapses at the first push, and against which the senators are forewarned by an anonymous letter even before Jaffeir comes to betray the conspirators; and (6) in the scornful presentation of the Senate, apparently with reference to Parliament.

(1) A unique feature of the play is the vast amount of offering and taking of formal oaths of loyalty and of truth, without a parallel in English drama. In addition to frequent reference to vows, repeated protestations of loyalty, and a fair proportion of

[16] In the five plays by Otway (1675–78) which precede the agitation over the Popish Plot, political allusions are doubtful and infrequent. *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (1679) exalts the Duke of York in the Prologue; but the supposed satire on Shaftesbury is questionable. The accusations against Marius as proud, base-born, a leader of the mob, and a free dispenser of bribes may perhaps be oblique hits at Shaftesbury; but the play is not closely topical in its allusions, and most of it is remote from contemporary affairs. *The Orphan* (1680) exalts the Duke of York in the Prologue, contains two passages expressing intense loyalty to kings, and jibes at the Dissenters in the Epilogue.

But it is in Otway's three last plays that contemporary allusions become most frequent and bitter. *The Soldier's Fortune* (1680) contains ten passages attacking Shaftesbury's party, false swearing, and the Plot. *Venice Preserved* (1682) intensifies and extends the attack on Shaftesbury. *The Atheist* (1683) contains ten passages, some of several pages, ridiculing the Dissenters, rebellion, false swearing, and the Plot, the Epilogue exulting in the discomfiture of those who

"were never sparing
To save the land, and damn yourselves, by swearing."

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ordinary swearing for the sake of emphasis, no less than nine passages—129 lines in all—are devoted to the formal act of swearing, only one of which is derived from Otway's source,[17] while several serve no apparent purpose in the story. Accordingly, it seems possible to regard these passages as allusions to the trials for the Popish Plot, which from first to last were conducted by the use of questionable or suborned witnesses,[18] and which are, as Pollock has said, "a standing monument to the most astounding outburst of successful perjury which has occurred in modern times."[19] This conjecture is supported by the satirical references to swearing in Otway's next play, *The Atheist*, which was produced in the year following.[20]

When the public had for two and a half years been agitated so deeply by the discussion of the Plot,[21] and had at last begun to discredit the oaths which were sworn to establish its existence, such passages as these would have great contemporary interest:[22]

> Were truth by sense and reason to be tried,
> Sure all our swearers might be laid aside:[23]
>
> *Pierre.* Well said! out with't; swear a little—
> *Jaffeir.* Swear!
> By sea and air, by earth, by Heaven and hell,
> I will revenge my Belvidera's tears!
> Hark thee, my friend; Priuli—is—a senator![24]
>
> *Pierre.* . . . . Swear that thou wilt be true to what I utter;
> And when I have told thee that which only gods
> And men like gods are privy to, then swear
> No chance or change shall wrest it from thy bosom.
> *Jaffeir.* When thou wouldst bind me, is there need of oaths?
>
> . . . . . .

[17] The oath sworn by the senators when they promise immunity to Jaffeir and life to his associates.

[18] Pollock, *op. cit.*, pp. 312, 313, 328, 334, 345, 346. Burnet, *op. cit.*, Part I, II, 198.

[19] Pollock, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[20] See note 16 above.

[21] *Venice Preserved*, Prologue, ll. 3–5:

> When we have feared three years we know not what,
> Till witnesses begin to die o' th' rot,
> What made our poet meddle with a plot?

[22] The text of *Venice Preserved* cited throughout is that of D. H. Stevens, *Types of English Drama 1660-1780*, Boston, 1923.

[23] Prologue, ll. 11–12.

[24] I, i, 296 ff.

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Pierre. . . . . There's no religion, no hypocrisy in't:
We'll do the business, and ne'er fast and pray for't;
. . . . . .
Swear then![25]

Belvidera. Shall I swear?

Jaffeir. No! do not swear. I would not violate
Thy tender nature with so rude a bond;
But as thou hop'st to see me live my days
And love thee long, lock this within thy breast.[26]

Jaffeir. . . . . I must have the oaths
And sacred promise of this reverend council,
That in a full assembly of the Senate
The thing I ask be ratified. Swear this,
And I'll unfold the secrets of your danger.

All. We'll swear.

Duke. Propose the oath.

Jaffeir. By all the hopes
Ye have of peace and happiness hereafter,
Swear!

All. We all swear.

Jaffeir. To grant me what I've asked,
Ye swear.

All. We swear.[27]

Jaffeir. By all that's just—

Pierre. Swear by some other powers,
For thou hast broke that sacred oath too lately.
. . . . . .
All I received in surety for thy truth,
Were unregarded oaths—and this, this dagger,
Given with a worthless pledge thou since hast stol'n:
So I restore it back to thee again,
Swearing by all those powers which thou hast violated. . . . .[28]

Aquilina. . . . . Swear that my love shall live,
Or thou art dead!

Antonio. Ah-h-h-h.

Aquilina. Swear to recall his doom—
Swear at my feet, and tremble at my fury.

Antonio. I do. [*Aside*.] Now, if she would but kick a little bit—one kick now, ah-h-h-h.

Aquilina. Swear, or—

Antonio. I do, by these dear fragrant foots
And little toes, sweet as—e-e-e-e, my Nacky, Nacky, Nacky.[29]

[25] II, ii, 72 ff.
[26] III. ii, 132 ff.
[27] IV, ii, 59 ff.
[28] IV, ii, 229 ff.
[29] V, i, 219 ff.

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The ghost of Hamlet's father, with its insistence on Hamlet's taking the oath, no doubt has amused the unthinking spectators. How much more amusing must such an orgy of swearing[30] have been, when it was at last safe for the triumphant Court to laugh at the Popish Plot!

(2) Davies,[31] and Genest[32] after him, seem to be alone in conjecturing that Renault may represent a serious satire on Shaftesbury, to supplement the facetious picture drawn in the character of Antonio. This plausible conjecture deserves much more attention than it has received. In the Prologue, these two characters alone are described in words which call for contemporary application. Frederick and James W. Tupper conjecture[33] that the description of Renault in the Prologue applies to Lord Stafford, and express surprise that the parallel has not been noticed before. But surely Otway would not have made Stafford the butt for ridicule, since Stafford's conviction was regarded as a blow to the cause of the King,[34] who might even have pardoned him if he had dared.[35] Indeed, the desire of Charles to spare him from the grosser indignities meted out to a traitor provoked a satirical reply from the Commons.[36] Finally, the lines do not fit Stafford, who had died fifteen months before this play was produced. On the other hand, they distinctly describe Shaftesbury as his enemies represented him:

> Here is a traitor too, that's very old,
> Turbulent, subtle, mischievous, and bold,
> Bloody, revengeful, and to crown his part,
> Loves fumbling with a wench, with all his heart;
> Till after having many changes passed,
> In spite of age (thanks Heaven) is hanged at last.[37]

An examination of the speeches of Renault makes this identification seem certain. The other conspirators are all quite as favorably portrayed as anyone in the Senate, except Eliot, the

[30] Burnet, *op. cit.*, Part I, II, 292: "hearing that England was at that time disposed to hearken to good swearers, they thought themselves well qualified for the employment."

[31] Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, Lond., 1785, III, 228–29.

[32] Genest, *op. cit.*, I, 353. Since this article was written, the surmise of Genest has been quoted with approval by Summers (*op. cit.*, I, lxxxviii).

[33] *Representative English Dramas from Dryden to Sheridan*, N. Y., 1914, p. 438.

[34] Pollock, *op. cit.*, p. 368; Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 382.

[35] Pollock, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 369–70.

[37] Prologue, ll. 23–28.

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Englishman, who is introduced in the play to be gratuitously held up to scorn for treason, in a jibe against the Whigs.[38] So far from being represented as a band of cut-throats, they are on the whole rather sympathetically drawn, especially in the heroic Pierre, who stands out as a lofty figure in the midst of the cruel and cowardly senators. But Renault has all of the faults and vices popularly attributed to Shaftesbury: excessive ambition, duplicity, an infirm body, licentious tastes, personal cowardice, and a fondness for speech-making.

His first words are in the form of a soliloquy on ambition (II, iii, 1–7). Next he boasts of his superior integrity (l. 15). (Charles and James called Shaftesbury in satire "little Sincerity.")[39] Shaftesbury's own part in pressing the Popish Plot is referred to (ll. 19–20) and his age (l. 36). When Pierre compares his cause with that of Brutus, Renault puts in for Catiline (l. 54). Genest[40] misunderstood this passage, assuming that the conspirators do not distinguish between Brutus and Catiline. But this is clearly not the sense of the passage; Pierre, for all his willingness to shed blood, has a notion of freedom in his head. He calls for "a battle for the freedom of the world" (l. 86); and he says with real nobility, when he learns that he has failed,

> So! Then all's over,
> Venice has lost her freedom, I, my life (IV, ii, 155–6).

Shaftesbury's ascent from the ranks of the gentry to those of the nobility is perhaps glanced at in Renault's hatred of the nobles and the Senate (ll. 79–80, 81–2). Powerful as he was at this time in the Commons, Shaftesbury had only four years before been obliged to apologize abjectly to the Lords in order to secure his release from the Tower. His physical infirmities and his reputed lust are stressed throughout the passages dealing with his attempt on Belvidera: "the old hoary wretch . . . . ghastly with infernal lust . . . . that old son of mischief . . . . that vile wretch approached me . . . . with my cries I scared his coward heart, Till he withdrew and muttered vows to hell. . . . . That mortified, old, withered, winter rogue . . . . the old fox." (III, ii) His cruelty is stressed by Jaffeir:

[38] "You are an Englishman: when treason's hatching
One might have thought you'd not have been behindhand." (II, iii, 20–21.)

[39] Burnet, *op. cit.*, Part I, II, 213, Note 2.

[40] Genest, *op. cit.*, I, 353.

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Oh, reverend cruelty! damned, bloody villain! (III, ii, 321)
Merciless, horrid slave!—Aye, blood enough!
Shed blood enough, old Renault. (III, ii, 338–9)

His duplicity is emphasized by his calling on the conspirators to embrace,[41] after he has expressed his contempt for embracing, in a speech aside ("I never loved these huggers") (II, iii, 145), and shortly before he opens his attack on Jaffeir as a traitor. His cowardice is strongly emphasized throughout the passage in which Pierre defends his absent friend.[42] His unusually long sharp features are referred to in Pierre's words, "that lean, withered, wretched face!" (III, ii, 457) Belvidera refers to him as

that infernal devil, that old fiend
That's damned himself, and would undo mankind (IV, i, 30–1).

Perhaps this may allude to the supposed Deism of Shaftesbury, about which many stories were in circulation.[43]

Most curious of all, Renault, so carefully held up to scorn in such multitudinous ways, and given both a character and an importance in the plot quite unlike anything in Otway's source, is dropped from sight when Antonio appears in the same scene. It is now Antonio who represents Shaftesbury, and the elaborate portrayal of Renault is discarded. After the conspirators are captured, Pierre becomes their spokesman, and Renault subsides into a very subordinate part. He utters only one sentence, in which he echoes Pierre's desire for death rather than captivity;[44] and he seems to be included in Pierre's subsequent eulogium,

they've all died like men, too,
Worthy their character.[45]

The real leader of the conspiracy in the historical novel which served as Otway's source, Bedamar, the Spanish ambassador, is here kept out of sight most of the time. Renault is given a prominence in the drama which is only partly justified by making him the cause of Jaffeir's defection. The ferocity with which he is attacked, the consistency with which he is charged with the sup-

[41] III, ii, 342.
[42] III, ii, 433–38.
[43] Bishop Burnet believed the charge against him: "He was, as to religion, a deist at best." (*Op. cit.*, Part I, I, 172.)
[44] IV, ii, 165.
[45] V, iii, 54–55.

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posed vices of Shaftesbury, the prominence which is given to him when no action is going forward, and the complete obscurity into which he falls after Antonio appears on the stage with him, can hardly be explained except in terms of contemporary satire. This explanation is definitely established if the explicit reference to Renault in the Prologue is taken to allude to Shaftesbury.

(3) The character of Antonio is usually thought of as an odious picture of the depravity of old age;[46] but it goes much farther than that. In a dissolute age, it was customary for Shaftesbury's enemies to satirize his appearance of an unusually moral life in two different ways: Dryden, for instance, refers to him as having "an eunuch face,"[47] but adds in seeming contradiction, "His open lewdness he could ne'er disguise."[48] Otway has divided the two conceptions in his two characters of Renault and Antonio. Antonio is a harmless but extremely offensive old dotard, enfeebled in body and perverted in instincts. He is rich; he flaunts his purse of gold before the eyes of Aquilina,[49] and many other references are made to his wealth. Shaftesbury was one of the rich men of the age, with a clear income which has been estimated as high as £7,000,[50] and large holdings in the West Indies, at sea, and in English mines and other speculations.

Oliver Cromwell had nicknamed Shaftesbury "Cicero."[51] The decline of the Whig power dated from the defeat of the Second Exclusion Bill a little more than a year before, after "an oratorical duel between the two most effective speakers of their generation," Shaftesbury and Halifax, "and it was the almost unanimous verdict

[46] The often-maligned praise which Taine has given these scenes is due in part to his entirely different conception of Antonio. To him, Antonio is not the doting pervert, but a statesman playing truant—"the busy man eager to leave his robes and his ceremonies . . . . a clown who had missed his vocation, whom chance has given an embroidered silk gown. . . . . He feels more natural, more at his ease, playing Punch than aping a statesman" (*History of English Literature*, New York, 1875, Book III, 25–6). This is curiously like some of the contemporary estimates of Shaftesbury, who was noted for wit and for practical joking. Pepys, for instance, says of him (May 15, 1663) that he was "a man of great business and yet of pleasure and drolling too." Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 154, calls the scenes "marring features," "not because they are badly written, but because they do not harmonize well with the general theme of the play."

[47] *The Medal*, l. 23.

[48] *Ibid.*, l. 37.

[49] III, i.

[50] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XII, 111.

[51] Christie, *op. cit.*, I, 134.

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of listeners that Halifax was the victor."[52] According to Bishop Burnet, an avowed enemy, Shaftesbury

had a wonderful faculty in speaking to a popular assembly, and could mix both the facetious and the serious way of arguing very agreeably .... he triumphed in a rambling way of talking, but argued slightly when he was held close to any point. He had a wonderful faculty at opposing, and running things down; but had not the like force in building up. He had such an extravagant vanity in setting himself out, that it was very disagreeable.[53]

In view of these facts and opinions, the picture of Antonio ceases to be merely repulsive and nasty, and becomes a piece of intensely personal satire. Antonio's second attempt at a speech,[54] in its silly references to the sun and moon, seems to glance at Shaftesbury's notorious interest in astrology.[55] It also represents his desire to keep the Plot before the public (as recently as October 28, 1680, two members of Parliament had been expelled for discrediting the Plot);[56] and in its last lines it refers to the cruelty with which Shaftesbury was repeatedly charged, from the Civil War on. He speaks coolly of the death of Pierre:

> he's to be hanged, little Nacky—
> Trussed up for treason, and so forth, child (V, i, 216–7).

He is immensely frightened by the sight of a dagger (V, i, 191)—a hit at the reported attempts to assassinate Shaftesbury,[57] as well as at his reputed cowardice. But when Aquilina tells him that he will be hanged (a direct allusion to the very recent attempt to indict him for treason, as well as an old joke among his enemies, dating back at least as far as the third part of Butler's *Hudibras*,[58] in which it is elaborately developed), he takes it as a jest:

Hanged, sweetheart? Prithee, be quiet. Hanged, vuoth-a; that's a merry conceit, with all my heart. Why thou jok'st, Nacky; thou art given to joking, I'll swear (V, i, 178–181).

This passage may be taken as an additional reason for coupling the descriptions of Renault and of Antonio in the Prologue.

[52] Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
[53] Burnet, *op. cit.*, Part I, I, 172–73.
[54] V, i, 122–57.
[55] Burnet, *op. cit.*, Part I, I, 172.
[56] Pollock, *op. cit.*, p. xviii. For a somewhat different statement see Burnet, *op. cit.*, Part I, II, 262, Note 3.
[57] Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 348–49.
[58] *Hudibras*, III, Canto 2, ll. 379–420.

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It has been observed by many critics that the age assigned to Antonio is sixty-one. Although at this time Shaftesbury was not exactly at that age, as editors are in the habit of saying, he was well on in his sixty-first year; and as early as 1677 he had referred to himself as "an old infirm man."[59] For years he had attributed his continued life to the skill of his physician, John Locke.[60] Nearly two and a half years after his death he was brought on the stage by Dryden (*Albion and Albanus*), to be ridiculed for the abscess in his side which was kept open by a silver tube. The same infirmity gave rise to the Court nickname, Count Tapski; and it serves to explain the allusion to Poland in Otway's Prologue.[61]

It is just possible that there is some suggestion of the Meal Tub Plot in the whole situation at Aquilina's house, so different in tone from its analogue in Saint-Réal's romance. The Catholic spy, Mrs. Cellier, was at this time suspected of having been used as a tool by Shaftesbury, as well as by the Catholic party. She kept an establishment not entirely unlike that of Aquilina in Venice; she doted on a handsome young conspirator named Dangerfield; and her house was freely used in the conspiracies of the day, and sheltered the witnesses sent over from the Jesuit school, St. Omers, to testify in the trials of the Popish Plot. She was supposed to have visited Shaftesbury's house with the intention of stabbing him.[62] This is but a conjecture, and one which I am unable to confirm; but there is in the two situations enough similarity to arrest the attention of any student acquainted with the affairs of the period.

(4) The explicit references to the Popish Plot are very detailed in both Prologue and Epilogue, but are much less frequent in the play. The word *plot* seems to have been avoided in most speeches by intent; for it occurs only eight times during the play, seven times in speeches by the foolish Antonio, and once in a line in which the Duke seems almost constrained by the exigencies of the verse.[63] The pat phrases which were used from the first to characterize the Popish Plot occur satirically in the speeches of Antonio. He describes Jaffeir as "a damned bloody minded fellow"[64] and the plot as "a bloody, horrid, execrable, damnable, and audacious plot,"[65] quite in the cant language of the day; as on November 1,

[59] Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 253.
[60] *Ibid.*, II 48.
[61] Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 423.
[62] Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 349.
[63] IV, ii, 32.
[64] IV, ii, 55.

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1678, a joint resolution of Parliament had voted that "there hath been and still is a damnable and hellish Plot."[66]

(5) The conspiracy itself, which in Otway's source assumes a vast scope and an extraordinary complexity, is kept in the background. None of the conspirators (except Renault, Pierre, and Jaffeir) is characterized. Eliot, the Englishman, is apparently introduced only for a jibe at the Whigs in a speech which is otherwise inappropriate to the situation. The plot itself seems curiously nebulous and unreal. The senators are forewarned by an anonymous message even before Jaffeir betrays his fellow-conspirators; and the conspiracy collapses as soon as the leaders appear in the street. Of the ten thousand soldiers who were pledged to the revolt (II, iii, 84), no further mention is made. A few officers are able to pick up all of the active conspirators in the street like a handful of night-brawlers. This is quite unlike Saint-Réal's romance, in which a desperate stand is made by some of the conspirators, and their plans fail of achievement only by a matter of hours.

Three reasons may be assigned for this subordination of the conspiracy in Otway's treatment. His adherence to the unities, together with the limitations necessary for any stage treatment, would explain it in part. His own predilection for scenes of emotional intensity rather than for the progressive action of a tragedy[67] would tend in the same direction; in *Venice Preserved* as in *The Orphan*, and even in some of his lesser plays, he is chiefly concerned with the isolated passages of intense feeling. An additional reason is that he did not wish to emphasize the real danger of the conspiracy. The investigation of the Popish Plot had given the Whig party its temporary triumph against the growing power of the King; as a member of the Court party, Otway would be consistent in minimizing the peril of the nation. He could not subordinate the conspiracy further without giving up his tragedy entirely; but in his vivid delineation of the emotional states of Pierre, Jaffeir, and Belvidera, he leaves us no such

[65] V, i, 146. [66] Pollock, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[67] W. J. Courthope represents Otway as incapable of presenting the historical conspiracy (*A History of English Poetry*, Lond., 1903, IV, 430): "no conspirators off the stage ever acted from such motives, or proceeded in such a manner, as Otway imagines .... except for the pathetic scenes between Jaffeir and Belvidera, on the one side, and Pierre and Jaffeir, on the other, the entire action of *Venice Preserved* is as improbable as a nightmare; the stage situations caused by the conflicts between love and conscience, love and friendship, public and private duties, are admirable; but of the nature of man in society, as it is represented to us in *Julius Caesar*, all trace has disappeared."

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sense of dramatic development of the story as we would expect in a Shakespearean play.

In summary, then, it seems to me (1) that the unexampled prominence given to the act of swearing faith has in part a satirical reference to the professed revelations of the Popish Plot under solemn oath. (2) The character of Renault, both in the Prologue and in the Play itself, is almost certainly meant for Shaftesbury, and is in some ways a more fierce attack on him than his portrayal as Antonio. (3) In the character of Antonio the minor and more contemptible qualities attributed to Shaftesbury are ridiculed, as the major ones are in Renault; and some glancing allusion, at least, is possibly intended regarding the entanglement with Mrs. Cellier with which his enemies charged him. (4) The allusions to a plot, by that name, are, almost without exception, of a satirical nature; and nearly all of them are put in the mouth of Antonio. (5) The plot against Venice, although not itself ridiculed, is reduced in magnitude; and from an affair of international scope it has become, in extent at least, something like what Tatlock and Martin call it, "the attempt by a gang of foreigners to wreck a great historic state."[68]

(6) A more general phase of the play is the continual and ferocious attack on the Venetian senate and the senators. Pierre, Renault, Jaffeir, Aquilina, and later Belvidera, have only scorn and loathing for the senate. The foolish boast of Antonio is that he is a senator;[69] and so often is this repeated that the reader comes to think of him as more or less typical. Pierre describes the senators as

> those baleful, unclean birds,
> Those lazy owls, who (perched near fortune's top)
> Sit only watchful with their heavy wings
> To cuff down new-fledg'd virtues . . . . (II, ii, 102–5).

McClumpha, quite unmindful of the struggle between Charles and Parliament, identifies their interests: "The parallelism between the dangers of the Venetian Republic and those of their own King and Parliament was readily understood by the theatre-goers of that day."[70] He quotes the fatuous surmise of Genest[71] that Otway

[68] John S. P. Tatlock and Robert G. Martin, *Representative English Plays*, N.Y., 1916, p. 459.

[69] III, i, 25, 28, 65, 110; V, i, 124, 128, 153, 211.

[70] *The Orphan and Venice Preserved*, ed. Charles F. McClumpha, Boston and Lond., 1908, p. xxxiv.

[71] *Op. cit.*, I, 353.

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"evidently meant to insinuate that the persons at this time in opposition to the Court were as unprincipled as the conspirators in his Tragedy." But the play is surely an attack on Parliament, on its investigation and prosecution of the Popish Plot and its stubborn resistance to any extension of the royal prerogative by Charles, which resulted in numerous prorogations and a final dissolution of Parliament until the death of the King. If Otway meant to represent the conspirators as the enemies of Charles, and the senate as the Court party (as Genest supposed), he went strangely about his purpose of flattering the Court.

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VIII

THE OPPOSITION TO NEO-CLASSICISM IN ENGLAND BETWEEN 1660 AND 1700

THE victory of neo-classicism in England was won only after a struggle against forces which are sometimes called romantic but which are more accurately described as anti-classical. These forces were partly survivals of the past and partly tendencies that pointed forward to nineteenth century romanticism. The latter, so far as they were merely germinal, fall outside the scope of the present discussion, which deals with actual obstacles interfering with the complete dominance of the neo-classical movement after 1660.

There is a striking difference between the opposition encountered by a romantic and by a classical movement. The former, which seeks expansion and individual liberty, is sure to be in conflict with authority—political, social, religious, as well as literary. It is denounced and exposed; its typical figure is a Marlowe or a Shelley. The latter, which seeks repression and social discipline, is likely to receive early and favorable recognition from those in authority. Thus Henry IV favored Malherbe and Louis XIV supported Boileau. The principles these critics advocated were from the beginning respectable.

English neo-classicism, coming in as it did with the restoration of the monarchy, found ready reception in high places. The nation was prepared to welcome an established order in literary as well as in social and political and ecclesiastical affairs. No contrast could be more striking than that between the initial victory of the classical principles immediately after 1660 and the long fight of the romantic principles more than a century later. This fact is clearly evident in the chronology of the two movements: 1660 definitely begins the classical period; but for the romantic there is no agreement upon a beginning date. But after romanticism had won control of the critical citadels the popular battle was over. When neo-classicism had possession of the critical citadels the fight had just begun. The situation was in some respects like that which existed in England after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity. Most people were baptized, but the new religion was not yet well established: opposition consisted not so much in advocacy of the old pagan beliefs as in passive retention, in part at least, of the old practices. After 1660, poets,

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critics, and public alike were ready to accept the principle of order in art as well as in church and state and society, but the classical discipline had to be learned before the new ideal could approach realization. Opposition to this discipline seldom took the form of active revolt; more often it expressed itself as inertia or restlessness under control.

Individualism is characteristic of the English people, the foundation alike of their national liberty and their national eccentricity. With them social discipline does not come easily. The madness of Englishmen was a proverb in the days of Shakespeare. When the First Grave-digger was asked why Hamlet had been sent to England, he replied, "Why, because he was mad; he shall recover his wits there; or, if he do not, it's no great matter there." And he added, " 'Twill not be seen in him there; there the men are as mad as he."

Foreign travellers in England during the last forty years of the seventeenth century generally noticed this tendency. Misson, after describing Bedlam, adds significantly: "Tous les Fous de Londres ne sont pas Là-dedans."[1] Sobière believed that the English were "une Nation, a le dire entre nous, fort bigearre et fort irrégulière."[2] Muralt not only observed the phenomenon but commented shrewdly upon it:

> Les Anglais non seulement ne dépendent, guère de la cour, mais, dans leur manière de vivre ils dépendent fort peu du public et ne se laissent guère tyranniser par la coutume. Ils contentent leurs envies et se plaisent à en formes d'extraordinaires. Ils osent braver l'opinion et la foule, et passer pour fous s'il le faut: grand pas pour deviner raisonnable, tandis que chez des peuples moins féroces et plus uniformes, on voit d'enormes sottises devenir générales et héréditaires, par les soins que les gens y prennent de se resembler les uns aux autres, et par la grande frayeur qu'ils ont de tout ce qui s'éloigne tant soit peu de cette uniformité.[3]

Englishmen themselves often recognized this fact. Thus Thomas Gordon, writing early in the eighteenth century on "The Characters of Different Nations," observed:

> If there be any thing that eminently distinguishes the English from any other Nation, I think it is the Variety there is in their Manners, Humours, Customs, Talents, and their Flexibility and Inconstancy in all of these:

[1] *Mémoires et Observations Faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre*, article "Bedlam," p. 29.

[2] *Voyage en Angleterre*, p. 79.

[3] *Lettres sur les Anglais*, pp. 58–59.

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These Diversions in thinking and acting may be observ'd in the Religion, the Laws, the Government of our Country. We not only in some respects almost generally differ from each other, but at times even from our selves.[4]

Statements such as these not only indicate one of the strong forces which resisted the neo-classical discipline but also show that this resistance continued throughout the seventeenth century. Though much was done to subject the nation to the discipline of the general sense, England as compared with France remained a country of eccentricity.

Nowhere is this contrast more clearly shown than in the two national societies established during the seventeenth century in Paris and in London respectively. The French Academy was a powerful force in purifying the language and ordering the literature. The Royal Society, on the other hand, was a body devoted to experimental science and freedom of discussion. The French was a limiting, restraining influence; the English, an expansive one. The respect for authority in the one contrasts with open-mindedness in the other.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, there were numerous attempts to establish an English Academy. In 1664 Dryden in the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Rival-Ladies* expressed the wish for such an institution. In December of the same year the Royal Society appointed a committee of which Evelyn, Waller, and Dryden were members to take steps "for improving the English tongue."[5] Though elaborate plans were discussed nothing came of the project. Sprat in *The History of the Royal Society* (1667) presented "A proposal for erecting an English Academy." As time passed and nothing further was done about the matter, Dryden apparently lost hope of such an establishment, though he continued to deplore the consequent lack of regularity in the language.

In 1707 James Beeverell, endeavoring to explain for French readers in *Les Délices de la Grande Bretagne*, why there was no academy in England, declared:

La Langue Angloise n'a pas la delicatesse de la Françoise, mais en récompense elle est plus abondante & plus riche. Tandis que les François sont atachez servilement à une Académie, qui leur impose les loix sur les

[4] *The Humourist*, vol. 2, pp. 235–36.

[5] Cf. Edmund Freeman, "A Proposal for an English Academy in 1660," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xix, 291–300.

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mots, en sorte qu'ils n'osent presque pas hazarder un mot noveau, quand même ils, en ont bien besoin, si l'Académie ou l'usage ne l'a aprouvé: les Anglois au contraire, portant leur liberté jusques dans leur Langue, ne font aucun scrupule d'inventer de nouveaux mots, s'ils en ont besoin, & par là leur Langue est devenue, non seulement riche, mais aussi nerveuse, en telle sorte que les Anglois ont quantité de mots qu'on ne sauroit exprimer en François que par un longue circonlocution.[6]

Here we have—though in reference to language alone—almost a perfect expression of the anti-classical reaction. Notice how exactly these words oppose the spirit of Knightly Chetwood's lines of 1682. These declare that the need of English poetry is for

> one who license can restrain,
> Make civil laws o'er barbarous usage reign,
> One worthy in Apollo's chair to sit,
> And hold the scales, and give the stamp of wit,
> In whom ripe judgment and young fancy meet
> And force the poet's rage to be discreet,
> Who grows not nauseous while he strives to please,
> But marks the shelves in our poetic seas.[7]

The agitation for an English Academy illustrates the whole matter under discussion: the project failed because it encountered the passive resistance of inertia and the opposition of undisciplined individualism. During the years immediately after the Restoration, when the establishment of an English Academy was being urged most actively, it is significant that little or no protest against it is recorded: the opposition was silent. Similar passive resistance to any social or literary discipline constituted a material obstacle to the triumph of neo-classicism in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Another obstacle was the prestige of Elizabethan literature. Much has been made of this by some critics. Hamelius declared his belief that apart from the court the older romantic ideals still lingered.

Schon in der City hielten sich die Kaufleute und Bürger von fremden Sitten und Anschauungen frei, und in den Grafschaften freute sich der Edelmann an seinem Spenser und Shakespeare, ohne sich darum zu bekümmern, dass die Hauptstadt neue Muster feierte und nachahmte. .... Dieser Stand empfand wenig Bedürfnisz, seine Ansichten schriftlich zu bekunden, und selbst Neudrucke der alten Dichter waren fast über-

[6] Vol. 5, p. 904.

[7] Quoted by Gosse, *From Shakespeare to Pope*, p. 32.

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flüssig zu einer Zeit, wo Papier und Einbände stark genug waren, um Jahrhunderte zu überdauern. Der altenglische Geschmack war also nicht vernichtet, sondern nur vom geräuschvollen Vordergrunde des Nationallebens verdrangt.[8]

This is indeed moving, from the picture of the nobleman in the country with his well-loved Spenser and Shakespeare refusing to bow the knee before the strange, new gods of Whitehall,[9] to the romantic touch about the durability of the old paper and bindings, and the curiously mixed figure about "der altenglische Geschmack" crowded out of the noisy foreground of the national life. It is a striking example of literary criticism based upon the assumption that whatever bears the label, romantic, contains all good, and whatever is called classic or "pseudo-classic" must be bad.

Hamelius' idea about the survival of Elizabethan poetry contains some truth, just enough to make it misleading in its present form. Literary movements are usually slower in making their presence felt in the country than in the city. To an unusual degree these classical ideals were social and therefore predominantly urban. A system which involves the arbitrament of the general sense and which uses as its standards the language and manners of the court is a system which needs for its development and dissemination the intercourse of cultivated people. Thus it is reasonable to assume that country readers—so far as they existed at all—were not entirely in accord with the new movement in literature. But on that account one should not assume that they were devoted adherents of romanticism. That country gentlemen neglected their hunting to pore in rapture over the Renaissance allegory of Spenser or that they spent their leisure in rapt contemplation of the pages of Shakespeare—anachronism is a mild word to apply to such a conception. Country readers whose literary accomplishments extended beyond the pages of the prayer-book and the almanac were reading *The Merry Conceited Jests of George Peele* and Tarlton's *Newes Out of Purgatorie* and *The English Gusman: or the History of that Unparalleled Thief, James Hind* and *The Monk's Hood Pulled Off* and debased chapbook

[8] Hamelius, *Die Kritik in der Eng. Lit.*, pp. 50–51.

[9] One wonders if there is here a reminiscence of the great folio Shakespeare, *editio princeps*, which Scott in *Woodstock* represents as lying on the reading desk in the sitting apartment of Sir Henry Lee. That Scott should have endowed his characters with his own literary and bibliophilic interests is not surprising; but Scott distinguished sharply between romance and serious criticism.

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versions of *The Seven Champions of Christendom* and of *Guy of Warwick*. People in the country were seldom engaged in lamenting the degeneration of the stage but, whenever a strolling company gave them the opportunity, were indulging the old English taste for *Jack Swabber, Simkin in the Chest* and *Simpleton the Smith*.

As for "Die Kaufleute und Bürger," they were quite free as yet from the contamination of La Bruyère and Corneille: they were reading *The Belman of London* in revamped editions and Deloney's best sellers, such as *The Pleasant and Princely History of the Gentle Craft* and *The Pleasant History of John Winchcomb in His Younger Years Called Jack of Newberry*. At Bartholomew Fair the spectators were not troubled about the dramatic unities but were attending native English farces where the wit consisted in "the putting out of Candles, kicking down of tables, falling over Joynt-stools."[10] Ned Ward said of the "Musick Booth" there:

> I thought it an Abuse to Humane Shape, for anything that bore the Proportion of either Sex, to behave themselves so Ostentatiously Foolish, so Odiously Impudent, so Intolerably Dull, and void of all Humour, Order, or Design.[11]

There were merchants and country-gentlemen with a taste for literature, fewer than at present certainly but still to be found. For appreciation of the Elizabethans, however, one must look chiefly to the men of letters such as Mulgrave, Dennis, Collier, and Dryden. These critics, who were in touch with the literary movements of the day, were the men who best knew and respected the older poetic tradition, who, though they did not entirely accept it, yet took it into account in their judgments and gave it praise. They admired even while they protested against its breaches of literary decorum.

On the subject of decorum, historians of English literature seem to have what the semi-technical jargon of the present day describes as a psychological complex. The term suggests to them Rymer's famous dictum about who may kill whom decently in tragedy, and the "improvements" of Shakespeare through the elimination of his low expressions. Now the facts of the matter seem to be that the campaign against lowness and lack of decorum was directed primarily against farce and burlesque and the unpruned

[10] Shadwell, Dedication of *A True Widow*.
[11] *London Spy*, Part XI, p. 260.

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excesses of the popular taste. The old English taste for Merry Andrew and Jack Pudding[12] will be no mystery to one who reflects upon the moving pictures of the twentieth century. It has a dramatic history at least as old as the Chester play of Noah's Flood. If, in the campaign against such perennial manifestations of bad taste, some critics pushed their praise of decorum to extravagant lengths, the phenomenon is not unparalleled among the annals of reform. It is one of the best evidences of a real classical spirit in late seventeenth century England that immoderate demands of decorum were treated in the same way as other violations of the law of measure.

It was but natural that the discussion of literary decorum should center about the practice of the Elizabethan dramatists, not because this was primarily under attack but because it was a test case. What sanction did the example of Shakespeare and his congeners give to the prevalent disregard for propriety and regularity? Such a question inevitably presented itself in the latter part of the seventeenth century. There could be no doubt that the Elizabethan dramas fell short of classical standards in these respects. In our own day we have chosen, more or less deliberately, to ignore these things because we believe them to be mere mint and cumin as compared with the weightier matters of the Law. Another generation may view them more seriously. But for the Restoration they constituted a real crux in criticism. Dryden raised his voice against too much deference to the Elizabethan tradition.

> But it was only custom which cozened us so long; we thought, because Shakespeare and Fletcher went no farther, that there the pillars of poetry were to be erected.[13]

It was not that Dryden loved Shakespeare less but poetry more.

Even Thomas Rymer was not moved primarily by a desire to attack the Elizabethans. Dr. G. B. Dutton, after an elaborate study of Rymer's criticism, has reached the conclusion that it was not intended as a full and rounded estimate of the various authors treated, but was meant rather to reform future practice by pointing out the faults in the works of more or less deservedly popular

[12] Cf. Soame and Dryden's adaptation of Boileau's *Art of Poetry*, closing lines of canto III.

[13] *Of Heroic Plays*, Ker, I, 148–49. Dryden is here speaking of rime, but the principle that he invokes is of wide application.

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writers.[14] Though John Dennis wrote *The Impartial Critick* to defend Shakespeare against Rymer, he put into the mouth of Jack Freeman, who seems to represent his own views, an explicit avowal of the correctness of such an attitude. In response to Beaumont's objection, "But methinks the very faults of a Great Man ought to be respected upon the account of his Excellencies," Freeman says:

> The very contrary of which is true: Upon that account they ought to be the rather expos'd. His Faults are the more dangerous on the account of his Excellencies. For young Writers, before they have Judgment to distinguish, are sometimes so far mistaken as to copy the very Faults of famous poets for Beauties. One thing I will easily grant you, that to expose a Great Man's Faults, without owning his Excellencies, is altogether unjust and unworthy of an honest Man.[15]

Dennis' real accusation against Rymer is that the latter exposed faults without voicing compensating praise.

To appreciate Elizabethan literature and at the same time to hold a theory of poetry directly opposed to its spirit: this was the great critical problem of the Age of Dryden. The prestige of Shakespeare had to be accounted for without invalidating neo-classical principles or weakening their application to contemporary production. In the reconciliation of these opposites, modern English literary criticism had its beginnings. The influence of the Elizabethans in the end made for a tempered and thoughtful discrimination, not for a rebellion against neo-classical standards.

Another anti-classical tendency of the last part of the seventeenth century was the protest against the strict rules of Aristotelian formalism. Some literary historians, who fail to distinguish between different schools of neo-classical criticism, have assumed that any critic of this period who spoke harsh words against the rules was a romanticist born out of due time. As a matter of fact, the last years of the seventeenth century saw much debate about the value of the rules and a decided reaction against the extreme formalistic position which implied, if it did not state, that one might become a poet by diligent study and application of the rules. The reaction was in part caused by the influence of the French

[14] See his unpublished Harvard dissertation, *Rymer and Aristotelian Formalism*, *passim* and especially pp 205–206.

[15] Spingarn, *Crit. Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, III, 176. Cf. Dennis' remarks, in his own person, in the Third Letter "On the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare," Smith, *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, p. 45.

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school of taste, particularly by the Longinian influence exerted through Boileau. But even before this influence was much felt in England, there was protest against the rules. English critics and men of letters generally did not place so much dependence upon the positive value of the rules as did many of the French. There was a tendency to regard the rules in their extreme form as un-English. They were associated with the names of Italian and French and Dutch critics, and thus were felt to be foreign.

> But for my part, I desire to be tried by the laws of my own country; for it seems unjust to me that the French should prescribe here, till they have conquered.

So wrote Dryden in the Preface to *All for Love.*

But some have called Dryden a romanticist or partly a romanticist. No one, so far as I am aware, has voiced any such suspicions about Oldham. Yet Oldham in an *Ode Upon the Works of Ben Johnson* makes a similar protest:

> Sober and grave was still the Garb thy Muse put on,
> . . . . . .
> No refuse, ill-patch'd Shreds o' th' Schools,
> The motley wear of read and learned Fools;
> No French Commodity, which now so much does take,
> And our own better Manufacture Spoil;
> Nor was it ought of forein Spoil
> But Staple all, and all of English Growth and Make.

Such a protest in a poem written in full sympathy with the classical features of Jonson's work, a poem that pays tribute to the "known and uncontested Rules of Poetry," shows clearly the danger of mistaking the import of protests against the rules.

Sir Robert Howard has been claimed by Hamelius as a romanticist because of his Preface to *The Great Favorite.*[16] Howard blames "the unnecessary understanding of some that have labor'd to give strict rules to things that are not Mathematical," and concludes that

> who ever wou'd endeavour to like or dislike by the Rules of others, he will be as unsuccessful as if he should try to be perswaded into a power of believing, not what he must, but what others direct him to believe.[17]

This protest is so close a parallel to that of Molière in the sixth

[16] *Die Kritik in der Eng. Lit.*, p. 48; cf. Routh, *The Rise of Classical Eng. Criticism*, p. 22.

[17] Spingarn, *Crit. Essays*, II, 106–07.

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scene of *La Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes*, published about five years earlier, that there can be little doubt of its origin.[18] Howard's objections are rationalistic—not to rules themselves but to rules that in his opinion are "so little demonstrative." After all, Howard was not an important poet and scarcely a critic at all. His chief aim in his two best-known prefaces was to attack rime. His remarks about the rules were slight in substance, probably little digested, and certainly not intended to be revolutionary. Personal pique at his brother-in-law, Dryden, may have motivated them to some extent. That Howard was not consistently opposed to all neo-classical rules is shown by his protest in the Preface to *Four New Plays* against the English fault "in usually mingling and interweaving Mirth and Sadness through the whole course of their Plays." In any event, Dryden's answer, *A Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, was entirely adequate and seems to have disposed at once of Howard's objections.

Butler has also been called a romantic critic[19] because he said hard things about the rules and the critics in *Hudibras* and more especially in the lines—originally without title—which Spingarn reprints under the heading, *Upon Critics Who Judge of Modern Plays Precisely by the Rules of the Antients*.[20] The last named poem is a brief reply to Rymer, attacking the formalistic school in the name of "wit and sense." It is perfectly clear to any one acquainted with the spirit of Butler's work that he is here opposing what he considered excess. For him the pedantic critic is no better than the despised virtuoso or any one else who violates the law of measure.[21]

Two other lines of attack upon the rules should be considered here, for though neither was fully developed until later, both received contemporary notice, and both have been treated by recent writers as signs of romanticism in the period now under consideration.

First there was the influence of Boccalini, whose *Ragguagli di Parnasso* (1612) was widely read throughout Europe at the close

[18] Pointed out by Spingarn, *Ibid.*, II, 336.

[19] Routh, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[20] *Op. cit.*, II, 278 ff.

[21] No other writer of the period has been so frequently hailed as a brother romanticist—in part or at times—as Dryden. (See Hamelius; Routh; Bohn, *PMLA*, XXII, 56 ff.; Elton, *The Augustan Ages*, p. 195; etc.) Since I am discussing Dryden's criticism at some length in another article, it will be sufficient to suggest here that Dryden's case does not materially alter the present conclusions.

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of the seventeenth century. This influence of Boccalini was of two distinct sorts: upon form and upon content. *Ragguagli di Parnasso* is made up of semi-independent essays purporting to give news from Parnassus where Apollo holds his court in a strangely unreal world in which Greek divinities and the spirits of famous men—chiefly poets and critics—are in intimate relations with the world of art, letters, and politics. This conception, which probably derives to some extent from Lucian, may be made the vehicle of any sort of critical views, and was used for widely different purposes in England by such unlike authors as Suckling, Sheppard, Buckingham, Rochester, Swift, and Addison.

Boccalini's free treatment of critical dogma was followed to some extent, however, by some of his imitators. The form readily adapted itself to a slashing criticism. For if a case may at any moment be referred to the personal judgment of Apollo, the rules are constantly subject to amendment or at least to reinterpretation; and on a Parnassus where Homer and Aristotle and Tasso and Shakespeare and Dryden are contemporaries, the respect due to antiquity is minimized. At the same time, the ground-work of the *Ragguagli* involves the idea of a literary autocracy. Apollo is a benevolent despot, to be sure, but he rules Parnassus none the less absolutely. From one point of view, the arrangement is the apotheosis of order. The gospel of Aristotle and even the living church of criticism yield to the personal command of the god of poetry laying down infallible law.

In 1656 Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, published an English translation of Boccalini under the title, *Advertisements from Parnassus*. This work was reprinted in 1669, 1674, and 1706. In 1704 "N. N. Esquire" published *Advertisements from Parnassus. Written Originally in Italian by the Famous Trajano Boccalini. Newly Done into English, and Adapted to the Present Times*. As the title indicates, this latter is a free adaptation which substitutes English names for the Italian of the original. In the three volumes of this work protest against neo-classical dicta takes an advanced form.

In Advertisement XXVIII there is a criticism of the Aristotelian rules in the form of the following story. Otway[22] having been debarred from the honor of having his plays deposited in the Delphic Library because the critics appointed to consider the case decided that he had violated the rules of Aristotle, appealed to

[22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 74–77. In the original, Tasso is the hero of the story.

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Apollo on the ground that there is no law on Parnassus to limit the poet's fancy. Apollo, incensed, summoned Aristotle and demanded how he durst "pretend to write Rules for Poetry and to go about to debarr the Virtuosi[23] of the Christian Liberty of Fancy, which had been free and uncontroul'd as Air in all Ages, and ought to continue so?" Since Otway's works, he argued, "had met with general Applause from all Mankind, it was apparent he had observ'd all the Rules Poets are oblig'd to take Notice of." Aristotle pleaded that his rules had been misinterpreted through the ignorance of later ages. He had merely pointed out methods which "the most accurate Writers before his time had follow'd; and withal confessed that he believed 'twas possible a Poet, might at this Day, write so excellent a Poem, without following his Rules, as might serve to give Laws to future Ages." Finally he confessed that he had been led into error through pride, "for finding how many Peoples Ignorance, in the Misconstruction of his Design, had heightened his Reputation in the World, he had suffer'd 'em to go on in their Mistake; which was the more pardonable in him, since his Credit, as to matter of Politicks had so long been lost."

This judgment is radical because it avers not only that modern critics misunderstand Aristotle but also that Aristotle's rules, even when rightly understood, are no longer necessary. When this Advertisement is compared with Monmouth's translation of the same passage (which is a pretty faithful rendering of the original) the fact is evident that the edition of 1704 has not only used English names but has heightened the contrasts and altered the language to make the attack upon the rules the more vigorous. Thus the original protest has been developed into something that looks like a revolutionary document.

Striking as some of these critical opinions are, they have less significance for our present purpose than might appear. In the first place, they are in a foreign work which, though well known, seems to have been little regarded critically in England at this time.[24] Boccalini was remembered primarily as a political and per-

[23] This word is taken directly from the Italian with a favorable connotation rare in the English use of the period.

[24] J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, III, 313, in a note on Gerald Langbaine's *Essay on Dryden*, speaks of Ragg. 28 as being "often cited by seventeenth century opponents of the Rules." The evidence of Spingarn's own collection is the other way. But two passages in the three volumes make serious reference to Boccalini's criticism, and only the essay by Langbaine, pre-

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sonal satirist who had popularized an interesting form of expression.

In the second place, the translation which most emphasized opposition to the rules did not appear until the opening years of the eighteenth century. Of course, one must not draw chronological lines too narrowly; a book published in one century may be none the less inspired by the thought of that preceding. But there is significance in the fact that the version of Boccalini read in the seventeenth century and demonstrably popular then did not exaggerate the anti-classical tendencies of the original as did the edition read in the eighteenth century. Thus the influence of Boccalini between 1660 and 1700 does not invalidate the general statement that adverse criticism of the rules—especially in their extreme formulation—does not necessarily indicate a romantic tendency.

Another strong attack upon the rules was made by the French exile, Saint-Evremond, who, during the forty-two years of his residence in England, exerted a strong influence upon English criticism. In many respects Saint-Evremond was "un honnête homme," a lover of moderation delicately ridiculing excess of every sort. But he never completely subjected himself to the social and critical discipline of the Age of Louis XIV; his long residence in England broke his relations with French literature and society to such an extent that he was at once reminiscent of the past age and, as a result of his free speculation, typical of the future.

Though he was a classicist in most essentials, Saint-Evremond had little respect for Aristotelian formalism. In *De la Tragédie Ancienne et Moderne*, he attacked the rules of the Abbé d'Aubignac:

> On n'a jamais vu tant de règles pour faire de belles tragédies; et on en fait si peu, qu'on est obligé de représenter toutes les vielles.

He then proceeded to speak of Aristotle's theory of *katharsis*,

> que personne jusqu'ici n'a entendue, et qu'il n'a pas bien comprise lui-même, à mon jugement. . . . . Entre mille personnes qui assisteront au théâtre, il y aura peut-être six philosophes, qui seront capables d'un

viously referred to, quotes Ragg. 28, or indeed connects him in any way with an attack on the rules. Dryden mentions Boccalini but once in the essays included in Ker's collection (II, 193) and then the reference is to an unnamed imitator merely. During the seventeenth century, there were many imitations of Boccalini's form. (For an incomplete list of these imitations see the article by R. Brotanek, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXI (1903), 409–414.) But these imitations did not necessarily or usually involve an attack upon the rules.

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retour a la tranquillité, par ces sages et utiles meditations; mais la multitude ne fera point ces réflexions.[25]

In his attack on the rules, Saint-Evremond was an early exponent of historical criticism. Neo-classical absolutes gave place in his mind to relative considerations. He believed that times change and men change with them; what pleases the genius of one nation may be displeasing to that of another, since each is affected by national habits of life and thought. His famous statement that the best ancient tragedy, even the *Oedipus* itself, if it were performed in French in his day would appear utterly barbarous and opposed to modern taste is but one of several utterances on the subject.[26] In *Sur les Poëmes des Anciens*, he argued that if Homer were alive to-day he would write differently, and consequently our poets do badly to rule themselves "par des règles, qui sont tombées avec des choses que le temps a fait tomber." To be sure, he admitted that there are certain unchanging rules founded upon good sense and reason, but these he thought were few in comparison with those which grow out of changing conditions. Poets are too much bound by the rules of the past; they imitate servilely and combine incongruous elements. Two sentences from *De la Tragédie Ancienne et Moderne* sum up his rebellious attitude as a result of the theory of relativity:

Il faut convenir que la Poétique d'Aristote est un excellent ouvrage: cependant il n'y a rien d'assez parfait pour régler toutes les nations et tous les siècles. Descartes et Gassendi ont découvert des vérités qu'Aristote ne connoissoit pas; Corneille a trouvé des beautés pour le théâtre qui ne lui etoient pas connues; nos philosophes ont remarqué des erreurs dans sa *Physique*; nos poëtes ont vue des défauts dans sa *Poëtique*; pour le moins à notre égard, toutes choses étant aussi changés qu'elles le sont.

This principle of relativity was frequently discussed during the last forty years of the seventeenth century. Bacon had long before declared his belief in a causal relation between all learning and the forces, racial, physical, religious, political, and social that determine its development; but he had not applied this theory to literature in any thoroughgoing fashion.[27] Cowley in the Preface to *Poems* (1656) and Sir Robert Howard in the Preface to *Four*

[25] *Œuvres Mêlées*, II, 329.

[26] *De la Tragédie Ancienne et Moderne* and *Sur nos Comédies*.

[27] See Miller, *The Historical Point of View in Eng. Crit.*, p. 72. Cf. also Odell Shepard's review of C. Rinaker's *Thos. Warton* in *JEGP*, XVI, 153, for many other references.

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New Plays (1665) showed that they were interested in it. Sprat in the *History of the Royal Society* (1667) spoke of the influence of climate, air, heaven, blood, and geographical situation,—all uniting to make England a "Land of Experimental knowledge." Toward the close of the century, we find the idea of relativity most clearly expressed by Sir William Temple, especially in his essay, *Of Poetry*. Here he endeavours to account for a national literature by reference to a national character and this, in turn, by reference to national environment. Wotten, though arguing against Temple in *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, follows him to some extent in accounting for Greek poetry and oratory. Dennis in *The Impartial Critick* lays some stress on the influence of climate and custom in accounting for the differences between Athens and London.

Such ideas were, however, still undeveloped in the seventeenth century. True, they had been recognized both in France and in England as opposed to classicism and had been attacked, especially by the Aristotelian formalists. But the full implications had not yet been realized. It remained for the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century to develop these ideas to the full, thereby striking at the very roots of classicism. But though in the period now under discussion this doctrine of relativity was well known and widely accepted, it seems to have been taken up rather as a useful means of combating extreme formalism than as a theory considered hostile to the prevailing neo-classicism. Such men as Howard and Butler and Dennis and Temple, who protested against this excessive formalism, were the Whigs of criticism, objecting to the divine right of Aristotle and the high Tory doctrine of non-resistance to his rules. But they were neither commonwealth men nor theoretical republicans. They wished to restrict the royal prerogative of Aristotle but not to overturn his throne.

There is no more dangerous pitfall in criticism than that which lies before the searchers after late seventeenth century romanticism. Those who have believed that romanticism is perennial and therefore has never been quite crushed out in any classical period have gone forth with eyes sharpened to discern those ten thousand of the faithful in Israel who never bowed the knee to Baal. Those who have believed that romanticism is the one literary faith by which men may be saved have expected to find little candles of this true faith hidden away behind obstructing bushels.

Although between 1660 and 1700 there were many forces in

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England opposed to neo-classicism, there were few or none that may be correctly described as romantic. There was no romantic body of doctrine that dissenters from the orthodox critical creed could set up as a justification for their heterodoxy. Since Renaissance individualism had broken down, there was no choice except between some sort of classical restriction and literary anarchy. Just as in 1660 Englishmen of all political faiths had united in support of the restored monarchy as the alternative to political chaos, so at about the same time they made the same decision in favor of literary order. The choice was not between romanticism and classicism but between confusion and the only order possible at the time.

It was not until well into the eighteenth century that those ideas were formulated which made possible the critical defence of any kind of romanticism. During the interval there were many instances of dissatisfaction with individual articles of the classical creed which some have confused with revolt against the system. But whether they proceeded from inertia or were inheritances from the Elizabethan period or were the products of British opposition to excessive formalism or were as yet undeveloped seeds of systems that would be germinant in the future, they were disturbances within the system rather than attempts to destroy it.

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IX

BROOKE'S *UNIVERSAL BEAUTY* AND MODERN THOUGHT

AFTER science in the modern sense of the term began to infiltrate the public consciousness in the second half of the seventeenth century, and men were stirred by the new concept of the universe revealed by Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton, the lesser poets seized joyfully on this inexhaustible source of fresh material and combined pedestrian exposition with ecstatic praise in setting forth the new vision of God's handiwork afforded by the discoveries of science. Among those who thus undertook to interpret the results of science in verse were Young, Akenside, Thomson, and Richard Savage, as well as many lesser writers.

Few among this flood of versified scientific treatises, however, can be regarded seriously when judged by the standards of modern science. Nor were the results more successful when considered as literature. This is hardly surprising in view of the complacent belief of these writers that a riming exposition of scientific theories constructed on a meticulous framework of rhetorical logic could constitute poetry.

In marked contrast to the procedure of the bombastic poetasters with their solemn versifying, was the attitude of the greater writers of the period, who for the most part, as Dr. Duncan[1] has pointed out, regarded the scientists as legitimate subjects for satire and burlesque. There was one man, however, who, by bringing genuine poetic feeling to bear upon scientific speculation, transcended the contemporary limitations and allied himself with the greater poets who turned to the same themes in the nineteenth century. This was Henry Brooke, best known for his novel *The Fool of Quality*, whose poem *Universal Beauty* (1735) possesses many points of interest for readers today.

The significance of the poem has heretofore been overlooked or misunderstood. Dr. Duncan accords it only the briefest reference among the poems which derived the details of their imagery from science, and remarks that "the ambitious poet" gives the Newtonian system "once more an enthusiastic endorsement."[2] On the other hand, Sir Edmund Gosse makes the surprising assertion that "to it have been traced back the earliest rudiments of the

[1] Carson S. Duncan, *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period*, Menasha, Wis., 1913.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 143.

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theory of physical evolution."[3] This claim becomes somewhat dubious when one remembers that "rudiments" of the evolutionary theory have been recognized in Aristotle, St. Augustine, Avicenna —to cite only the first letter of the alphabet. Furthermore, Brooke's poem provides tangible evidence that he did *not* perceive the basic principle of the evolutionary concept, since he explicitly adheres to the belief in special creation. But it is equally misleading to classify Brooke with the other poets who merely compiled the popular science of the period, or rhapsodized over the new wonders which Newton had revealed; Brooke, by applying a mystical rather than a rational interpretation to the findings of science, anticipated by more than a century the nineteenth-century poets who supplied a similar commentary upon the theory of Darwin. Indeed, many poets of the present day—Sir William Watson, John Masefield, Alfred Noyes and others—are still continuing the struggle of Tennyson and Arnold to reconcile evolutionary materialism and spiritual faith. It is Brooke's similar point of view, rather than any identity of subject matter, which links him with the evolutionary poets.

The particular direction and characteristic method of the poets were chiefly determined by the deistic movement, which undertook to establish a "natural religion" induced rationally from scientific first principles. Obviously inspired by Descartes, the deists had a strong influence on many writers, such as Pope, and under the more derogatory name of Freethinkers were bitterly assailed by Berkeley[4] and other champions of orthodoxy.

By substituting reason for revelation as the authority regarding "the ways of God to man," these writers prepared the way for Voltaire and his fellow-rationalists to set philosophic speculation free from ecclesiastical dominance and to dissever the problems of man's place in the universe from the literal interpretation of Genesis. So, to this extent, one finds something modern in many poems of the period: the *Essay on Man*, for example, using the deistic method of deriving religious conviction from the laws of

[3] *English Literature, an Illustrated Record*, III, 284. Gosse probably derived his statement from the source of most of the information on Brooke's life, an article in *The Dublin University Magazine* of February, 1852, in which it is said that the poem suggested *The Botanic Garden* of Erasmus Darwin.

[4] *Guardian*, 55, 70, 77, 83, 88, 89, etc. Note that even the defender of the spiritual cause stresses the material benefits of orthodoxy and appeals to common sense and self-interest.

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nature, repeatedly seems to approach within hailing distance of the evolutionary idea and then leaves us disconcerted by ignoring it in favor of the immutably fixed "scale of being."

Some of the orthodox theologians, instead of denouncing science as materialistic, made an effort toward compromise. In many poems of the period appear reflections of an ingenious theory, first propounded by Thomas Burnet in *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681), explaining fossils, strata, and other geological findings, by means of the Mosaic account of the deluge. Despite all efforts, however, toward fortifying the position of religion, whether by Pope's reasoning, Berkeley's fulminating, or Burnet's temporizing, there was undoubtedly a strong tendency toward the materialistic cosmology of Epicurus, with its belief in the origin of matter from the accidental commingling of atoms. Evidence of this revived interest can be found in the frequency of allusions to it in contemporary books. Sir Richard Blackmore in his incredibly prosy poem *The Creation* (1712) devotes many hundreds of lines to elaborate refutation of the Epicurean theory, with a violence which suggests something more than mere antiquarian interest. The *Memoirs of Scriblerus* (c. 1714), which was chiefly a satire on contemporary science, included among its projects "a mechanical explanation of the formation of the universe, according to the Epicurean hypothesis;" and if this passage may be attributed to Dr. Arbuthnot, it is a significant antecedent to his poem ΓΝΩΘΙ-ΣΕ'ΑΤΤΟΝ *Know Thyself*. As early as 1697 Arbuthnot had participated in the Mosaic geology discussion by refuting Woodward's *Account of the Deluge*; and his poem (published in 1734 but written several years previously) presents his opinion of man's origin, purpose, and destination. It opens with questions inspired by the Epicurean cosmology:

> Am I the abandoned orphan of blind chance,
> Dropt by wild atoms in disordered dance?
> Or from an endless chain of causes wrought?
> Or of unthinking substance, born with thought?
> By motion which began without a cause,
> Supremely wise, without design or laws.
> Am I but what I seem, mere flesh and blood?

Feeling that the secret of personality is something different from the mere unconscious processes of the body, he decides that man has a double nature, being offspring of the mother earth and the

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heavenly Sire who put divine essence into the clay.[5] Man's visions and aspirations are ever thwarted:

> Some beastly want, craving, importunate,
> Vile as the grinning mastiffs[6] at my gate,
> Calls off from heavenly truth this reasoning me,
> And tells me I'm a brute as much as he . . . .
> So man, among his fellow brutes exposed,
> Sees he's a king, but 'tis a king deposed.

Man is even uncertain of his immortality, whether he is bound "to endless nothing, happiness, or pain." However, the poet finds an explanation of man's double nature in the scriptural story of the fall from original perfection, and dismisses "Epicurus' schemes" as "vain."

The background of Brooke's poem, therefore, was a widespread discussion of man's place in the universe and the relation of science to faith, accompanied by a revived attention to the materialistic theories of the ancients. It is true that all the poets were on the side of orthodoxy, and strongly stressed the "argument from design" (Blackmore laboriously tabulates all the examples of "wisdom and artful contrivance" in the earth, the solar system, and the human body); but they expounded the Epicurean hypothesis in order to refute it, and they versified the new discoveries of astronomy, geology, physiology, and the rest, as additional proofs of God's thoughtfulness; so to modern readers the unconscious foreshadowings of the evolutionary concept frequently outweigh the express purpose of counteracting it.

As the protégé of Pope, Brooke was in contact with this activity of speculation, and his poem might easily have been merely one of the ponderous teleological treatises of the period. But he happened to have an endowment which made him unique among his contemporaries: he was ~~a mystic.~~ As Alexander Chalmers remarks in perplexity, "it is doubtful whether he inclined most to Behmenism or Popery."[7] Accordingly, in spite of the interminable se-

Compare Sir William Watson's *Ode in May* (1898):

> We are children of splendour and flame,
> Of shuddering, also, and tears.
> Magnificent out of the dust we came,
> And abject from the Spheres.

[6] Surely the reading should be "mastiff," as antecedent to "he." G. A. Aitkin's transcript of the original MS (*Works of Arbuthnot*, Oxford, 1892) gives "mastifs," which could easily be a misreading of an "f" as a long "s."

[7] *The Works of the English Poets* (1810), xvii, 333.

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quences of metrical physiology, there are occasional flashes of insight and beauty. The poet can descend to this:

> With blithe pulsation beats the arterial maze,
> And through the branching complication plays,
> Its wanton floods the tubal system lave,
> And to the veins resign their vital wave;
> Through glands refining, shed specific juice,
> Secreted nice to each appropriate use;
> Or here expansile, in meanders bend,
> While through the pores nutritive portions tend,
> Their equal aliment dividual share,
> And similar to kindred parts adhere.
> From thousand rills the flux continuous drains,
> Now swells the porta, now the cava veins . . . . etc.

But this is the intoxication of childish delight with the illimitable new revelations of science, which was luring his contemporaries to similar compendious dissertations; and recurrently the poet's intuitive sense of divine love and the spiritual unity of all things breaks through:

> For deep, indeed, the Eternal Founder lies,
> And high above his work the Maker flies;
> Yet infinite the work, beyond our soar;
> Beyond what Clarkes can prove, or Newtons can explore!
> Its union, as of numbers to the sound
> Of minstrelsy, to heavenly raptures wound,
> On harmony suspended, tunes the whole,
> Thrills in our touch, and lives upon our soul;
> Each note inclusive melody reveals,
> Softening within the Eternal Finger dwells,
> Now sweetly melts, and now sublimely swells;
> Yet relative each social note extends,
> Throughout is blended, while throughout it blends
> Symphonious, echoing the Supreme's design,
> Beauty of Love, and Symmetry Divine!

This image of the universe as a harmonious piece of music is a favorite of modern poets; "Creation's self is one great choir," says Sir William Watson;[8] "The Symphony that rules the day and night" is proclaimed by Alfred Noyes;[9] the sun and moon and stars, according to AE, "dance to the self-same tune" as children

[8] *Lacrymae Musarum.*
[9] *The Barrel Organ.*

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at play.[10] And the source of the symbol can be readily found in the occultists, by whom it is constantly employed; a typical passage from Boehme may be cited:

> The creation . . . . is even as a great harmony of manifold instruments which are all tuned into one harmony; for the eternal word, or divine sound or voice, which is a spirit, has introduced itself with the generation of the great mystery into formings, viz., into an expressed word or sound: And as the joyful melody is in itself in the spirit of the eternal generation, so likewise is the instrument, viz., the expressed form in itself, which the living eternal voice guides, and strikes with his own eternal will-spirit, that it sounds and melodises; as an organ of divers and various sounds or notes is moved with one only air, so that each note, yea every pipe has its peculiar tune, and yet there is but one manner of air or breath in all notes.[11]

It is Brooke's mysticism, therefore, which distinguishes him from his contemporaries and affiliates him with a tradition which is very vital today; for the mystical interpretation of life has been widely accepted as the one spiritual system which can be reconciled with the hypotheses of modern science. The essential unity of everything in the universe, and the immanence of God as the sustaining force, can readily be interpreted as synonymous with the electronic theory of matter; and the intuitive sense of man's identity with all phenomena is a spiritual counterpart of his evolution from lower forms of life. So many poets since Tennyson have propagated this doctrine, that one cannot study any mystical writings without unintentionally reading it into them.

As well as this metaphysical system which seems evolutionary to modern readers, a more definite and physical theory involving evolution had been encountered by Brooke as a result of his mysticism, namely alchemy. Boehme's visions and principles were couched usually in the jargon of the alchemists, and the same mingling of physical and metaphysical theories is to be found in Giordano Bruno, Paracelsus, Raimon Lull—in fact all the devotees of that esoteric cult. Both of the basic tenets of the alchemical research were evolutionary in implication, although most of the alchemists sought to prove themselves in accord with orthodox theology: belief in the possible transmutations of metals and belief in the possible creation of life artificially from dead matter alike involved departure from the idea of a separate origin and rigid

[10] *Frolic.*

[11] *The Signature of All Things*, Everyman's Library edition, p. 210.

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differentiation of all species. Recent scientists realize that there was a considerable basis of sound practical knowledge underlying many of the theories (the descriptions of how minerals were formed, for example, are sometimes verified by modern geology); but the ambitions of the alchemists were so fantastic, and the whole subject so beset by superstition and chicanery, that their influence need not be taken seriously. The important point is that anyone who accepted their principles, whether materially as explanations of phenomena or figuratively as a metaphysical system, was in contact with evolutionary implications, whether aware of it or not.

Henry Brooke, with proverbial Irish inconsequence, was trying to expound two contradictory views of the universe. His intention was to abide by the literal interpretation of the bible and to prove God's craftsmanship from scientific evidences by strictly ratiocinative methods; but his subconscious tendency was to express his intuitive sense of God as a spiritual principle manifested in all phenomena, and the symbolism which came to him as the natural form for embodying this belief was that which the alchemists had used for it. And in many respects the alchemic cosmology, explaining the genesis of all matter in originally identical atoms and the source of life in spontaneous generation, was precisely similar to the Epicurean cosmology which Brooke was energetically controverting. Traces of the inconsistency are to be seen throughout the poem.

Using the method of rhetorical question, Brooke in several passages assails the doubts inspired by materialistic science, and very closely resembles the nineteenth and twentieth century poets of the same theme, such as Tennyson in *In Memoriam* and Masefield in his *Sonnets*. Brooke voices the problem of the first cause:

> O say, while yet, nor time, nor place was found,
> And space immense in its own depth was drown'd;
> If nothing was, or something yet was not,
> Or though *to be*, e'erwhile was *unbegot*;
> If caus'd, then how?—if causeless, why effect?
> (No hand to form, nor model to direct) . . . .
> Matter, and spirit, fire, air, ocean, earth;
> All Nature born, nor conscious of its birth!—
> Alike unconscious did the womb disclose,
> And nothing wonder'd whence this something rose—
> Then, by what power?—or what such power could move?
> Wisdom, or chance?—necessity, or love?

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He goes on to attack the notion of spontaneous accidental generation, which in a footnote he terms "one of the atheistical unaccountable evasions," and which he considers incapable of accounting for either natural beauty or human thought:

> But chance, you'll say—I ask you, chance of what,
> If nothing was?—'tis answered, chance of nought.
> Alike from matter mov'd, could Beauty rise,
> The florid planets, and gay ambient skies;
> Or painted skies, and rolling orbs, dispense
> Perception, life, thought, reason, judgment, sense.
> Mysterious Thought! swift angel of the mind!
> By space unbounded, though to space confin'd,
> How dost thou glow with just disdain, how scorn,
> That thought could ever think thee earthly born?
> Thou who canst distance motion in thy flight,
> Wing with aspiring plume the wondrous height,
> Swifter than light outspeed the flame of day,
> Pierce through the dark profound, and shame the darting ray;
> Throughout the universal system range,
> New form old systems, and new systems change;
> Through nature traffic on, from pole to pole,
> And stamp new worlds on thy dilated soul. . . . .

Thus the very arguments on which Masefield bases his faith in a spiritual principle—the universal beauty and the individual imagination—were forestalled by almost two centuries. The only difference is that the earlier poet is the more confident in his convictions, the materialistic menace being in his day less formidable. Here are Masefieldian parallels to the foregoing quotations:

> How did the nothing come, how did these fires,
> These million-leagues of fires, first toss their hair,
> Licking the moons from heaven in their ires
> Flinging them forth for them to wander there?

> What was the Mind? Was it a mind which thought?
> Or chance? Or law? Or conscious law? Or Power?
> Or a vast balance by vast clashes wrought?
> Or Time at trial with Matter for an hour?

And again:

> O little self, within whose smallness lies
> All that man was, and is, and will become,
> Atom unseen that comprehends the skies

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> And tells the tracks by which the planets roam.
> That, without moving, knows the joys of wings,
> The tiger's strength, the eagle's secrecy. . . . .

Later in his poem, Brooke resumes his satire of the Lucretian theory that atoms came together fortuitously into various material forms:

> Say, does each mote know its peculiar place,
> All conscious, through the gulf of boundless space?
> Can atoms be omniscient, to discern
> (What human wisdom strives, but strives in vain to learn)
> What mode mysterious paints the purpling rose. . . . .

And once more Masefield provides the identical thought:

> No mortal knows
> From what immortal granary comes the grain,
> Nor how the earth conspires to make the rose.

It is not necessary to suppose even that Masefield ever read *Universal Beauty*. The parallels are not too close to be accidental, and both poems resemble *In Memoriam* as much as they resemble each other. The point is that Masefield, divided between instinctive mysticism (expressed in *A Creed* and other earlier poems) and a desire to discuss the problem of existence logically, is in just the position of Brooke, and despite the lapse of time and change of concepts, their arguments are startlingly alike.

Confident in his victory over materialistic atomism, Brooke becomes almost as explicit as Milton in describing the separate creation of species:

> Sudden the universal world conceives;
> As sudden, Nature with her burden heaves;
> At once reveals her offspring to the sight;
> Up spring the numbers numberless, to light!
> The one, the various, blessed, glorious birth,
> Of every world, Heaven, ocean, air, and earth—
> Diverse, throughout their infinite abodes . . .

And again:

> Th' Almighty Fiat bade the deep conceive,
> And finn'd with clust'ring tribes the vital wave,
> From huge leviathan's enormous frame
> To those who tincturing paint the crimson stream.

To this extent, Brooke is wholly faithful to the orthodox belief,

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and the idea of a common origin of all species is utterly alien. If the poem were consistent with these passages throughout, Sir Edmund Gosse's comment would be inexplicable.

But in other passages, when the poet's mysticism holds the ascendancy, there are lines which we cannot help feeling to be foreshadowings of the evolutionary concept. The transition is to be seen in a couplet of book iv:

> Existence, varied by Almighty plan,
> From lowly reptiles, to the pride of man.

This is presumably a reference to the "scale of being" in which all species were meticulously graded, a favorite notion of eighteenth century science.[12] Brooke soon gets away from the scientific concept, however, when he speaks of the mystical Unity underlying the diversity of phenomena:

> The system one, One Maker stands confess'd,
> The Prime, the One, the Wondrous and the Bless'd;
> The One in various forms of Unity express'd!

Once embarked on this pantheistic idea of the occultists, Brooke soon proceeds to their concept of the essentially *gradual* process of manifestation:

> Through various worlds still varying species range,
> While order knits, and beautifies by change;
> While from th' Unchangeable, the One, the Wise,
> Still changing endless emanations rise. . . . .
> From those array'd in Heaven's resplendent robes,
> To the brute essence on terrestrial globes . . . .
> One is the flood which universal flows;
> And hence the reptile, hence the angel grows.

Thus stressing the common heritage which all life, from the highest to the lowest, derives from its divine origin, Brooke is getting dangerously near to the idea of development from a homogeneous prototype; and in book iii he brings the idea nearer to the realm of physical processes:

> Here may we spy, from the Supreme of things,
> How first the originate material springs;
> How substituted Nature moulds her forms,
> What tender love her infant embryo warms,
> What tempering skill the boon conception frames;

[12] See G. R. Potter, *Coleridge and the Idea of Evolution*, *PMLA*, XL, 382.

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> And trace her maze of complicated schemes,
> Where differing parts identity compose,
> Yet endless how, from One! each varying essence flows.

The implication is that God's creative purpose is carried out by the action of natural laws; the poet goes on to show the analogies existing in the organs and functions of all living things, vegetable as well as animal:

> Hence, hence alone, the final causes tend,
> And reach unerring each appointed end;
> The maze of endless implication wind,
> Directed by the clue of All-perceiving Mind.
> Hence from the seraph's intellectual ray,
> To reason's spark, that gilds our sensual clay;
> To life (scarce conscious) in th' instinctive brute;
> To reptile, plant, and vegetating root;
> The features in conspicuous semblance shine,
> And speak, through all, One Parent all Divine.

In all probability the idea of evolution was not present in Brooke's consciousness when he wrote these lines; but the two concepts, that of all phenomena springing from a single source, and that of gradual natural processes fulfilling God's purposes, are inevitably suggestive of evolution to the modern reader. Alfred Noyes and other writers have elaborated the idea of Unity as a metaphysical basis of evolution, and Brooke's fondness for the same idea seems to link his with them.

In one direction, however, Brooke unquestionably expounded a purely physical evolutionary principle, namely in his description of the development of minerals. The ideas and diction show that the source of his notion was the writings of the alchemists. As explained in the footnote, the passage refers to "the mere matter, or caput mortuum, supposed in all terrestrial bodies, which impregnated, and modified by air and heat" produces coal, lime, marble, metals, etc.:

> The arch-chymists work as in a secret mine,
> And Nature's crude originals refine;
> Here blending mix, here separate, here select,
> And purging here th' incongruous parts reject;
> Perennial bind the flint's impervious rock,
> And strict its adamantine texture lock . . . . etc.

Following the same authorities, he sometimes accepts the four

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elements as underlying all matter and being combined under divine guidance to form all varieties of matter:

> The warring elements in wedlock bind,
> Water and fire, dull earth and active wind;
> Knit by Almighty order, they cohere,
> And in their ever-varying offspring share.

So after all Brooke's cosmology is often remarkably like that of the despised Epicureans, save that he always emphasises heavenly foresight and control instead of mechanical accident. Both his physical theory of basic elements combined by gradual natural forces and his metaphysical theory of a single divine essence inhabiting all ranks of creation are more consistent with the evolutionary hypothesis than with the fragments of the Miltonic creation-story which he uses elsewhere.

If Brooke did "furnish a foundation" for the poem of Erasmus Darwin, it can only have been in his general method of versifying botanic and physiological processes, and this is the least interesting element in *Universal Beauty*. Brooke's only appeal to present-day readers is his mysticism, unique in his generation; one has to come down to Blake to find a parallel for such lines as these:

> The One grows sundry by creative power,
> The Eternal's found in each revolving hour;
> The Immense appears in every point of space;
> The Unchangeable in Nature's varying face;
> The Invisible conspicuous to our mind;
> The Deity in every atom shrined.

Brooke blindly fumbled at the concepts which the problem of reconciling evolution with a spiritual creed has endowed with modern significance. Our surprise at finding them masquerading in Popean couplets and antitheses is apt to give a false perspective to our evaluation of them. The truth seems to be that Brooke was not a prophet of Darwinism, but something even more interesting—a mystic isolated in an age of reason; and his poem happens to have gained extrinsic implications from the fact that the same mystical doctrines have been revived by the later poets who were seeking, with a clearer recognition of the difficulty, a faith consistent with scientific rationalism.

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X

IN DEFENSE OF MELCHIOR GRIMM

IN THE FIRST chapter of *L'Influence Allemande en France*, M. Reynaud states that Germany, in the early eighteenth century, being dissatisfied with the indifference with which France viewed her literature, determined to send out propagandists to take up the campaign. In his opinion the instigator of this battle for recognition was Gottsched.

It is probably true that Gottsched wished to interest his friends in German literature, and, incidentally, to make his own books known in France. He may even have had in mind a definite plan for literary propaganda, but I cannot agree with M. Reynaud that Melchior Grimm was the first envoy "chargé par son professeur de ne rien épargner pour ouvrir les yeux aux Français sur les mérites littéraires de sa patrie.[1]

In the course of an attempt to trace the development of Grimm's dramatic criticism[2] in the *Correspondance Littéraire*, I found myself curious to know why this young German had come to Paris and what influences or circumstances had made him one of the keenest of eighteenth-century critics. And I was no less interested, on the other hand, in the problems of adaptation and adjustment which he must have found before him. The evidence seemed to point to the conclusion that Grimm was not sent to Paris by Gottsched and that if Grimm furthered at all French interest in German literature, he did so with no premeditated plan.

Grimm first met Gottsched in 1743 when he went up to the University of Leipzig to study law. Gottsched was a professor at the university and a leader in a group of writers who were imitating French classical style. Grimm, who had already had some correspondence with Gottsched, was eager to work under his direction. They continued to write to each other after Grimm left Leipzig. In December, 1748 he announced that he was making ready to accompany to Paris the younger son of the Count of Schönberg whose tutor he had been for several years. These letters, as I have tried to show, indicate Grimm's interest in French literature and his predilection for literary criticism,[3] but there is nothing in

[1] Reynaud, *L'influence Allemande en France au XVIII^e et XIX^e Siècle*, Paris, 1922, p. 16,

[2] Anne C. Jones, *Frederick Melchior Grimm, as a Critic of Eighteenth-Century French Drama*, Bryn Mawr, 1926.

[3] *Frederick Melchior Grimm*, Part II, Chapter I.

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them which suggests that Gottsched had any understanding with him before he went to France.

When we next hear of Grimm he is in Paris, playing duets with Rousseau and talking philosophy with the Baron d'Holbach. "La manière dont il opéra sa trouée à Paris est tout simplement merveilleuse. Quatre ans à peine devaient suffire à cet obscur étranger pour se placer au sommet de la hiérarchie mondaine et littéraire. De Friesen en Rousseau, et de Diderot en d'Holbach, il avait prestement gravi les échelons de la première," says M. Reynaud, seeming to insinuate that this popularity was part of a well formed scheme.[4]

How did it come about, then, that Grimm was so well received in Paris? Soon after his arrival he became reader to the Crown Prince of Saxe-Gotha: apparently he wanted to try his fortune in Paris instead of returning immediately to Germany. In 1749 he found even more permanent employment, becoming secretary to the Count of Friesen, a compatriot of the Schönberg's.

Grimm soon became acquainted with Jean Jacques Rousseau who had not been long in Paris. In the *Confessions* Rousseau says that he had liked this young German immediately because of his interest in music.[5] He introduced him to the men and women who frequented the *salons*: Baron d'Holbach, Mme. Chenanceau, Mme. D'Epinay and Abbé Galiani. The Count of Friesen with whom Grimm lived, was a prominent figure in Paris and received many visitors at his home. Marmontel speaks in his *Mémoires* of the dinners to which he used to be invited in Grimm's rooms.[6] Another of his comrades was Abbé Raynal, who was at that time writing a literary correspondance for Louise of Saxony. There seemed to be almost no one of interest whose acquaintance Grimm did not make. Diderot was to become his inseparable companion and the two were always seen together at Madame d'Epinay's *salon*.

Though Grimm was particularly fortunate in his group of friends, it does not appear that he angled for them. The Schönberg family was well enough known in Paris to have given their protégé an opportunity to meet almost anyone. Besides, he obviously created a favorable impression since Rousseau enjoyed his fondness for music, Diderot appreciated his criticisms and Madame d'Epinay wrote in her journal not long after she had met him:

[4] *L'influence Allemande*, p. 16.

[5] Rousseau, *Oeuvres* (ed. Auguis), Paris, 1824, *Les Confessions*, II, 139.

[6] Marmontel, *Mémoires* (ed. Tourneux), Paris, 1891, I, p. 253.

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Il n'a pas l'élocution facile; malgré cela sa manière de dire ne manque ni d'agrément, ni d'intérêt. J'ai été contente de lui, il est doux, poli. . . . . Il est sans fortune. Son goût pour les sciences, les arts et la littérature le lia intimement avec le Conte de Schoenberg dont il accompagne les enfants à Paris.[7]

It is significant that Grimm was so graciously received even before he had offered any proof of his literary ability. It was not because he was a German and a foreigner, for Paris had welcomed too many famous guests to be moved by the quiet entrance of a modest scholar who had not yet published anything worthy of attention. It was rather that there was something in Grimm's character which appealed in a curious way to the little group which surrounded him. The expression of his feeling for external nature was in accord with the romantic enthusiasm which was already being formulated in French sentiment. He once wrote to Madame d'Epinay:

Si nous ne finissons pas notre vie à la campagne nous serons bien à plaindre. La haine des villes m'a si fortement saisi que je me berce sans cesse de la chimère d'en sortir.[8]

Furthermore, his personality had an elusive charm which Madame d'Epinay attests in her portrait of him:

Son caractere est un mélange de vérité, de douceur, de sauvagerie, de sensibilité,—de réserve, de mélancolie et de gaité. Il aime la solitude; et il est aisé de voir que le goût pour la société ne lui est point naturel; . . . . Ce je ne sais quoi de solitaire et de renfermé joint à beaucoup de paresse rend quelquefois en public son opinion équivoque.[9]

There is more than a hint here of the characteristics of the romantic hero who is so soon to dominate French literature. It was not his "esprit, finesse et savoir-faire" which gave him the popularity he enjoyed. M. Reynaud's words are scarcely the ones I should have chosen to explain how he made his *trouée*. It was rather that his lack of pretension and his Teutonic sentimentality satisfied a vague longing in the hearts of the sophisticated society of eighteenth century France. His very success is a proof of their own susceptibility.

[7] Epinay, *Mémoires* (ed. Boiteau), Paris, 1878, p. 192.

[8] Perey et Maugras, *Madame d'Epinay à Genève, Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*, XXII, 128.

[9] Epinay, *Mémoires*, p. 192.

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M. Reynaud says that Grimm did not wait long to acquit himself of his mission. If he did have a mission one wonders why he waited as long as he did. One year and eight months after his arrival, he published an article on German literature in the *Mercure* and another the next year (1751). This is, for M. Reynaud, a definite proof of propaganda.

It seems quite natural that Grimm, ambitious as I admit he was, should write about German literature. However, I believe that his enthusiasm was in literary criticism rather than in conscious propaganda, and, eager as he was to become master of the French language, he attacked, wisely enough, the subject which he knew best. He had not been in France sufficiently long to acquire a fundamental basis for French criticism.

According to M. Reynaud, it was only by a liberal supply of compliments and obsequious remarks that he risked informing his readers of German literature. The first article began:

> Ce sujet aura sans doute le mérite de la nouveauté, mais j'ai grand peur que leurs préjugés ne lui soient peu favorables. Cependant l'esprit, aussi que la sottise, est de toutes les nations. Tout ce qui porte l'empreinte du génie, de quelque part qu'il vienne, mérite l'attention et l'estime de l'homme de goût. Laissons aux républiques politiques cet esprit de prédilection pour les enfants nés dans leurs murs. Dans la républiques des lettres nous ne devons méconnaitre pour concitoyens que ceux qui sont nés sans talents et sans goût pour les beaux arts. Tous ceux qui, les aiment et qui s'y connaissent sont nos compatriotes, le pays n'y fait rien. Pour moi, du moins, qui fais peu de cas de la querelle des nations sur leurs avantages réciproques, je ne reconnais aucune différence entre elles quand il s'agit des beaux arts, et je suis aussi glorieux et aussi fier, des talents et des ouvrages de l'auteur de *Zaïre* que si j'étais né à Paris ou qu'il fût né au sein de l'Allemagne.[10]

So far it seems that this is rather an enthusiasm for cosmopolitanism than a ground-work for flattery. He goes on now to say that it is French writers who have known best the art of developing thought and form and he names particularly: Boileau, Racine, Fontenelle and Voltaire. Then, after admitting that Germany had no geniuses who can be placed beside these famous men, he adds:

> Que nous importe puisque ceux-là mêmes nous les avons? A Paris on joue *Le Misanthrope* et *Cinna* pour vingt hommes dispersés dans le parterre. En Allemagne, la salle ne peut jamais contenir tout le monde qui se présente à la représentation de ces pièces.

[10] *Correspondance Littéraire* (ed. Tourneux) XVI, 269.

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This very just attack on eighteenth century dramatic taste was the beginning of Grimm's penetrating criticism of the French theatre.

After outlining very briefly the different periods of German literature from the origins down to modern times, he wrote of Gottsched:

> Il s'établit à Leipzig où il n'a cessé depuis ce temps—là de travailler avec ardeur au progrès de la langue allemande et des belles lettres. Il avait lu par un heureux hasard, peut-être, les grands hommes du siècle de Louis XIV. . . . . Avant lui il n'y avait guère que les gens du monde qui connussent les auteurs français. Les jeunes gens qui n'étaient pas sans talents se trouvaient sans aucun guide pour les diriger, et c'est une obligation qu'ils ont à M. Gottsched de les avoir conduits à ces sources du beau qu'ils ne conaissent point.

I fail to see anything patronizing in the first letter. It is true that Grimm was still an outsider. He was naturally interested in writing of his own literature with which he was familiar, but his main theme was a sincere expression of gratitude to Gottsched for his introduction to French literature.

The beginning of the second letter proves that Grimm had been considered neither complimentary by the French nor nationalistic by his compatriots.

> Depuis ma première lettre j'ai eu bien des reproches. . . . . Les Français n'ont point voulu convenir que nous fussions aussi avides des bonnes choeses qu'ils le sont des nouveautés. . . . . C'est bien pis avec nos compatriotes; ils ont pris la chose au tragique. Ils m'ont reproché que j'avais donné aux Français trop de part dans les progrès des belles-lettres en Allemagne.[11]

In this article Grimm concerned himself a little more in detail with German poetry and announced a book on lyric poetry which Gottsched's wife was preparing. He praised Gottsched again for having awakened the nation and concluded:

> C'est ainsi que depuis environ trente ans, l'Allemagne est devenu une volière de petits oiseaux qui n'attendent que la saison pour chanter. Peut-être ce temps glorieux pour les muses de ma patrie n'est pas éloigné.

Among these young poets Grimm mentioned Haller whose poetry, already known in France, showed the simplicity and the innocence of life in the Swiss mountains. He criticized the work, however, for the obscurity of the thought and the awkwardness of the language.

[11] *Correspondance*, XVI, 275.

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Although there is some definite information here, I do not believe that the article was interesting enough to inspire the public with a passion for German literature. Grimm himself is far from convincing and his rather reluctant praise of this one poet does not merit M. Reynaud's statement:

> Et c'est ainsi que, Grimm poussant Haller, Haller poussant Grimm, la littérature allemande fit son entrée chez nous vers le milieu du dix-huitieme siècle.[12]

Instead of continuing his instruction on German literature, Grimm turned his ability to a question which was purely a matter of local interest. The two papers which he wrote on music were *Lettre sur Omphale* (1752) and *Le Petit Prophète de Boehmischbroda* (1753). As M. Reynaud has explained, allegiance was at that time divided between the classical compositions and those innovations made by Rameau and others who were more influenced by Italian music. At the opera partisans of classic music grouped themselves around the King's box while those who welcomed the new ideas were beside the Queen's box, and the names, *coin du roi* and *coin de la reine*, were used to designate the opposing parties. M. Reynaud did not point out the curious fact that all the philosophers occupied the *coin de la reine*, and, with Diderot, Rousseau and d'Alembert, we naturally find their companion, Grimm.

Since this battle in music amounted almost to a quarrel between the philosophical and the classical groups, Grimm's participation in the affair shows that, instead of attacking the question as an individual, he had joined the cause with his friends. The pamphlets were clever and proved that the author had learned not only to master the French language but to make use of its wit also. It is true, as M. Reynaud acknowledges, that he had Paris at his feet.

Grimm had now been in Paris four years. It will be interesting to see what he had written of his life to Gottsched, because M. Reynaud has said that their correspondence makes clear the understanding between them. The first letter was written in 1751 and, in it, Grimm is already on the defensive:

> Nur bitte ich mir meiner Seite von Ew. Magnificenz ein Bischen mehr Freundschaft für meine Franzosen aus. Ich weiss nicht wer Ew. Magnificenz die Pariser Artikel in dero Journal liefert, ich kann versichern dass sie meist ohne Grund und theils lächerlich sind. Zum Exempel Alles was von der Opera und von M. Rameau gesagt ist. M. Rameau wird von

[12] *L'influence Allemande*, p. 18.

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allen Kennern für einen der grössten Tonkünstler, die jemals gewesen gehalten und mit Recht. Ew. Magnificenz dürfen nur lesen, was mein sehr guter Freund M. d'Alembert in der Vorrede zur Encyclopédie von ihm spricht. Die ganze Historie von M. Diderot ist falsch und ehrenrührig für einen Mann der mit Recht hier unter die Zahl der grössten Köpfe gerechnet wird. So wollte ich auch Ew. Magnificenz etwas mehr Freundschaft für den Herrn Voltaire beizubringen wünschen.[13]

It is plain that Gottsched did not share Grimm's enthusiasm for his friends. This is understandable when one remembers that Gottsched, who had stood for classicism, would doubtless not be in sympathy with the new orientation in French literature.

The letter shows, furthermore, that a year before Grimm wrote the pamphlets on music, he knew Rameau and was interested in him. M. Reynaud implies that Grimm had chosen his moment as a good one to make himself known and to show off his knowledge of music. I insist again on Grimm's evident pride in belonging to this circle.

In a letter written the following year, Grimm enclosed a short article on German theatres, published in an *Almanach de Tous les Spectacles*, and the first pamphlet on music. He assured Gottsched, as he had in the first letter, that Gottsched's name was considered with great honor in Paris.

Beginning in the autumn of that year, Grimm wrote only in French perhaps for the reason assigned by Danzel: "Da er doch wissen musste wie viel Werth Gottsched gerade auf deutsche Correspondenz legte."[14] When the translation of Gottsched's grammar was printed Grimm wrote:

> On a imprimé la traduction de votre grammaire. Voici ce qu'on en-a dit dans le *Mercure*. M. Gottsched célèbre en Allemagne par le bon goût qu'il y a répandu, et en France par les éloges que lui a donné un homme de beaucoup d'esprit qui ne loue que les gens louables et qui les loue bien, est l'auteur de la grammaire.[15]

One can assume that Grimm is the man of intelligence mentioned without being convinced, however, that this praise was the result of an arrangement between him and his former professor.

In the same letter Grimm announced that he had followed the example of his friends who liked to be independent and had set up

[13] Danzel, *Gottsched und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 349.
[14] *Gottsched und seine Zeit*, p. 351.
[15] *Ibid.*

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an *occupation littéraire.* By this he meant the confidential correspondence with foreign courts, a journal, which for more than forty years, was to send out news of contemporary French publications.

The next year (1754) Grimm was asked to take the editorship of a new magazine *Le Journal Etranger* which M. Reynaud feels was established primarily for German propaganda. If that were true, it would have been an excellent way for Grimm to urge his mission. On the contrary, all that he had to do with the paper was the preface. He wrote to Gottsched:

> C'est une rapsodie à laquelle je n'aurai plus aucune part dans la suite. Il n'y a que la Préface pour laquelle je vous demande votre indulgence.[16]

His sudden change of plan mystified M. Reynaud, who feels that the reasons were "peu claires." I think the explanation was very clearly stated in the November issue of his own journal, *La Correspondance Littéraire*:

> Distrait par des occupations plus agréables, j'ai préferé mon goût pour la littérature française et l'honneur que j'ai de vous en rendre compte à une occupation d'autant plus pénible qu'elle aurait été lucrative.[17]

M. Reynaud finds this preface a marvel of wit and insolence which appealed to the cosmopolitan sentiment so prevalent at this date. I have shown, in connection with the articles in the *Mercure,* that Grimm's interest was universal rather than nationalistic, and I believe that this is but a later expression of that same idea.

Curiously enough, one of Grimm's best friends, Abbé Raynal, thought that he recognized Rousseau's style:

> Ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant est la préface qui est écrite avec esprit, avec force, et où il y a des choses pensées, mais où l'on trouve ce ton dur et cette mauvaise humeur que quelques gens de lettres prennent aujourd' hui pour de la philosophie. C'est par ces endroits qu'on a cru reconnaître dans la préface le style de M. Rousseau à qui on l'attribue assez unanimement.[18]

The interesting thing about the preface is that Grimm was admirably aware of the literary situation and, in attacking it as justly as he did, he showed himself prepared to carry on the criticism in the *Correspondance.* I believe that it is this very assimilation of the

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[17] *Correspondance Littéraire*, II, 437.
[18] *Ibid.*, II, 144.

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eighteenth century point of view which M. Reynaud has failed to understand.

Aside from the two rather mild articles in the *Mercure* and one in *l'Almanach*, there is nothing that one can point out as an actual attempt to turn public interest to German literature. The correspondence is innocent of any ulterior motive. All that can be said is that the letters to Gottsched indicate a certain loyalty in spite of a difference of opinion on literary matters. They prove no obligation on Grimm's part to carry on "la mission qui lui avait été confiée."[19] The editorship of *Le Journal Etranger*, so soon to be renounced cannot be taken as an evidence of propaganda.

There remains one more question: How much attention did Grimm give to German literature in his *Correspondance*? Did he take this opportunity to advertise translations and to announce new publications? In the first ten years of the journal he mentions very rarely the literature of his own country. The translation of *Werther* is not praised and the short articles on Lessing are without enthusiasm.[20]

It was interesting to find an opinion of Grimm by one of his compatriots who writes in 1882:

> In allen kurzen Anführungen und den längeren Kritiken, welche Grimm der deutschen Literatur widmet, bekundet sich keine Vorliebe für die Erzeugnisse seines Geburtslandes. Nur selten nämlich macht er Anspielungen auf seine Vergangenheit, spricht er von deutschen Werken, die er in seiner Jugend gelesen oder nennt er Deutschland geradezu sein Vaterland. So kann man sagen, dass Grimm, der in seinen Berichten der deutschen Literatur so wenig Raum gönnte und so geringe achtungsvolle Theilnahme bezeigte, fast wider seinen Willen ein Apostel der deutschen Literatur in Frankreich geworden ist.[21]

I have no doubt that this critic, if he could, would agree with me that Grimm is innocent of the charge which Monsieur Reynaud has put upon him.

The most conclusive proof I have to offer, however, is the unified trend of Grimm's own career. His early interest in French literature, his fondness for literary criticism and his predilection for dramatic questions point to a preoccupation which was to find its

[19] *L'influence Allemande*, p. 17.

[20] *Correspondance Littéraire*, VI, 140, 247; XIII, 74. 190.

[21] Geiger, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, Die Correspondance und die deutsche Literatur*, 1882, April 16.

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real expression in the *Correspondance Littéraire.* Like other foreigners of the eighteenth century Grimm was carried away by his enthusiasm for the French point of view. Although I do not deny that he may have had a certain influence in attracting attention to German literature, which was already beginning to make its way into France through other mediums, I am convinced that this influence was an unconscious one.

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XI

THE AUTHORSHIP OF A REVIEW OF LESSING'S *MISS SARA SAMPSON*

IN THE *Journal Étranger*, December, 1761, appeared an anonymous review of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* which, since the middle of the last century, has been the subject of recurrent conjectures. Discussion has confined itself for the most part to the question whether or not this review was written by Diderot, to whom, in turn, it has been categorically assigned, tentatively imputed, categorically denied, and re-imputed. However, although the question has attracted, more or less incidentally, the attention of various prominent critics, no one, as far as I have been able to determine, has undertaken to investigate the available evidence. Following is a brief bibliographical survey of the discussion.

1. Danzel, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing* (Leipzig, 1850), I, 473:

Im December hefte des "Journal Étranger" 1761 findet sich eine Kritik des Stückes (Sara) von der LESSING, der sich doch gründlich darüber unterrichtet haben wird, im vierten (vierzehten) Stücke der Dramaturgie (VII, 62)[1]—versichert, sie rühre von DIDEROT her; . . . .

2. Guhrauer in his continuation of Danzel's work (Leipzig, 1853, II, 321, note) points out the fallacy of Danzel's assumption:

Danzel glaubte nemlich, S. 473, die Recension der *Miss Sara* im *Journal Étranger* déc. 1761, die er deshalb vollständig einrückt, sei von Diderot, weil Lessing der sich doch gründlich unterrichtet haben werde, im 4 (14) *Stück der Dramaturgie* (VII, 62) versichert, sie rühre von Diderot her. Dies ist nachher von HETTNER als Thatsache aufgenommen worden. (*Das Moderne Drama*, S. 71.)[2] Allein die Worte Lessings, auf welche Danzel sich beruft, lauten keineswegs so, dass eine solche Annahme daraufgebaut werden könnte. Nachdem Lessing erstlich eine Stelle[3] aus der Recension des Ungenannten, im *Journal étranger*, und darauf eine ähnliche von Marmontel angeführt hat, sagt er nur: "Man lasse aber diese Betrachtungen den Franzosen, von ihren Diderots und Marmontels noch so eingeschärft werden" u.s.w. Darin liegt noch lange nicht, dass Diderot der ungenannte Verfasser im *Journal étranger* sei; die Diderots

[1] Lachmann's Edition of Lessing, 1838–40.

[2] Hettner's assertion in the 1924 edition of *Das Moderne Drama* (DLD.151) reads: "Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* empfiehlt er (Diderot) den Franzosen auf's Wärmste."

[3] Lessing merely paraphrases two or three sentences.

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und Marmontels repräsentiren nur die Schule, welche sich der alten Routine gegenüber stellt; und Diderot hatte sich anderwärts hinlänglich in diesem Sinn ausgesprochen. Auch in Grimm's Correspondenz, die Danzel dort beibringt, macht er aus blossen Vermutungen ein paarmal Diderot zum Verfasser.

3. Cosack, *Materialien zu Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's* Hamburgischer Dramaturgie, Paderborn, 1876, p. 85: seconds Guhrauer and raises another point in favor of the latter's argument.

Guhrauer bezweifelt dagegen, dass Lessing wirklich den Diderot als Verfasser der Kritik bezeichne, und ich stimme ihm bei, denn Lessing hätte sonst nicht (C. 87) "der erstgedachte Kritiker,"[4] sondern ganz bestimmt "Diderot" gesagt.

Guhrauer's argument is very sound. The fourteenth article of the *Dramaturgie* offers no evidence that Lessing considered Diderot the author in question. Moreover, if Lessing actually considered Diderot to be the author the problem would by no means be settled. Danzel's assertion that Lessing must have been "thoroughly informed" is still an assumption.

4. Hettner, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur im 18 Jahrhundert* (4th ed., Braunschweig, 1881, p. 345) introduces additional material:

Aus dem Briefwechsel Diderot's mit Mlle. Voland (Bd. 2, S. 87, 140)[5] erhellt, dass Diderot einige Zeit die Absicht hatte, Lessing's Stück, wahrscheinlich mit Hülfe Grimm's, in das Französische zu übersetzen; in seinen Petersburger Papieren findet sich bereits ein Entwurf der Vorrede.

5. Süpfle, *Geschichte des deutschen Kultureinflusses auf Frankreich* (Gotha, II (1888), section I, p. 4), is unacquainted with the references furnished by Hettner and ends by making one categorical misstatement after another.

Wer der Verfasser dieses Aufsehen erregenden Aufsatzes war, ist nicht bekannt. Es liegt wohl am nächsten, ihn dem damaligen Leiter des *Journal Étranger*, dem hochgebildeten Abbé Arnaud, zuzuschreiben. In keinem Falle darf man, wie es eine Zeit lang irrig in Deutschland angenommen wurde, als Verfasser den Diderot selbst, der seit 1757 das bürgerliche Drama in Frankreich eingeführt hatte, vermuten, welcher mit

[4] Cf. the beginning of the fifth paragraph of the fourteenth article in the *Dramaturgie*.

[5] Assézat, *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, XIX, 75, 104.

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jener Zeitschrift in gar keiner Verbindung stand, und dessen Stil und Darstellungsweise eine wesentlich andere war. Ebenso wenig Glauben verdient die Angabe von zwei damaligen deutschen Zeitschriften, welche die Mitteilung gebracht hatten, dass Diderot eine "Übersetzung" der *Sara Sampson*, zugleich mit derjenigen von zwei englischen Tragödien veröffentlichen wolle. In seinen Werken ist weder dieses Stück; noch überhaupt Lessing selbst auch mit einer Silbe erwähnt. Es ist dies ebenso bedauerlich als auffallend.

"Bedauerlich!" "Auffallend!" The adjectives describe Süpfle's rather than Diderot's oversight. Assézat's standard edition of Diderot, to which Süpfle might have referred, includes not only the two passages indicated by Hettner but also the fragmentary preface to the "translation" wherein naturally *Sara Sampson* is mentioned. The assertion, however, that Diderot in his works does not mention Lessing's name is correct. Moreover, Süpfle's contention that the review in the *Journal Étranger* is written in a style and a manner of exposition different from Diderot's is a very pertinent observation. It is probable, as will later be noted, that this review was written by an editor of the *Journal*. In that case, however, it is more likely that this editor was Suard, Arnaud's inseparable colleague, rather than the Abbé himself. There is little in the well balanced discussion of *Sara* to indicate the pen of Arnaud, exponent of the lurid "genre sombre" and author of the preliminary discourses of the *Comte de Comminge*.

6. Kinkel, *Lessing's Dramen in Frankreich* (Darmstadt, 1908, p. 3), holds, on the basis of Guhrauer's and Süpfle's assertions, that the authorship of Diderot is highly improbable. He cites, however, Hettner's two references to the Diderot-Volland correspondence.

7. Boxberger, in his edition of Lessing (*Deutsche National-Literatur*, LXVII, 66, note), tacitly accepts Danzel's assumption:

"französischer Kunstrichter," Lessing meint Denys Diderot —, dessen Theater er in zwei Bänden überzetzt hat.

8. Petersen, in his critical edition of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, p. 454, confines himself to the attitude taken by Guhrauer.

9. Muncker, in the standard edition of Lessing, lists this review in the Register under Diderot.

10. Erich Schmidt, in his biography of Lessing (4th ed., I, 675, notes) again cites Hettner's two references and, in addition, mentions the incorporation of the fragmentary "Vorrede zur

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geplanten Ausgabe von Landois' *Sylvie* und der Übersetzung von Lillos *G. Barnwell*, Moores *Spieler*, L's *Sara* in Assézat's edition, VIII, 439."

The latter reference is highly important. In the text (I, 301) Schmidt writes:

Floss die Verteidigung des bürgerlichen Trauerspiel im *Journal étranger* aus Diderots Feder—aus seinem Geiste stammt sie gewiss und harmoniert mit allem, was er als Dolmetsch solcher Dramen oder sonst vorbringt—so hat ihm gerade *Miss Sara Sampson* den bündigsten Satz über das Menschliche diktiert: "Es liegt in der Natur des Menschen, dass ihn nur das bewegt, was Seinesgleichen zustösst: Könige sind darum Unsersgleichen allein durch die natürlichen Empfindungen und jene Mischung von Gut und Böse, die alle Stände zu einem einzigen, dem des Menschen, vereint. Nicht weil Iphigenie die Tochter Agamemnons und Klytämnestra des Tyndareus Tochter ist, erweicht uns ihr Los; nein, weil jene die Tochter, diese die Mutter ist. Und so steht es mit allem, was das heroische Theater an Schrecken und Rührung bietet." Lessing glaubt: nicht Herkules, Medea, Virginia bewegen uns, sondern die Menschen.

Schmidt's argument is unsatisfactory. Starting with the hypothesis that Diderot is the author, he cautiously qualifies this hypothesis with the assertion that the article is at least a product of Diderot's "spirit." The latter contention applies to arguments in the review which are altogether too general to be called Diderotian. Schmidt, thereupon, emphatically asserts that this defence of the bourgeois tragedy agrees with everything that Diderot had to say on the subject. This, we shall later note, is too rash. It must, above all, be emphasized that the chief point in the *Journal's* argument is the citation of a passage from the arch-classicist, Corneille. The extract given by Schmidt is characteristic neither of Diderot nor of Lessing. "Lessing believes it is not Hercules, Medea, Virginia, but human beings who move us." But Corneille believed as much and, in his *Deuxième Discours*, used the same argument in favor of "tragédie noble":

Il est vrai qu'on n'introduit d'ordinaire que des rois pour premiers acteurs dans la tragédie, et que les auditeurs n'ont point de sceptre par où leur ressembler, afin d'avoir lieu de craindre les malheurs qui leur arrivent: mais CES ROIS SONT HOMMES comme les auditeurs, et tombent dans ces malheurs par l'emportement des passions dont les auditeurs sont capables.

11. Texte (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, April 16, 1896), considers the authorship of Diderot almost certain:

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Ce drame [*Miss Sara Sampson*], imité de Richardson et du *Marchand de Londres* de Lillo, bénéficie chez nous du succès qu'avaient rencontré ses modèles. Le 15 décembre 1761, cette pièce fut jouée à Saint-Germain chez le duc d'Ayen, et le *Journal étranger* écrivit (l'article est presque certainment de Diderot): "Il se peut que l'art ait encore des progrès à faire chez les Allemands, mais le génie y a pris la grande route de la nature, et l'on ne saurait trop les exhorter à la suivre."

The idea of the Germans as preëminently apostles of nature was, however, a favorite theory at this time. The *Journal*, September, 1761, had already referred to Lessing as a "génie naturel."

12. Gaiffe (*Le Drame en France au XVIIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1910, p. 91, note) simply grants the possibility that Diderot was the author:

Les mêmes idées (general argument that audiences are touched by dramatic characters that are essentially men and women such as they) ont été exprimées avec beaucoup de netteté et de force dans un article du *Journal Étranger*, dû peut-être à la plume de Diderot (décembre 1761), à propos de *Miss Sara Sampson*. C'est naturellement l'avis de tous les dramaturges proprement dits, mais l'opinion de la critique est loin d'être unanime; etc.

"Precision," however, was not one of Diderot's virtues. Moreover, the "force" of this review is due to restraint rather than effusion, which latter characterized Diderot's comments on the bourgeois drama.

From the above opinions only two conclusions can certainly be drawn: (1) The review sets forth certain general arguments which are in keeping with Diderot's main theories concerning the middle class drama; (2) Diderot was acquainted with *Miss Sara Sampson* at the time the review appeared, planned a little later a French edition of Lessing's tragedy together with several other bourgeois dramas, and actually wrote a part of the preface that was to accompany that edition.

Nevertheless, an examination of the available evidence will enable us to determine more precisely what basis these two propositions afford for the assumption of Diderot's authorship, and also will lead us to a better understanding of the article itself, the nature of which has frequently been misinterpreted. The evidence to be considered deals primarily with three topics: (1) Diderot's correspondence with Mlle. Volland (only two

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passages of which have been cited), (2) the review itself, (3) the fragmentary "Préface." In addition one may compare the statements on the bourgeois drama in the review with those appearing in Diderot's known works. We shall begin with the correspondence.

Diderot's published letters to Mlle. Volland contain three references to *Miss Sara* made in the fall of 1761, less than three months before the appearance of the review. In the first two letters the name of the play is not disclosed.

September 28:[6] "J'ai enfin cette tragédie allemande, et l'agréable, c'est que je ne la tiens pas de M. de Montigny.[7] Je reçois de temps en temps la visite de deux petits Allemands; ce sont deux enfants[8] tout à fait aimables et bien élevés. Je leur ai temoigné l'envie de connaître cet ouvrage, et ils me l'ont traduit en deux ou trois jours; je ne sais encore ce que c'est. Il est difficile qu'un ouvrage dont Grimm fait un cas surprenant ait été défiguré au point de ne pas mériter de vous être envoyé."

October 12:[9] "J'irai jeudi dîner avec mes petits Allemands: ils sont charmants. Je n'ai rien à faire à la tragédie qu'ils m'ont traduite; elle vous plaira comme elle est, j'en suis sûr, et vous l'aurez incessamment."

However, the translation was not sent immediately, for two weeks later, October 25,[10] Diderot writes:

Nos deux petits Allemands ont tant fait qu'ils m'ont entraîné à leur auberge.

A long paragraph follows in which the writer describes the enthusiasm of the "little Germans" and their admiration for each other's literary efforts. Diderot further informs us that the younger is named Nicolai and the older, de la Fermière. Later in the same letter the name of Lessing's play occurs for the first time[11]:

Je tremble de vous envoyer *Miss Sara Sampson*, de peur qu'il ne vous en arrive comme à moi, et que si l'on venait, comme on vient de me faire,

[6] Assézat et Tourneux, *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, XIX, p. 58.

[7] Author whose manuscript translation of *Miss Sara* was used for the review in the *Journal* and for the private productions of the play at the Duc D'Ayen's.

[8] A later reference indicates that these youngsters were old enough to have done literary work of their own.

[9] Assézat, XIX, p. 67.

[10] Assézat, XIX, p. 73.

[11] Just before he speaks of *Miss Sara* Diderot writes: "Grimm a le morceau que j'ai traduit." Schmidt erroneously assumes that Diderot is here referring to Lessing's play. The reference is clearly to a translation of one of the "Scotch lyrics" mentioned in the preceding sentence, also in the letter of October 12.

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à décacheter le paquet, on ne le taxât, et qu'il ne vous en coûtât une vingtaine de francs. Malgré cela, nous risquerons, si vous l'ordonnez. Il y a cent à parier contre un que nous réussirons; voyez.

The first two references clear up an interesting point. Diderot became acquainted with Lessing's play neither through Trudaine de Montigny's version nor through a translation which he, himself, undertook with the aid of his friend, Grimm.[12] Moreover, the translation supplied by the two young Germans, was so inadequate that Diderot surmised it must have been a positive disfiguration of the original, which Grimm had so highly extolled. To what extent the translators subsequently polished up their work is not stated, but two weeks later Diderot feels sure that the translation will "please" Mlle. Volland as it stands. Presumably he mailed it in this form by the end of October. One thing comes out clearly: Diderot was far from being impressed with Lessing's play. He does not mention a single feature; he calls it simply a "tragedy" without defining it as "bourgeois" or "domestic"; he does not even mention the author's name. The only interest he manifests appears to be due to the glowing recommendation it had received from Grimm. Above all, there is nothing to lead us to suspect that Diderot was at this time intending to introduce this play to French readers.

This correspondence also discloses the fact, of significance for our present inquiry, that at this very time Diderot was absorbed in a study of Richardson's *Clarissa*. His enthusiastic "Éloge de Richardson" appeared in the *Journal Étranger* of January 1762—only one month after the review of *Miss Sara*. The following references to Richardson's novel occur in the letters to Mlle. Volland:

September 17:[13] "Ce que vous me dites de l'enterrement et du testament de Clarisse, je l'avais éprouvé, c'est seulement une preuve de plus de la ressemblance de nos âmes.

September 22:[14] "Eh bien! Voilà un bon effet de cette lecture. Imaginez que cet ouvrage [*Clarissa*] est répandu sur toute la surface de la terre, et que voilà Richardson l'auteur de cent bonnes actions par jour. Imaginez

[12] The first reference also has an important historical significance. It definitely indicates that although *Miss Sara Sampson* appeared in 1755, Diderot was unfamiliar with Lessing's play when he wrote the *Fils Naturel* (1757), the *Père de Famille* (1758) and the theoretical treatises which accompanied these dramas.

[13] Assézat, XIX, 47.

[14] *Ibid.*, XIX, 49.

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qu'il fera le bien de toutes les contrées de longs siècles après sa mort." The same letter contains a paragraph on the possible reactions of Miss Howe to the seductive tactics of Lovelace.

September 28:[15] a paragraph on the character of Lovelace.

October 2:[16] "Disputez bien sur 'Clarisse.' Soyez sûres que c'est vous qui sentez juste. Morphyse a une ou deux vues de côté qui la font dire tout de travers."

October 19:[17] "Sitôt ma lettre recue, mettez sous enveloppe les fragments[18] de 'Clarisse,' et me les renvoyez. Mme. d'Epinay me les redemande.'

The author of the review of *Miss Sara*, on the other hand, though suggesting an improbable indebtedness of Lessing to LaMotte, overlooks the striking resemblances to *Clarissa*, which was an immediate source used by Lessing for his play. It seems impossible that Diderot, in the midst of his reading of Richardson's novel, could have failed to note that Lovelace and Clarissa supplied the models for Mellefont and Sara, if he had studied Lessing's play as carefully as it must have been studied by the person who wrote the review.

The natural conclusion seems to be that at the time the review appeared Diderot himself had only a very imperfect notion of *Sara Sampson*, with which he was acquainted only through a hasty translation made by two youngsters in a language not their own. Diderot, then, instead of being the person who introduced Lessing's play to the French public, may very possibly have gained his own first definite appreciation of that play from the reviewer's careful resume, based on Montigny's translation. Finally Diderot writes to Mlle. Volland, August 15, 1762[19]:

Un homme[20] s'est avisé de faire et de publier une mauvaise traduction du *Joueur*, qui, loin de me nuire, fait au contraire desirer la mienne, qui paraîtra avec *Miss Sara Sampson*, *La Fatale Curiosité*, *Le Marchand de Londres*, et d'autres pièces qui se ressemblent et que je donnerai avec des dicours qui vaudront peut-être la peine d'être lus.

[15] *Ibid.*, XIX, 55.

[16] *Ibid.*, XIX, 61.

[17] *Ibid.*, XIX, 70.

[18] It is very possible that these fragments were the privately translated portions of *Clarissa*, whose absence Diderot regretted in his "Eloge de Richardson," January, 1762. Later the same year Prevost published the missing passages. (Cf. Assézat,V, 218.)

[19] *Ibid.*, XIX, 104.

[20] Bruté de Loirelle.

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Diderot actually begins the "discours" in the form of a preface dedicated to Trudaine de Montigny, the translator of *Miss Sara*. The object of this preface was to introduce to the French public a group of several bourgeois tragedies collected in a single volume. The review in the *Journal* brought to the notice of the same public a single one of these tragedies, *Miss Sara Sampson*. The two articles were written within a year; if both were composed by the same author one would certainly expect them to show significant resemblances. In point of fact, they are as unlike in argument, manner, and tone as two articles dealing with a common subject and serving a similar purpose could reasonably be. Though the "Préface" remains a fragment it actually says more concerning the "bourgeois" genre than the completed review. I shall quote from the *Journal* review the introductory defence of the middle-class tragedy which comprises some five hundred words, including a substantial quotation from the dedicatory letter of Corneille's *Don Sanche*.

Miss Sara Sampson, Tragédie bourgeoise de M. Lessing.

Ce titre n'annonce rien d'héroïque, et en effet le sujet de cette Piece n'est pas un de ces événemens qui fixent les yeux de la terre, et qui ne nous touchent que de loin. Les noms des Rois et des Héros sont imposans sur le théâtre; mais tout ce qui impose n'intéresse pas. En fait de revers, il est vrai, l'élevation des personnages contribue au pathétique. Belizaire mendiant excitera la pitié bien plus qu'un homme de la lie du peuple; mais en général, plus les personnages sont près de nous, plus leur situation nous intéresse.

Il est dans l'homme de ne s'affecter que de ce qui arrive à ses semblables: or les Rois ne sont nos semblables que par les sentimens de la nature et par ce mêlange de biens et de maux qui confondent toutes les conditions en une seule, qui est celle de l'homme. Que ceux qui méprisent la Tragédie bourgeoise pensent donc que dans les sujets les plus héroïques il n'y a que les affections communes qui nous émeuvent fortement. Ce n'est point parce qu'Iphigénie est fille d'Agamemnon, et Clitemnestre fille de Tindar, que leur situation nous attendrit; c'est parce que l'une est la fille et l'autre la mere. Il en est ainsi de tout ce que le Théâtre héroique a de terrible et de touchant.

La Tragédie bourgeoise est dans le vrai spectacle pathétique: ce qui l'éleve au-dessus nous, l'en éloigne et par conséquent l'affoiblit.

Les Grecs, qui n'avoient considéré la Tragédie que comme un spectacle politique n'y ont admis que des personnages illustres et des événemens publics. Les Modernes en ont fait un spectacle moral: et rien ne convient mieux à la fin qu'ils se proposent, que des caracteres familiers et des événemens domestiques.

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On nous opposera des autorités; mais 1. il en est peu qui balancent celle du grand Corneille. "La Tragédie doit exciter," dit-il, "de la pitié et de la crainte. . . . . Or s'il est vrai que ce dernier sentiment ne s'excite en nous que quand nous voyons souffrir nos semblables et que leurs infortunes nous en font appréhender de pareilles; n'est-il pas vrai aussi qu'il y pourroit être excité plus fortement par la vue des malheurs arrivés aux personnes de notre condition, à qui nous ressemblons tout-à-fait, Ec. 2. Lorsqu'un Aristote examine lui-même les qualités nécessaires au Héros de la Tragédie," observe le même Poëte, "il ne touche point du tout à sa naissance, et ne s'attache qu'aux incidens de sa vie et à ses moeurs; il demande un homme qui ne soit ni tout méchant ni tout bon; il le demande persécuté par quelqu'un de ses proches; il demande qu'il tombe en danger de mourir par une main obligée à le conserver; et je ne vois point," dit Corneille, "que cela ne puisse arriver qu'à un Prince."

Voilà précisément l'apologie de la Piece dont nous allons donner un extrait.

This is very conservative and very sound. It is said more impartially, more impersonally, and more judiciously than anything of similar length Diderot is known to have written in behalf of the domestic tragedy or "genre sérieux." In comparison consider the beginning of the "Préface" which immediately reveals Diderot's characteristic audacity, enthusiasm, and bias. The author starts with a eulogy of Landois' *Sylvie*[21]:

Voilà la première tragédie en prose qui ait paru sur quelque théâtre que ce soit. On y brave tous les préjugés à la fois; elle est en un acte; elle est entre des personnages subalternes et elle est écrite en prose; c'est ce genre qui a fait éclore, en Angleterre, *Le Marchand de Londres* et *Le Joueur.*, en Allemagne, *Miss Sara Sampson* et *Clémentine* comme les romans de M. de Marivaux ont inspiré *Pamela*, *Clarisse*, et *Grandisson.*

This is clearly an entirely different manner and an entirely different attitude. The *Journal* emphasizes the fact that the bourgeois tragedy, on the standard authority of Corneille and ultimately on the still higher authority of Aristotle, is quite legitimate. The "Préface" insists that it is very recent and revolutionary, not to say naughty. Corneille's defence was, in fact, too general and orthodox to suit the purposes of Diderot, who had several very definite—also very questionable—innovations to champion. The dedicatory letter of *Don Sanche* still allows for tragedy both historical and heroic (in action rather than character) and makes no mention of the sentimental humani-

[21] Assézat, VIII, 439.

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tarianism, intimate prose, tearful tableaux, "worthy and virtuous acts," and "conditions" so dear to the author of the *Entretiens* and the essay *De la Poésie Dramatique.* If Diderot, the conspicuous protagonist of the middle class drama, had cared to avail himself of Corneille's eloquent defence, is it plausible that he should have made this defence the capital argument in an anonymous review and should never have made even a fleeting mention of it in the well-known treatises in which he was arguing "pro domo sua"?

The article in the *Journal* is impressively cautious; the "Préface" tosses caution to the winds and starts off with a volley of overstatements and misstatements. In the first place, Lillo's "London Merchant"[22] was produced in 1731; Landois' *Sylvie* did not appear until ten years later. In the second place, there were numerous prose tragedies in *Diderot's own literature* which were performed both before and after the memorable production of the *Cid.* In the third place, Richardson's indebtedness to Marivaux is a very questionable assumption.

[22] There has been, it may be noted, a rather prevalent confusion of Lillo's *London Merchant* and E. Moore's *Gamester* in French criticism. Assézat, who, however, makes no reference to Diderot's misapprehension of the chronological relation of *The London Merchant* to *Sylvie*, offers an explanation which helps account for this tendency. "Diderot fut le premier qui la (pièce: *Gamester*) compara avec *Le Marchand de Londres* de Lillo, ce qui a fait longtemps croire que les deux pièces appartenaient au même auteur, croyance dont on retrouvera des traces dans *La France littéraire* de Quérard, qui donne *Beverley* comme une imitation du *Marchand de Londres* et place la traduction du *Joueur*, par l'abbé Bruté de Loirelle, à la fois au nom de Moore et au nom de Lillo" (VII, p. 413). The *Grand Larousse* (cf. *Revue de littérature comparée*, oct.-dec., 1926, p. 687, note; for French translations and adaptations of Lillo's play, see pp. 682 ff.) and the *Biographie Universelle* properly associate the translation of de Loirelle with Moore's play but, like Quérard, consider Saurin's *Béverley* an imitation of the *Merchant.* It seems that the two English plays were not clearly differentiated in Marmontel's mind when he wrote his *Poétique* (1763). In the chapter "Tragédie," just a few lines before an elaborate praise of *The Gamester*, the following exclamation occurs: "Quelle comparaison de Barnwell avec Athalie du côté de la pompe et de la majesté du théatre! mais aussi quelle comparaison du côté du pathétique et de la moralité!" The author includes the same sentence in his article "Tragédie" contributed to the Supplement (1777) of the *Encyclopaedia*, also in his *Éléments de Littérature* (1787), but in the latter two cases *Beverley* is substituted for *Barnwell.* A recent critic, Ch. Rabany, writes in his *Kotzebue*, Paris, 1893, p. 180 (note): "Il est d'ailleurs à remarquer que le drame bourgeois vient en réalite d'Angleterre. On peut en rapporter l'origine au *Marchand de Londres* de Lillo (1693–1739), qui fut transporté sur la scène française dans le *Beverley* de Saurin (1768), et au *Joueur* d'Edouard Moore (1712–1757)."

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A little later we find in the "Préface"[23]:

Enfin, il vient un homme de génie qui concoit qu'il n'y a plus de ressource que dans l'infraction de ces bornes étroites que l'habitude et la petitesse d'esprit ont mises à l'art. L'un dit: mais puisque les caractères sont épuisés dans la comédie, pourquoi ne pas se jeter sur les conditions? Mais quoi donc? le ridicule est-il le seul ton de la comédie? Pourquoi n'y mettrait-on pas des actions honnêtes et vertueuses? est-ce que ces actions n'ont pas lieu dans la société? Pourquoi ne rapprocherait-on pas davantage les moeurs théâtrales des moeurs domestiques? Dans la tragédie, on fait le même raisonnement. On dit: mais on n'a mis jusqu'à présent sur la scène que des rois, des princes. Pourquoi n'y mettrait-on pas de particuliers? Quoi donc? n'y a-t-il que la condition souveraine qui soit exposée à ces revers terribles qui inspirent la commisération ou l'horreur? et l'on fait des tragédies bourgeoises. Que font alors toutes les têtes moutonnières, tous ces demi-penseurs qui ne remontent à l'essence de rien? ils ramassent autorité sur autorité pour décrier le genre nouveau; le peuple les croit; ce sont ses vrais législateurs. Ils n'entendent pas la langue des muses; nous versons des larmes de joie ou de tristesse, ils blâment l'ouvrage.

The article continues in this tone.

This is Diderot's familiar manner—impatient, rhetorical questions, a strong appeal to the sentiment, recrimination against old-fashioned legislation, the declaration of new and progressive rights, above all, the introduction of certain hobbies such as virtue and "conditions." The author of the "Préface" is strongly interested in serious comedy as well as domestic tragedy and offers specific arguments in favor of his own *Fils Naturel* and *Père de Famille*.[24] In short, Diderot is just as evident as Landois, or Lillo, or Lessing. There is nothing of this sort in the *Journal*. The reviewer of Lessing's play recognizes the presence of prominent authorities among those hostile to the bourgeois tragedy. He offsets this by summoning as his own authority "le grand Corneille." This is very quiet and non-polemical. How does Diderot react? By impetuously calling those who cite opposing authorities "sheep-heads" and "demi-philosophers." The *Journal* replies to the arguments of the other side by appealing to a legislator of classical prestige. The "Préface" will have nothing to do with legislators

[23] Assézat, VIII, p. 440.

[24] Further on Diderot naively asserts: "J'en parle sans partialité." The same phrase is used with even less reason and justice by Dorval in the "Premier Entretien" (VII, p. 98).

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and appeals to the "tears of joy and sorrow." Diderot is clearly partisan; the reviewer is open-minded but impartial.

The characteristic feature of the article in the *Journal* is its conservativeness and restraint. This feature— particularly noteworthy in a publication given to undue adulation and exaltation— has not been sufficiently emphasized. To be sure, the author of *Sara* is called "un homme de génie," but this is conspicuously mild considering the lavish praise the same periodical had bestowed not only on Klopstock but on Christian Felix Weisse (spelled "Weis"). A discussion of the former's *Tod Adams* leads to the exclamation: "quel sujet! Le Théâtre ancien et moderne en a-t-il jamais fourni qui réunit à tant de simplicité tant d'importance, de grandeur, et d'intérêt?"[25] The reviewer of Weisse's *Edward III* assures us: "Mais il est aisé à l'Auteur de réparer ce défaut dans un Ouvrage digne d'ailleurs du génie de Corneille et de la force tragique de Shakespeare."[26] There is nothing in the review of *Miss Sara* as radical as a judgment of Marmontel—in turn, decidedly more orthodox than Diderot—who found *Barnwell* superior to *Athalie* in pathos and morality.[27]

Lessing's reviewer keeps both sides of the question in mind. No sooner has he said: "tout ce qui impose n'intéresse pas" than he admits: "En fait de revers, etc." We shall later return to this point. The *Journal* finds the dénouement of *Sara* inferior to that of La Motte's *Inès de Castro*. Would Diderot have made it a point to compare unfavorably the bourgeois tragedy with an ordinary heroic or "regular" tragedy, the narrow traditions and prejudices of which latter type he persistently assailed? Moreover, the specific criticisms of *Miss Sara* are practically all prompted by conventionally theatrical criteria. Diderot, who was a confirmed antagonist of theatrical routine, would have based such criticisms on the more inclusive and impressive conceptions of art at large, nature, reality, etc. To this point we shall also return.

Following are a number of the particular criticisms made by the *Journal*.

(Act I, scene 7—Marwood has just delivered her Medea-tirade): "Ce morceau plein de rage nous paroit porter atteinte à la vraisemblance de tout le reste de la Piece."

[25] September, 1761.
[26] May, 1760.
[27] *Poëtique Française*, 1761, II, 147.

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(Act III, scene 3—Sara, learning that her father's letter brings love and forgiveness, refuses to read it): "Ce sentiment est rempli de delicatesse et de vérité; mais le Poëte l'a affoibli en l'exagérant."

(Act IV, scene 2—Mellefont's monologue): "C'est-à-dire que Mellefont est encore un libertin: et cette idée affoiblit beaucoup l'intérêt de la Piece."

(Act IV, scene 4): "Marwood arrive, et Mellefont qui semble croire qu'elle est appaisée, lui demande comment elle trouve Sara; il lui dit des galanteries à elle-même, et lui rend graces d'avoir fait son bonheur, quoique sans le vouloir, en faisant connoître à Sir Sampson le lieu de leur retraite. Un pareil contretems ne seroit pas souffert sur notre théâtre. Mellefont dans cette scene est au moins très-imprudent."

(Act V, scene 7): Mellefont consents to leave Sara alone with Marwood): "C'est-là le comble de l'imprudence.—Il faut avouer que ce moyen, tout défectueux qu'il est, amene des scenes très-pathétiques."

(Summary criticism): "Du reste on ne peut disputer à M. Lessing le vrai génie de la Poésie dramatique, c'est-à-dire le don de se pénétrer des sentimens les plus intimes de la nature, et de les exprimer avec beaucoup de chaleur, d'énergie et de vérité. Nous ne desirons dans sa Piece que plus de précision et de rapidité dans le dialogue, des scenes moins allongées et par conséquent plus vives, en un mot un tissu plus serré dans l'intrigue et dans l'action, mais surtout moins de négligence dans la maniere de préparer et d'amener les événemens. Par exemple, nous ne saurions pardonner à un homme de génie d'avoir donné à Marwood, pour raison de vouloir être présentée à Sara, la curiosité de savoir si elle est digne de fixer Mellefont."

There is nothing Diderotian about such criticisms. There are a couple which sound decidedly unlike anything we should expect from Diderot.

The author of *Le Fils Naturel* would scarcely have been the one to ask for a "greater precision and rapidity of dialogue, scenes less drawn out and, as a result, more spirited." Diderot was certainly not an apostle of succinctness and rapidity. He was himself given to expansion and effusion. Instead of being oppressed by the terrible long-windedness of *Pamela* or *Clarissa*, he defends Richardson against the charge of diffuseness.[28] The same charge is raised three times in the "Second Intretien,"[29] and each time Dorval-Diderot offers a defence in the name of truth, passion, or pantomime.

Diderot, who never tired of directing the attention of his country-men to the more natural and impassioned effectiveness

[28] Assézat, V, 217.

[29] Ibid, VIII, 110, 113, 125.

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of the Greek and English stage, would have been the last Frenchman to condemn a foreign play on the basis of native theatrical convention. "Such an incongruity would not be tolerated on our stage" could scarcely have been written by the author who less than three years before had confessed to a prominent actress[30]: "Tenez, mon amie, je n'ai pas été dix fois au spectacle depuis quinze ans. Le faux de tout ce qui s'y fait me tue." It would be harder to find a more picturesque paradox than Diderot citing the French stage for its freedom from untoward gallantry.

We shall return to an important point in the *Journal's* introductory defence of the middle class tragedy. The reviewer writes: "Les noms des Rois et des Héros sont imposans sur le théâtre; mais tout ce qui impose n'intéresse pas. *En fait de revers, il est vrai, l'élevation des personnages contribue au pathétique.* Belizaire mendiant excitera la pitié bien plus qu'un homme de la lie du peuple; etc." There is no term which could be calculated to arouse Diderot's righteous wrath more quickly than the expression "lie du peuple." For him, the ardent apostle of poverty and social distress, a "dregs of humanity" did not and could not exist. The humblest were embraced by a generous bond of primordially benign and virtuous nature. Did Diderot ever admit that "the elevation of the characters adds to the pathos"? Would he ever have been willing to make such an admission, which is directly opposed to his primary doctrine of humanity? In fact, Diderot in at least one passage makes it a point to emphasize the contrary, namely, that genuine pathos arises from the situation and is independent of the rank of the characters:

> Une paysanne du village que vous voyez entre ces deux montagnes, et dont les maisons élèvent leur faîte audessus des arbres, envoya son mari chez ses parents, qui demeurent dans un hameau voisin. Ce malheureux y fut tué par un de ses beaux-frères. Le lendemain, j'allai dans la maison où l'accident était arrivé. J'y vis un tableau, et j'y entendis un discours que je n'ai point oubliés. Le mort était étendu sur son lit. Ses jambes nues pendaient hors du lit. Sa femme échevelée était à terre. Elle tenait les pieds de son mari; et elle disait en fondant en larmes, et avec une action qui en arrachait à tout le monde: "Hélas! quand je t'envoyai ici, je ne pensais pas que ces pieds te menaient à la mort." Croyez-vous qu'une femme d'un autre aurait été plus pathétique? Non, la même situation lui eût inspiré le même discours.[31]

[30] Assézat, VII, 400 (Réponse à la Lettre de Mme. Riccoboni); cf. also VIII, 354 (Grimm's note).

[31] Ibid., VII, 104.

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On the basis of the foregoing evidence we are warranted in concluding that the anonymous review in the *Journal Étranger* was almost certainly not written by Diderot. Moreover, it is significant that Assézat and Tourneux, who compiled a very careful edition of Diderot's works, including his two articles on Richardson and Terence in the *Journal Étranger*, never entertained the slightest suspicion that he also wrote the review of *Miss Sara Sampson*.

On the other hand, it is very probable that the review was written by one of the editors of the *Journal*. In the November issue—the issue immediately preceding the one containing the review of *Miss Sara*—a reviewer, who obviously was an editor, concludes a consideration of Lessing's *Fables* with this announcement: "Nous avons entre les mains quelques-uns de ses ouvrages que nous ne tardons pas de faire connoître et qui répondent à la haute opinion qu'on nous a donnée de ses talens dans *L'Essai sur la Littérature Allemande*.[32] The definiteness of this above announcement suggests that the same editor presented a selection of Lessing's *Fables* in November and *Miss Sara Sampson* in December. This inference is strengthened when one observes that these reviews are alike in refraining from an indiscreet "critique admirative." Speaking of Lessing's critical assertions concerning the Fable, the reviewer remarks: "Mais n'en déplaise à M. Lessing, toutes ses observations sont plus ingénieuses que vraies; . . . ." It is at least plausible that the critic in question was Suard, who with Arnaud edited the *Journal* at this time and who combined with his open-mindedness a characteristic discrimination. Garat's *Mémoires* indicate both the liberality and conservativeness of Suard's judgment.

> M. Suard s'étonnait qu'après le "Fils Naturel," jamais tombé décidément sur les théâtres de la capitale où il a été si peu joué, et le "Père de Famille," resté sur tous les théâtres de France, Diderot fût sorti si promptement de cette carrière par la peur des sifflets.[33]

But previously we are assured:

> Aussi Francais que personne dans tous les goûts de son esprit, dans toutes les impressions personnelles et dans toutes leurs expressions, M. Suard, qui passait de si douces nuances d'un ton à l'autre, ne pouvait aimer ni dans Diderot, ni dans les Allemands, ces brusques voisinages

[32] Article in the September number of the *Journal*.

[33] Garat, D. J., *Mémoires Historiques sur la Vie de M. Suard*, Paris, 1820, II, 21.

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d'un familier trivial et d'une inspiration trop emphatique pour être celle de la nature et des passions.[34]

Suard's authorship, however, remains a conjecture which can hardly be satisfactorily substantiated and which, as a result, is not insisted upon in this paper. The review may have been written by Arnaud, although this seems less likely, or possibly by a third journalist intimately associated with the editors. The object of the present discussion has been simply to indicate that Diderot's authorship of the review of Lessing's play is highly improbable and that, unless new evidence is forthcoming, his name should be definitely dissociated from it.

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[34] Garat, II, 19; cf. also Marmontel, "Mémoires," in *Œuvres Complètes*, Paris, 1819, I, 283.

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XII

TWO CONTEMPORARY SOURCES OF SHERIDAN'S *THE RIVALS*

IN SEARCHING for the source of Sheridan's *Rivals*, a critic ventures upon literary quicksand. Professor Nettleton in his edition of the comedies is inclined to minimize the persistent charges of plagiarism made against Sheridan by his biographers.

An idea of the supposed borrowings, great and small, in plot and character, may be gained by grouping together a few of the authors from whom it is alleged Sheridan drew—Smollett, Garrick, Shakespeare, Molière, Fielding, Colman, Prior, Steele, Mrs. Sheridan, Theodore Hooker. So far, moreover, do doctors disagree that while one suggests Mrs. Sheridan's novel, *The Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*, others insist on her play, *A Journey to Bath*. Most ingenuous is the theory of indebtedness to Theodore Hooker, who was born thirteen years after the first performance of *The Rivals*.[1]

Percy Fitzgerald believes that Sheridan's originality consisted only in his transformation of traditional material:

Sheridan was gifted with a sort of mental alchemy, which gave all the characters of the drama on which he exercised its power a golden hue. He was a most inveterate plagiarist, and yet to the casual observer, he scarcely ever appears to have borrowed an idea.[2]

Sanders is of like opinion:

The plain fact of the matter is that Mrs. Malaprop, Acres, and Lydia Languish, were all more or less stock characters, in the same way as several incidents in *The Rivals* have undoubtedly been used before.[3]

Other critics suggest that *The Rivals* reflects Sheridan's own experience. According to this view, Captain Absolute's pursuit of Lydia Languish was suggested by Sheridan's courtship of Miss Linley, and the duel scene by his own combats with Matthews. While it is true that there are close parallels between the facts of Sheridan's own experience and events as they now stand recorded in *The Rivals;* it is equally true that to write successful comedy, a dramatist must assume a disinterested attitude toward his own experience. In the absence of conclusive proof, it is hazardous

[1] G. H. Nettleton, *The Major Dramas of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, 1906, p. lii.
[2] Percy Fitzgerald, *The Lives of the Sheridans*, 1886, I, 126–27.
[3] L. C. Sanders, *Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, 1890, p. 34.

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to reconstruct autobiography from comedy! Rivals, duels, elopements, and languishing heroines were as prevalent in the literature as in the life of the 70's. Personal experience, it seems, was a less potent factor in the genesis of *The Rivals* than were eighteenth century comic conventions.

The comic theory and practice of his contemporaries must be thoroughly examined if we are ever to separate what is original from what is conventional in Sheridan's plays. Loose generalizations of the kind made by Sanders, in his discussion of *The Rivals* should no longer pass unchallenged: ". . . . the originality of the plot as a whole, and of the dramatis personae as a whole can hardly be disputed by the most determined of criticasters."[4] As a matter of fact, neither the plot as a whole, nor the dramatis personae is original. The outlines of the main plot of *The Rivals* Sheridan derived from Garrick's *Miss in her Teens* (1747) and the motivation of the sub-plot from Colman's *Deuce Is in Him* (1763).

For every character in the main plot of *The Rivals*, a counterpart may be found in *Miss in her Teens*, as the following list will indicate:

Garrick—*Miss in Her Teens*	Sheridan—*The Rivals*
1. Sir Simeon Loveit (father of Captain Loveit).	1. Sir Anthony Absolute (father of Captain Absolute).
2. Captain Loveit—nom de guerre —Ensign Rhodophil.	2. Captain Absolute—nom de guerre—Ensign Beverley.
3. Puff (a rogue, servant to Captain Loveit).	3. Fag (a rogue, servant to Captain Absolute).
4. Biddy Bellair (the miss in her teens, a coquettish, play-reading heroine).	4. Lydia Languish (a miss in her teens, a sentimental, novel-reading heroine).
5. Aunt (a virgin of sixty, guardian of Biddy B.).	5. Mrs. Malaprop (a widowed, middle-aged aunt, guardian of Lydia L.).
6. Tag (an artful maid servant implicated in furthering Biddy's romance).	6. Lucy (an artful maid servant, implicated in furthering Lydia's romance).
7. Fribble and Flash (cowardly suitors of Biddy).	7. Bob Acres (cowardly suitor of Lydia).
8. Jasper (a man servant to Sir Simeon, a gay dog when on the scent of women).[5]	8. Sir Lucius O'Trigger (a gay dog when on the scent of women).

[4] Cf. Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[5] The descriptions of the dramatis personae were originated and applied to the characters in both plays by the present writers.

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In the above list it will be noted that although all the Dramatis Personae of *Miss in her Teens* are included, three characters of *The Rivals* are omitted: David,[6] Faulkland, and Julia.

The extent to which Sheridan was indebted to Colman for the lovers of the sub-plot will be discussed after the similarities of *Miss in her Teens* and *The Rivals* have been examined.

Parallels of incident are no less close than parallels of character. The leading farcical situation in *Miss in her Teens* arises from the determination of Captain Loveit to wed Biddy Bellair, despite all opposition. Unfortunately, Biddy's aunt has already promised the hand of her niece to Sir Simeon Loveit, who is at once father and rival of the Captain. Annoyed by the tedious addresses of the aged suitor approved by the Aunt, and depressed by the absence of her true love, Biddy, floundering in a morass of self-commiseration, coquets with dandies, Flash and Fribble.

The foremost comic situation in *The Rivals* arises from the determination of Captain Absolute to wed Lydia Languish despite all opposition. Mrs. Malaprop, aunt of Lydia, combats what she considers the romantic attachment of Lydia to Ensign Beverley, and connives with Sir Anthony Absolute to unite the fortune and future of Lydia with those of Captain Absolute. Neither Lydia, Mrs. Malaprop, nor Sir Anthony is aware that Ensign Beverley is the nom de guerre of Captain Absolute. Sir Anthony, meanwhile, suggests a marriage of convenience to his son. Enraged by the Captain's instant refusal to substitute lucre for love, he withholds the name of the proposed bride. Through Fag, his man servant, Captain Absolute learns that Lydia Languish is the miss selected by the father. Complications seem to be unravelling; then along swaggers the coxcomb Bob Acres, who confides in the Captain that he, Bob, would be more successful in his wooing of Lydia were it not for his rival, Ensign Beverley. Acres also is unaware of the dual identity of the Captain. The complications are increased by a hoax foisted on Sir Lucius O'Trigger by the maid-servant, Lucy. Sir Lucius, though actually corresponding with Mrs. Malaprop, is led to believe that he is pelting the heart of Lydia with billets doux.

The numerous similarities that occur in the development of the plots of these two plays are too striking to be dismissed as a mere literary accident. In each play, four rivals contend for the favor of

[6] David, servant to Bob Acres, had become a traditional type a century before Sheridan's day.

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an heiress: Ensign Rhodophil, Sir Simeon Loveit, Fribble, and Flash, in *Miss in her Teens*; Ensign Beverley, Captain Absolute, Bob Acres, and Sir Lucius O'Trigger in *The Rivals*. In both plays, it is the Ensign who is the favored wooer. Ensign Rhodophil is convinced that, though Biddy has diverted herself with the pretenders, Fribble and Flash, she has been ever constant to him at heart; while Captain Absolute is confident that Lydia would elope with him as the Ensign Beverley. Bob Acres like Fribble and Flash is a "blustering man . . . . always talking of fighting" but when the test of his mettle comes, he whines, " . . . . if I can't get a wife without fighting for her, by my valour! I'll live a bachelor." Sir Simeon is imposed upon by the miss herself; Sir Lucius O'Trigger is misled by the saucy Lucy.

In *Miss in her Teens*, an Ensign is promoted to the rank of Captain; in *The Rivals*, a Captain poses as an Ensign. Neither the promotion, in the one case, nor the pose, in the other, is known to either the father or the sweetheart of the hero. Besides being ignorant of the military rank of her favored suitor, Biddy, like Lydia, is unapprized of his true name. Biddy knows Captain Loveit as Ensign Rhodophil; Lydia knows Captain Absolute as Ensign Beverley. The explanation of the Captain's masquerading as an Ensign occurs in *Miss in her Teens* at the very end, as part of the denouement; but as introductory exposition in *The Rivals*, (Act I, scene 1):

Sir Simeon. Come, come Bob, you are but an ensign, don't impose on the girl neither.

Captain. I had the good fortune, sir, to please my royal general by my behaviour in a small action with the enemy, and he gave me a company.

Fag. I do not serve Captain Absolute now. . . . . At present I am employed by Ensign Beverley.

Coach. . . . . but pray, why does your master pass only for an ensign?

Fag. . . . . my master is in love with a lady of very singular taste; . . . . who likes him better as a half-pay ensign than if she knew he was the son and heir to Sir Anthony Absolute, a baronet of three thousand a year.

The hero in each play is compelled to explain his identity in the presence of both father and sweetheart. In *Miss in her Teens*, Ensign Rhodophil has no sooner disposed of the first two rivals than Sir Simeon is heard entering the house. Flustered by the appearance of her prospective husband, Biddy directs the Ensign

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to hide in her bedroom. Sir Simeon enters and chides his Biddy for entertaining coxcombs in his absence. Biddy retorts that though two defeated rivals have been ejected from the house, a victorious third is still present. She commands that Sir Simeon match blades with the conqueror of the other two rivals. The Ensign is summoned, and thus father and son are unexpectedly brought face to face. Young Loveit is forced to explain to his father why he claims the title of Captain, and in so doing, inadvertently makes known to Biddy that he is Sir Simeon's son.

Captain Absolute insists upon going alone to the dwelling of Lydia, arguing that she would respond cooly to a courtship in the presence of a third party. The audience, however, is aware that were Sir Anthony to accompany the Captain, Lydia would discover and resent the fact that her own beloved Beverley is no other than the loathed Captain Absolute, the choice of her aunt. When, despite the protests of his son, Sir Anthony not only accompanies the Captain, but remains in the room where the lovers have been thrust together by Mrs. Malaprop, the farcical complications multiply. Old Absolute not only discourages Mrs. Malaprop when she suggests departing and leaving the lovers alone; but also remains to expedite the courtship. The gallant Captain wearing a double disguise is unmasked in the presence of all.

Extravagant duel scenes heighten the farce in each play. The combat is precipitated in *Miss in her Teens* by physical force; and in *The Rivals* by moral suasion. Flash and Fribble are literally propelled into the duel; "they stand in fighting postures, while Biddy and Tag push 'em forward." The fire displayed by Sir Lucius as he discusses the course which should be pursued by a gallant when unfairly supplanted by a rival, so inspirits the faint-hearted Bob Acres that he agrees to send a challenge to Ensign Beverley. So, in *Miss in her Teens*, though no formal challenge is sent, the weapons are determined by chance, the women substitute for seconds, the home of Biddy serves as the field of honor, and the agreed number of paces is a safe distance apart; in *The Rivals* the conventional duelling etiquette is observed in the sending of the challenge, in the choosing of the weapons, in the selection of the seconds, in the naming of the place of combat, and in the pacing of the field. In either play, circumstances prevent the Captain from measuring blades with his opponent in the presence of his mistress. Ensign Rhodophil enters Biddy's house, and is

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surprised to discover Flash and Fribble standing in fencing posture, but instead of drawing a sword, he boots Flash, and with thrusts of wit routs Fribble. Captain Absolute appears at King's Mead Field expecting to fence first with O'Trigger, and then, unless incapacitated by wounds, with Bob Acres; but an infinitely amicable settlement of the misunderstandings renders sword-play superfluous. Again, Sheridan, following Garrick, has the Captain unmask the coward in the presence of father, servants, and miss.

The cowards of Garrick and Sheridan are of a pattern. Fribble resembles Bob Acres in three ways: both ape the mannerisms of Fopdom; both, despite their fear, are enticed into entering upon the preliminaries of a duel; and both are weaklings who prop up flimsy courage with bloated oaths. Flash and Bob Acres are alike in three ways: both indulge in futile boasting, both attempt to squirm out of coming to blows with an antagonist, and both furnish a Captain with verbal and ocular proof of their cowardice.

The age of the heroine in *Miss in her Teens* compares closely with that of the heroine in *The Rivals;* both have lived less than a score of years. The Aunt speaks of Biddy Bellair as "just turn'd of sixteen," while Sir Anthony describes the age of Lydia Languish as "blooming, love-breathing seventeen."

Comparing Act I of *Miss in her Teens* with Act I, Scene 1, of *The Rivals*, one observes that in each the Captain's man-servant informs the audience of the first meeting between Ensign and miss, that the initial rendezvous is arranged in a spot distant from the town wherein most of the action of the play takes place, and that the Aunt is responsible for the miss being unable to continue to meet her lover.

Biddy reads plays, Lydia reads novels, both are patrons of the circulating library, and are censured on that score by older and less imaginative minds:

> *Sir Simeon.* I must have you burn your plays and romances now you are mine; they corrupt your innocence; and what can you learn from 'em? (*Miss in her Teens*, II, p. 84).
>
> *Sir Anthony.* A circulating library in a town is an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge (*The Rivals*, I, 2, p. 22).

Each miss carries on a clandestine love affair, but their motives differ. Biddy indulges a *flair* for romance because she is a spirited wench; Lydia does so merely to revel in sentimental ecstacy. Biddy deliberately stoops to conquer the four rivals who are clamouring

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for her favor, while Lydia is the passive object of the adoration of four suitors. Biddy centers her attention upon Ensign Rhodophil, but in the fringes of her consciousness, she toys with Sir Simeon Loveit, Flash and Fribble. Lydia fixes what mind she has upon Ensign Beverley; to her the attentions of Bob Acres, Sir Lucius, and Captain Absolute are unwelcome.[7]

To facilitate the progress of their romance, the lovers, in each comedy require the aid of their servants. Tag is interested in furthering the intrigues of Biddy almost as keenly as is Fag, those of Captain Absolute. Puff, man-servant of Captain Loveit, considers his own welfare of equal, if not of greater, consequence than that of his master:

> Puff. The Devil's in these fiery young fellows! . . . . He does not consider that I am flesh and blood as well as himself. (Act I, Scene 1, p. 67).

Lucy, spiritually akin to Puff, soliloquizes, "commend me to a mask of silliness and pair of sharp eyes for my own interest under it." Tag, like Fag, never scruples a lie to serve her master.

From Garrick's *Miss in her Teens*, Sheridan gleaned hints for the major episodes of his main plot; the four rivals, the duel, and the mistaken identity of the Captain lead to the same comic entanglements in the one case as in the other. His borrowings from Colman are slighter and somewhat less evident. The literary kinship existing between Colman's Polly and Sheridan's Lydia is common knowledge to students of this period. An even more conspicuous, though more subtle, indebtedness to Colman appears in the peculiar metaphysics of sentiment which Julia and Faulkland have in common with similar characters called Emily and Tamper in *The Deuce is in Him.*

Five supposed sources of the Julia-Faulkland sub-plot have been discovered. Boaden[8] maintains that Sheridan is indebted to his

[7] The similarities between Biddy and Lydia, it must be admitted, are not so close as those between Lydia and other heroines of contemporary plays and novels. "Since the ultra-romantic heroine is a stock comedy character it is not surprising that critics have found originals for Lydia Languish almost as readily as for Mrs. Malaprop. Among the most frequently suggested prototypes of Lydia Languish are Smollett's Lydia Melford in *Humphrey Clinker*, Colman's Polly Honeycombe in the comedy of the same name, and Steele's Biddy Tipkin in *The Tender Husband.*" (Cf. Nettleton, *op. cit.*, liv.) Nettleton has developed in detail the likenesses between Lydia and her sentimental prototypes.

[8] Cf. Nettleton, *op. cit.*, pp. lvi, lvii.

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mother's novel, *The Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph.* Bernbaum[9] is disposed to believe Sheridan owes more to Murphy's play, *All in the Wrong.* Sichel[10] finds a prototype for Faulkland in Valentine of Wycherley's *Love in a Wood.* Moore[11] cites both Prior's *Nut-Browne Maid* and Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle.* Nettleton comments:

Since critics with equal positiveness trace the source of Sheridan's underplot to such different fountain heads .... the fair presumption is, again, that Sheridan's borrowings, if any, were trivial.

With the positiveness that seems almost a mania with many who investigate literary antecedents, Boaden asserts ...."There is absolute proof that he [Sheridan] found some aid in the genius of his own family. In *The Rivals*, Faulkland rushes into Julia's dressing room, tells her that he has killed his adversary, that his life is forfeited, that he wishes first to call her his, and then that, without preparation, she would fly the country with him (*The Rivals*, V, I). In the *Memoirs of Sidney Bidulph*, written by his excellent mother,—the hero, a Faulkland, too, observe,—enters to the heroine in the same perturbed state,—tells the same distracted story, and urges the same sacrifice from the lady. In the romance the story is true; in the play, it is merely feigned to try the constancy of Julia." The radical difference in situation which Boaden himself shows in this last sentence mars the alleged absoluteness of the proof. Moore ascribed the origin of this same incident to Prior and Smollett, by maintaining that the imposture which Faulkland practices upon Julia is "perhaps weakened in its effect by our recollection of the same device in the *Nut-Browne Maid* and *Peregrine Pickle.*"[12]

The supposed source of the under plot which has received most serious consideration is Murphy's *All in the Wrong.* Bernbaum avers:

The same kind of courtship as that of Faulkland and Julia has been depicted in Arthur Murphy's *All in the Wrong* (1761). Murphy's Belinda like Sheridan's Julia, has a lover of such "extreme sensibility," that on the most trivial occasions he troubles her with jealous suspicions. Murphy, dwelling wholly on the absurd aspects of the situation, plunged the lover into ridiculous embarrassments and endowed the mistress with gaiety. .... His (Sheridan's) Faulkland's hypersensitiveness is excused, as originating in the admirable delicacy and warmth of his affection.[13]

[9] Cf. Ernest Bernbaum, *The Drama of Sensibility* 1915, p. 352.

[10] Cf. Walter Sichel, *Sheridan*, 1909, I, 490.

[11] Cf. Thomas Moore, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, 2 vols. 1825, I, 142.

[12] Cf. Nettleton, *op. cit.*, pp. lvi, lvii.

[13] Cf. Bernbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

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Percy Fitzgerald conjectures that Faulkland and Julia, with the agonizing doubts of the former, are also copied, in part from Beverley and Belinda:

"It is your character," says his friend Bellmont, "instead of enjoying the object before you, to be ever looking back to something past, or conjecturing about something to come, and are your own self tormented."

In a conversation with Belinda, upon reproaching her with being at a party in his absence Beverley says:

"I could learn, since, the spirits you were in the whole evening, though I enjoyed nothing in your absence. I could hear the sallies of your wit, the sprightliness of your conversation."

She answers:

"You alarm me with these fancies, and you know I have often told you you are of too refining a temper; you create for yourself imaginings, misunderstandings."[14]

Sichel points out:

Murphy was himself a notorious plagiarist known as the author of "potted plays." Moreover, when the play is examined, there is little likeness but the common outlines of a tyrannical father and a self-tormenting son. The "Beverley" of *All in the Wrong* is not "the captious sceptic in love" that specialises Faulkland; he merely presents jealousy in its accepted forms. Were an apter prototype wanted, the moods of "Valentine" in Wycherley's *Love in a Wood* might be nearer the mark, for though Sheridan is said to have denied any knowledge of Wycherley's plays, he must have seen them acted at Bath. But here again the shape of the "fantastic goblin" as Wycherley styles jealousy is purely typical. Faulkland's alternations of perverted pride and humility are missing.[15]

From the foregoing citations, it is evident that critics have explained the motivation of the sub-plot either in terms of jealousy, extreme sensibility, too refining a temper, or as alternations of perverted pride and humility. Close parallels of incident and circumstance unquestionably exist between the sub-plot and the various sources cited above. Critics without exception have noted that Sheridan introduces a motivation which has no exact parallel in any of the sources from which he is thought to have borrowed. A source in which the motivation is precisely parallel to that of the sub-plot of *The Rivals* does exist. The source in question is Colman's *The Deuce is in Him.*

[14] Cf. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, I pp. 125, 126.
[15] Cf. Sichel, *op. cit.*, I p. 490.

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From Colman's *Polly Honeycombe*, as we have already seen, Sheridan took hints for the character of Lydia Languish. To determine the full extent of Sheridan's indebtedness to Colman, one must examine the nature and motive of the test to which the metaphysical lover of the sub-plot subjects his mistress. In *The Deuce is in Him*, the test is worked out in reference to physical debility; while in *The Rivals*, the test turns on the pivot of civic disgrace.

Tamper, the lover of *The Deuce is in Him*, pretends to have lost an eye and a leg in a military engagement at "the Havannah," in order to test whether Emily loves him for himself alone. Tamper justifies his conduct by declaiming, "Before I bind myself to abide by a woman, at all events, and in all circumstances, I must be assured that she will, at all events and in all circumstances, retain her affection for me" (Act I, p. 129). An expression of a wish to be deformed in order to test Julia's love is all that remains in *The Rivals* of the foremost comic complication in Colman's *The Deuce is in Him*. In reply to Julia's question, "For what quality must I love you?" Faulkland retorts, "For no quality. . . . . And for person, I have often wished myself deformed, to be convinced that I owe no obligations there for any part of your affections."

The restive desire to test a lover's fidelity is as old as man. Tamper feigns physical debility, Faulkland pretends to be threatened with civic disgrace. But in each instance the specific formula which is employed in the testing process is of considerably less importance than is the motive which precipitates the test.

In *The Deuce is in Him*, as in *The Rivals*, the lover is not satisfied with the traditional protestations of love, but restlessly probes into the motives from which the affection proceeds. The question of motive is not only implied, it is raised and developed in each case by the doubt-tortured lover who tests his mistress to determine whether she loves him for himself alone, or for any gift of fortune or of nature. The concept of self disassociated from all personal attributes grows into a metaphysical confusion which enmeshes the lover's sense of values, not to say his sense of humour:

Belfast. . . . . Have you not reason . . . . to rest assured, that Emily entertains a most sincere passion for you?

Tamper. Perhaps so; but then I am not equally assured of the basis on which that passion is founded . . . . ; I must be convinced that she loves me for my own sake, for myself alone; and that were I divested of

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every desirable gift of fortune, and of nature .... she would still .... prefer me (Act I, p. 130).

Faulkland. .... How shall I be sure, had you remained unbound in thought and promise, that I should still have been the object of your persevering love? .... If I loved you less I should never give you an uneasy moment..... All my fretful doubts arise from this.—Women are not used to weigh and separate the motives of their affections .... when Love receives .... countenance from Prudence, nice minds will be suspicious (III, 3, p. 50).

The resemblances of *Miss in her Teens* to *The Rivals* have been indicated; the differences between these two plays must now be studied as an index of Sheridan's originality.

One striking difference is that while the Aunt in *Miss in her Teens* is the least interesting character in the play, Mrs. Malaprop "abides the queen of solecism undethroned by time. Her pedigree is long and the family runs with many side-branches from Shakespeare's Dogberry and Verges and a word or so of Bottom's to Lady Plyant in Congreve's 'Double Dealer' .... from her again to Fielding's Mrs. Slipslop, and Smollett's Clarinda and Tabitha Bramble."[16] In short, Mrs. Malaprop may be described as a synthetic product constructed of fragments from diverse sources, skilfully welded together, and white-washed with solecisms to smooth over the joinings.

The dual identity of the Captain contributes three comic situations to *The Rivals* which do not appear in the older play. The first is where, wholly hookwinked by the ingratiating manner of Captain Absolute, Mrs. Malaprop shows him a letter addressed to Lydia which she has intercepted and read. She calls Absolute's attention to the insolence with which Beverley refers to the Aunt's pretensions to learning. The second is where, forced by O'Trigger to resent the rivalry of Beverley, Acres flings down the gauntlet, and requests Captain Absolute not only to deliver the challenge, but also to act as his second during the duel. The scene in which Captain Absolute, when confronted by Lydia who knows him as Beverley, convinces her that he has bullied the Aunt into believing him to be the son of Sir Anthony, is the third.

[16] Cf. Sichel, *op. cit.*, I, 249. The most complete treatment of the extent to which Sheridan is indebted to his mother's unfinished play, *A Journey to Bath*, for the character of Mrs. Malaprop, may be found in Sichel (I, 491–493). For purposes of this article, it should suffice to assert that Sheridan made comparatively slight use of his mother's handiwork.

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The duel scene is thoroughly exploited by Sheridan, who squeezes out of it every possible drop of farce. Into the major plot, Sheridan weaves new and droll complications preceding and following the duel scene: the conference which prompts Acres to solicit assistance from O'Trigger in the formulation of a challenge to Beverley; the dialogue during the composition of the letter to Beverley; the scene wherein Acres not only suggests that Absolute deliver the challenge to Beverley, but also invites the Captain to become his second in the anticipated duel; David's expression of his concept of honor; the bold advance and craven retreat of Acres which awakens the scorn of O'Trigger; the Captain's brilliant fabrication which blinds Sir Anthony to the true mission of the sword.

In Garrick's play, Sir Simeon is actually the rival of his son; while in Sheridan's play, the concept of the father being the son's rival is only suggested in jest. Sir Simeon is pained when he discovers that Biddy finds his son more attractive than himself. The only remaining trace in *The Rivals* of the idea of a father rivalling his own son appears in the speech: "You're a walking block . . . . Odds life! I've a great mind to marry the girl myself!"(Act III, Scene 2, p. 47).

Sheridan has seen fit to dispense with the love triangle of the servant's quarter which provides some of the spiciest farce in *Miss in her Teens*. This episode Garrick has pitched in the ethical key of Restoration Comedy. Jasper relates his amorous adventures to Puff, confiding how great is his desire to possess an abigail who has been deserted by her husband, insisting that even now he is eager to marry the woman, but fears to urge her to commit bigamy. Puff suggests that as the wench's husband might be alive, it would be foolish to marry her. After listening to a recital of the advantages of wenching, Jasper quits the scene. No sooner does Jasper leave, than in dashes Tag. Puff, recognizing his deserted wife, rails at fortune, and pretends not to notice the "fretful porcupine, my wife," Tag upbraids the deserter uproariously, and when she sallies forth, behind her remains a browbeaten rogue. When Puff sees his wife enter a house previously visited by Jasper, he surmises that Jasper's Circe is no other than Tag. Puff charges his wife with duplicity, flays her because of her indecorous mesalliance; and demands that she co-operate with him to further the intrigue of the Captain and Biddy. Puff, much like a Restoration spark, felt

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"that in affairs of sex, men and women met equally equipped for the encounter on a basis of intellectual equality."[17]

More out of policy than preference, Sheridan banished all but the more unostentatious traces of the Restoration spirit. The levity of Restoration Comedy had been strained through the sieve of Eighteenth Century decorum and by 1775, comedy was under the subjection of conscience. Even Sheridan found it expedient to make concessions to the popular mania for sensibility. Both conjugal infidelity and rivalry between father and son for the same mate were motifs which came too near the moral abandon of the Restoration to be countenanced by the Sentimental Morality of the 70's. Though Garrick treats these two themes with the sophisticated swagger of the Comic Dramatists, Sheridan omits them out of deference to popular taste.

There is a particular significance in these hitherto undiscovered sources. Obviously of but relatively little importance, they substantiate the argument that Sheridan was an "inveterate plagiarist." In the preface to *The Rivals*, he admits "pleasant images, faded ideas, float in the fancy, and the imagination often becomes suspicious of its own offspring, and doubts whether it was created or adopted." Regardless of whether these lapses of memory were accidental or intentional, it is undeniable that Sheridan gleaned phrases, situations and hints for characters from the sources cited by various critics. Plagiarism, however, was an accepted part of the dramatic procedure of his day. Murphy, Cumberland, Foote, Garrick, and Colman borrowed every bit as extensively as Sheridan himself; the only difference being that they were less adroit in concealing their indebtedness, and in exploiting the possibilities of their pilfered material.

The value of ferreting out these heretofore unnoticed sources is that they focus attention on Sheridan's relations to his contemporaries. As we have already pointed out, Sheridan adopted the broad outline of his main plot for *The Rivals* from Garrick, and that of his sub-plot from Colman. To one familiar with Sheridan's habits of composition, it is significant that he appropriated most from Garrick, the more celebrated of the two managers. On the date of the initial performance of *The Rivals*, 1775, Garrick was

[17] Cf. John Palmer, *The Comedy of Manners*, Chapter III. Although no bonds of affection yoke David, Tag, and Lucy, the three servants in *The Rivals*, we recall the relationship existing between Jasper, Puff, and Tag, as we listen to Sir Lucius O'Trigger trifle with Lucy. (Sheridan, *The Rivals*, Act II, Scene 2.)

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manager of Drury Lane, Colman of Covent Garden; the two theatres most frequented by the Londoners of the 70's. Garrick and Colman were not only skilled producers, but were also favorite playwrights. They knew from experience what popular taste demanded of the stage. It is futile, therefore, to ransack Shakespeare or the Restoration Dramatists for sources of *The Rivals*. The more natural approach to a study of Sheridan's plays would be to take first into account his indebtedness to those of his contemporaries who were playwrights as well as managers. Garrick and Colman sensed the type of character and situation which were relished by the diverse, and sometimes contradictory interests of their audiences; they were also in a position to reject or stage the offerings of a young dramatist struggling for recognition.

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XIII

RITSON'S *LIFE OF KING ARTHUR*[1]

RITSON in a letter to Scott, dated July 2, 1803, writes: "I have put into Mr. Longman's hands at his own request, for the opinion of some critic he is used to consult, my 'Life of King Arthur.'"[2] Again, in a letter of August 16, 1803 to his nephew, Joseph Frank, editor of his correspondence, he says: "I will give you . . . . all of my late publications, if you have not got them already; then, such as are to come: 'the Life of King Arthur,' which I have finished, etc." (*Letters*, II, 247 f.). Ritson died September 23, 1803. From the editor's advertisement to *King Arthur* we learn: "The curious work now offered to the world was prepared for the press by Mr. Ritson, with a view to immediate publication, a short time before his death." Thus, the date of composition is clearly 1803. The book marks the culmination[3] of Ritson's researches into the history and literature of the middle ages; it was the fruit of mature experience in a life devoted to scholarly investigation.

The especial value of the *King Arthur* lies in its anticpation of important problems commonly thought to have awaited critical

[1] *The Life of King Arthur: From Ancient Historians and Authentic Documents*, by Joseph Ritson, Esq., London, 1825. The book was listed, but not reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review*, XLII (1825), 507 and the *Quarterly Review*, XXXVI (1827), 601. It is mentioned in bibliographies by Sir Sidney Lee, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Ritson's posthumous publications; W. P. Ker, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, X, 546; H. O. Sommer, ed., Malory's *Morte Darthur*, III, 1; J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen, 1923, II, 380; Sir F. Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, London, 1839, in a note, p. 330. As far as I am aware, the only critics who have remarked on it are H. A. Burd, *Joseph Ritson, A Critical Biography*, University of Ill. Studies in Lang. and Lt., vol. II, No. 3, Urbana, Ill., 1916, pp. 141–43, and Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1919–20), pp. 234–35. Professor Cross has kindly refrained from further comment in view of my study then in progress.

This study, which grew out of the discovery of the notice in the *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, was completed in the first draft at the time of the publication of Burd's dissertation. But as Dr. Burd has dealt rather cursorily with his author's contributions to Arthurian scholarship (see reviews of his book by T. P. Cross, *op. cit.*, 233 ff.; W. P. Ker, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XIII (1918), 496 ff.) it seems worth while to publish results of an investigation into this phase of Ritson's critical work.

[2] *The Letters of Joseph Ritson*, with a Memoir by Sir Harris Nicholas, Lond., 1833, II, 238.

[3] *The Cambrian Biography*, by William Owen [Pughe], Lond., 1803, to which Ritson refers in the *King Arthur* (p. 87) shows him desirous of obtaining the latest information on his subject. (See also below, p. 271.)

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attention until the mid-nineteenth century. Examination not only of this book but of various ramifications leading off from it reveals a pretty general neglect by modern research of the efforts of early scholars. To cite an outstanding example, the Armorican theory of the transmission of Arthurian legend from Great Britain to northern France is associated with the name of Heinrich Zimmer as its champion if not originator. Zimmer presented his theory particularly, in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1890, pp. 785 ff., a review of Paris' study of the French metrical romances in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXX (1888), 1 ff., setting forth the Anglo-Norman theory of transmission.[4] But nearly one hundred years before Zimmer Sharon Turner offered this very theory in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799). In the second edition[5] he presents his argument in full and on much the same lines as those followed by Zimmer in a more extended examination: (1) Wales, as the original Arthurian soil, the migration of the Welsh in the fifth and sixth centuries into Armorica (Zimmer, pp. 817–19; Turner, p. 109); (2) the separate development of the legends in Wales and Cornwall on the one hand and Armorica on the other (Zimmer p. 919; Turner, p. 113—implied but not so clearly stated as by Zimmer); (3) the close relationship between the Armoricans and the Norman French (Zimmer, p. 829; Turner, p. 114). These facts are instructive in the light they throw on important scholarly activity in the Arthurian field at this early date. It is the purpose of the present study to call attention to the pioneer work done in this subject by Joseph Ritson who, it will appear, is not undeserving of the title of the first modern Arthurian scholar.

The Life of King Arthur consists of an extended author's preface (pp. i–xliii), mainly an attack on Geoffrey of Monmouth (who might be termed if not the onlie begetter, the chief begetter of the book) and 172 pages of text: an account of the so-called Arthurian period[6] of British history. It begins with the Roman conquest and occupation of the island; narrates the struggles of Britons and

[4] Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 37 ff., summarizes all the main views on this subject.

[5] In the 2nd ed., Lond., 1807, I, 114, n. 80, he says the theory was afterwards adopted by John Leyden in the Introduction to the *Complaynte of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1801, pp. 257 ff., and favored by Ellis in the Introduction to *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, Lond., 1805, pp. 33 ff.

[6] See K. Malone, "Artorius," *Mod. Phil.*, XXII (1925), 367 ff., for interesting evidence in support of a second century "Arthurian period," instead of the long accepted sixth century.

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Saxons prior to the advent of Arthur (Chaps. I–XIII); the career of Arthur: his birth, achievements, death, and place of burial (Chaps. XIV–XXVII); and closes with an appendix giving Arthurian stories from the lives of some Welsh saints and a list of saints: British, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. The brief chapters are arranged in chronological order; facts and moot questions are set forth briefly or at length without any attempt to work them up into a story. Indeed, much of the text is little more than a transcript or translation from the works of chroniclers and antiquaries.[7] The author has made a commendable effort in an age not distinguished for veneration and pursuit of bare historical truth, to carry out the meaning of his sub-title: *From Ancient Historians and Authentic Documents.*

1. The Historicity of Arthur

This evidence of desire for accuracy naturally leads to the question, in what light did Ritson regard Arthur—as a romantic creation or as a historical person? Ritson's purpose is to try to distinguish between the true and the false. That he did not find the task easy may be gathered from the editor's "Advertisement:"

> The difficulty of the subject may be partly estimated from doubts having been actually entertained by the author, during his early researches, as to the identity of his hero, and fears lest the real Arthur might not, after all, be found:
>
> "So many of his shadows" had he "met,
> And not the very King."

His perplexity is further indicated by these lines from Wace's *Brut* quoted on the title-page:

> Ne tut mençoigne, ne tut veir,
> Ne tut folie, ne tut saver:
> Tant ont li contur conté,
> E li fablur tunt fablé,
> Pur lur contes enbelir,
> Ke tuz les funt à fables tenir.[8]

The other quotation on the title-page, from Gray's *Bard*, "No more our long-lost Arthur we bewail," may, in view of the opening

[7] The plan may have been suggested by Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae*, Lond., 1544, also in his *Collectanea*, ed., T. Hearne, Lond., 1770, V, 1 ff. All references made in this study to the *Collectanea*, are to this ed., 1770.

[8] *Roman de Brut*, ed., Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836–38, vv, 10,038 ff.

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sentences of the preface, imply that Ritson believed Arthur to be a historical figure whose name had been obscured by over-idealization and whom he therefore wishes to bring forward out of the misty labyrinths of romance and place in clear and open daylight. The Preface begins:

> No character, eminent in ancient history, has ever been treated with more extravagance, mendacity, and injustice, than the renowned Arthur, the illustrious monarch and valiant commander of the Britons. Extolled by some, as greater in power, more victorious in war, more abundant in dominion, more extensive in fame, than either the Roman Julius or the Grecian Alexander; his very existence has, by others, been positively and absolutely denied[9]

On the other hand, Ritson later, in reproaching Camden for his acceptance of the Glastonbury discoveries (see below, pp. 277ff.), says:

> He has, indeed, now and then, the cullibility of honest Leland, and expresses or implies his belief in Joseph of Arimathea, Arthur, Guy, Bevis, and so forth, the heroes and creatures of romance, for whose existence he knew he could cite no authority, of which, at least, he would not have been ashamed (p. 108, n.).

But this statement may be explained as an instance of his divided attitude referred to above, or as an error made in the heat of argument over a matter which almost more than any other excited his none too even temper, and allowed to go uncorrected,[10] or as an allusion to the romantic as distinct from the historical Arthur. The general tenor of the book makes the latter supposition practically a certainty in spite of the ambiguity of Ritson's position suggested by the above quoted passages. Everywhere else his attitude is clear beyond a doubt; as, for instance, where he takes issue with Pinkerton whose questionable scholarship he delights to assail:

> To return .... to "the long lost Arthur" who after being so highly extolled by the right-reverend father in god, Geoffrey, lord bishop of Saint-Asaph and his herd of plagiarists and parasites, as the greatest, richest, most powerful, valiant, glorious, and successful monarch, that ever reigned in the world, has not only had his sovereignty, valour, glory

[9] This is a clear echo of the passage in William of Malmsbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed., W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, Lond., 1887–89, I, 11.

[10] This apparent contradiction may be one of the numerous instances showing that the book as a posthumous publication suffered from lack of revision by the author. See notes, 49 and 88.

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and good fortune, but even, his very existence, positively and absolutely denied, by an author of the eighteenth century, of scarcely less notoriety than that accomplished prelate of the twelfth. . . . . "That Arthur was Aurelius Ambrosius is certain, but the Arthur of Welch history is a non-existence" (*Enquiry*, I, 76[11]): an assertion just as true as that Alexander the Great was *Julius Caesar*, or Merlin the prophet, John Pinkerton (pp. xli, ff.).

On the whole, then, it may reasonably be concluded that Ritson wrote of Arthur as an actual British hero. His reputation for detecting forgeries in an age notorious for literary imposture and his indignation towards all authors of historical fictions whether deliberate or unintentional, would unite with the above quoted evidence to make a contrary supposition untenable.[12] Thus, though he by no means weighs all the doubts that enter into the problem of Arthur's historicity, Ritson may be said, by virtue of his critical attitude and his final position, to have anticipated the position of modern scholars such as Zimmer, Fletcher, Windisch, Bruce, and Malone.[13]

2. The Date of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*[14]

Fletcher says: "All indications go to show that it was not published, nor written, before 1135, and the latest date which can be

[11] John Pinkerton, *An Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1790. Ritson's chief quarrel with Pinkerton was over the latter's edition of *Select Scottish Ballads*, 1783, a number of which he exposed as Pinkerton's own forgeries.

Pinkerton's equation, Arthur and Ambrosius Aurelianus, may have been suggested by statements about the latter by some of the chroniclers. See Gildas, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, ed., T. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiq.* XIII, Chron. Min. III, 40; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ed., C. Plummer, Oxford, 1896, I, 33.

[12] See also *K. A.*, pp. 51, 85 and Ritson's note to "Yvaine and Gawin" in *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, revised by E. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1884, I, 119. All references to this book are to this edition.

[13] For example, H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, Berlin, 1843, pp. 285 ff.; R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Boston, 1906, p. 23; J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen, 1923, I, 3 f. (All references to Fletcher and to Bruce are to these books unless otherwise stated); E. Windisch, *Das Keltische Brittannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 142 ff.; K. Malone, *op. cit.* (See above, n. 6.) Malone's conclusions, however, rest upon different evidence and point to an altogether different person.

[14] *Hist. Regum Brit.*, ed., San Marte, Halle, 1854. Al my references are to this ed. It is doubtful whether Ritson worked from MSS of the *Historia*, although he must have been aware of those in the British Museum. *A Catalogue . . . . of the Library and MSS of the late Joseph Ritson*, which will be sold by auction, by Leigh, Sotheby and Son, Dec. 5, 1803, etc., shows that Ritson owned a copy of the

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assigned is 1137, or possibly the early part of 1138" (p. 45, n. 1. See also *PMLA*, XVI (1901), 468 f.). In the latter article he refers (p. 468, n. 2) to Ward (*Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, I, 211) who gives 1138 as the date of completion of the first edition. Disputing the assertion of Hearne on the priority of Alfred of Beverley[15] over Geoffrey, Ward says:

> But even before Hearne's edition [of Alfred of Beverley], these dates [1125–1129] had been fairly disproved. William Lloyd, when Bishop of St. Asaph (1680–1692), wrote a very able letter on the subject (printed, 1777, in the Rev. N. Owen's *British Remains*,[16] pp. 69–99), and he almost conclusively proved that Alfred of Beverley must have written his work about 1150 (p. 211).

Lloyd's letter, written to prove that Alfred of Beverley wrote later than and borrowed from Geoffrey, states: "From hence it is plain that Jeffrey's History was published in the year 1138" (p. 84). The assertion is repeated some three or four times in the course of the letter. According to Fletcher (*loc. cit.*, n. 3), Ward in this matter has followed Madden (*Archæological Journal*, XV, 1853, 305), who gives Lloyd the credit for determining the date. But none of these scholars has noticed that Ritson not only gives 1138 as the date, but cites Lloyd's letter as his authority: "A very sensible letter [cf. Ward's words above quoted] of doctor Lloyd, bishop of Saint Asaph, to Thomas Price, printed in Owen's *British remains*" (*K. A.*, p. xii). Hence it seems that Bishop Lloyd is the authority upon which modern opinion[17] rests for the date of Geoffrey's chronicle and that Ritson is doubtless the first scholar to point to Lloyd's argument.

Eng. trans. by Aaron Thompson, 1718. It is listed as no. 600 and is described as being "plentifully supplied with MS notes." He mentions this trans. in the *K. A.* (p. iii), noting there the various readings of the title in different MSS; but he cites the examples only from printed copies.

[15] *Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales* (written about 1150), ed., T. Hearne, Oxford, 1716, p. xxv.

[16] Nicholas Owen, *British Remains*; *Or a Collection of Antiquities Relating to the Britons*, Lond., 1777, pp. 69 ff.

[17] See W. L. Jones, *King Arthur in History and Legend*, Cambridge, the University Press, 1911, pp. 64 f., who says the *Historia* must have existed in some form as early as 1139 at the latest. G. H. Gerould, "King Arthur and Politics," *Speculum*, Jan. 1927, 34, endorses Madden and hence, Lloyd. Contrary to the prevailing view, Windish, *op. cit.*, p. 123, dates it between 1132 and 1135.

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3. Geoffrey's Sources

a. ***Quendam Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum.***

After sneering at Geoffrey's anachronisms in bringing the Danes to Britain in Arthur's time when their first irruption[18] occurred in 786, 144 years after the supposed death of Arthur, and mentioning in the *Prophecies* of Merlin, about 430, the forest of Canute[19]—Canute, who died in 1036—"accurate chronology!" he exclaims (p. vi, n.), Ritson approaches one of his main contentions, the famous *liber* which Geoffrey claimed as his source. Quoting Geoffrey's statement that Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford had brought him "a certain most ancient book of the British language" with the request that he translate it into Latin, Ritson first comments on the identity of Archdeacon Walter. We may pause here only to remark that in pointing out the error of identifying this Walter with Walter Map, a later Archdeacon of Oxford, Ritson (p. viii) anticipates Ward (*Catalogue* I, 218 f.). Ward gives Leland (*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, Oxford, 1709, p. 187) the credit for the confusion. Ritson points out also (p. x., n.) the error made by the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* [ed., O. Jones & E. Williams, Lond., 1801, II, Preface, p. vi] in making this identification. In equating Walter's surname, Calenius, with Wallingford, Ritson repeats a statement first made by Camden (1586) and copied by White Kennet (Bishop of Peterborough, 1718–28) and Le Neve in his *Fasti* (1716). Ward (*loc. cit.*) has made all this quite clear, but he was not aware that in explaining these matters, Ritson had preceded him.

Next, Ritson is highly incredulous of the assertion of the Welsh that they possess the original source of Geoffrey's work in the British tongue:

> In a copy of Geoffrey's book in Welsh, entitled "*Ystori Brenhinoedhi y Brytannied o uaith* Galfredius Monemuthensis *guedi i chy viei thy yn Gymraeg*," is the following entry in *Welsh*: "I Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this book out of *British* into *Latin*, and, afterward,

[18] E. A. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest*, I, Oxford, 1877, p. 44, gives three Danish periods: (1) Plunder, 789–855; (2) Settlement, 855–897; (3) Conquest, 980–1016. The *Saxon Chronicle* also gives 787 as the date of their first appearance. Ritson thus comes close to the accepted date. He gives no authority, but his source may be the *Saxon Chronicle*.

[19] Geoffrey's phrase is "ex urbe Canuté nemoris" (p. 97). This anachronism was pointed out by Warton, also, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, ed., W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1871, I, 101.

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in my graver years, have done it again into British"; a very likely story, indeed! which, however, puts an end to all pretences of a British original: There is no likelihood or even possibility at the same time, that Walter *Calenius* . . . . was a Briton, or understood the British language . . . . to find a Welshman at a period when the Welsh were enemies, not subjects, to the king of England, where their princes were continually beheaded or hanged, and the whole people . . . . universally, by the English, despised and detested, archdeacon of Oxford, would not be a little extraordinary (pp. viii, f., n.).

The nationality of Archdeacon Walter is still an unsettled question; the place of his birth is not definitely known (see H. Bradley, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Ritson, therefore, may be right in declaring him not of British extraction. But in insisting on the hostility between the Welsh and the English, Ritson is probably wrong. It has been demonstrated in recent years that by virtue of the interrelation of the three peoples—the English, the Normans, and the Welsh—through intermarriage and other means, the hostility could not have been so bitter as was formerly supposed.[20] Even so, there are few persons today who would not endorse Ritson's skepticism over Walter's industry as a translator. (See Windisch, *op., cit.*, 124 f.)

Further, Ritson is a precursor of modern opinion in asserting that all British manuscripts of the *Historia* are translations of Geoffrey (pp. ix, n.; x. n.; xix, n.). He mentions the *Brut Tysilio* and the *Brut Gruffyd ap Arthur*.[21]

His final judgment on the *liber* is as follows:

[20] J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XIII (1892), 485 ff.; XX (1899), 340 ff.; *Mab.*, I, 59, 69, 70, n.; Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 205; L. F. Salzmann, *Henry II*, N. Y., 1914, pp. 33, 38, 142, 166 ff.; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 69 f.; J. E. Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, Lond., 1911, II, 429 ff.

[21] The "Welsh copy" containing the alleged quotation from Archdeacon Walter is the *Brut Tysilio* (H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS in the British Museum*, Lond., 1883, I, 254), not the *Brut Brenhinoedhi*. Ritson evidently thought them identical (p. xix, n.), but they are different translations; the *Brut Gruffydd ap Arthur* is still a third. The error may have occurred through the fact that in the postscript to the *Brut Bren.* it is said that Walter translated the work from Latin into Welsh from which it was retranslated into Latin by Geoffrey (Ward, p. 256.). The similarity of the two statements may have led Ritson to believe that the MSS were variants of the same book.

Later scholars who have called attention to the priority of the *Historia* over these Welsh Bruts are: Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 254 ff.; Rŷhs and Evans, *Red Book of Hergest*, Oxford, 1887–90, II, pp. ix ff.; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.

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It may be possible, therefore, that Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, had actually brought some book, upon the subject of the British kings, composed in the same language, out of Britany, which Geoffrey made use of, or, it may be, translated, interpolated, enlarged, and in his own conceit, amended, improved, and rendered more palatable, to men of learning, or to the taste of the times: but that his own work, as we now have it, existed, in whatever shape or language, before his own time, or that the modern Welsh can produce his indubitable original, in the British tongue, is utterly incredible (pp. xvi f.).

While it is now commonly agreed that Geoffrey, as Fletcher has clearly shown (*op. cit.*, 49 ff.), drew his material from a number of different sources, the general disposition is not utterly to deny the possibility that *liber* was one of these sources.[22] Ritson, therefore anticipated recent opinion in admitting on the basis of pre-Galfridian legends about Arthur, the possibility of some form of source-book in the British tongue and in his implied inference that Geoffrey used more than one source (see below, p. 260).

Fletcher, discussing the deception practiced by Geoffrey in representing his chronicle as sober history, replies to the arguments of the defenders of the *liber* by the statement that "in the twelfth century the fiction of drawing from some non-existent source was a mere convention and was so understood." Consequently the good name of Geoffrey's patron, Robert of Gloucester, would not necessarily have been affected (*op. cit.*, 55f.). But W. L. Jones (*op. cit.*, I, 168) points out that the ecclesiastical dignitaries must have been implicated if Geoffrey's *liber* was wholly a fiction. (Cf. Windish, *op. cit.*, p. 127). Ritson admits the possibility of implication, but plausibly clears the dignitaries concerned by suggesting that they had been ingeniously imposed upon.

There have been forgers, of as much art, talent, falsehood and impudence, in other ages, whose literary impostures have, for a time, at least, been, altogether, as successful: John Fordun, for instance, Hector

[22] Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 214 ff.; Windisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.; W. L. Jones, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 168, are less uncertain than Fletcher who gives an extended discussion of the subject, is very doubtful, yet does not entirely commit himself (*op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.; 115).

Fletcher (p. 50, n. 1), who claims to give a complete bibliography of important modern discussions of the *Liber* beginning with John Price's *Historiae Brytonum Defensio*, 1573, cites by Ritson only "*Three Ancient English Metrical Romances*, 1803" (Intended for "*Ancient Engleish Metrical Romancees*," Lond., 1802?). In the "Dissertion on Romance and Minstrelsy" prefixed to this work (p. 27) Ritson gives but a page to the subject; in the *King Arthur* he gives forty-three pages.

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Bois, Annius of Viterbo, George Buchanan, James Macpherson, Thomas Chatterton, and a variety of other such respectable characters (p. xviii, n.).

b. *Geoffrey's Unacknowledged Sources.*

As unacknowledged sources which may be detected in the *Historia*, Ritson names Caesar's *Commentaries*, Bede, Gildas, Nennius, and saints' legends: Dubricius, Ursula, and Alban (p. xv). Fletcher, who has treated the complicated problem of the sources pretty thoroughly (*op. cit.*, pp. 57ff.) naturally adds still other works, but he includes all those which are noted by Ritson.

4. Geoffrey's Followers and Detractors

Ritson proceeds to give a list of chroniclers who became innocent victims of their illustrious forerunner by borrowing more or less extensively from his work.

> Alfred of Beverley was the first who, in 1149, deflowered the chaste beauties of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose narrative, he says, was then in the mouths of several, so that he who had no knowledge of it incurred the mark of a clown. . . . . To him may be added Ralph de Diceto, Florence of Worcester, Robert of Gloucester, Roger of Chester, Randal Higden, Matthew of Westminster, the author of the Brute of England, and innumerable other historians, of more or less merit, down, almost to the present time (pp. xix ff.).

In a note (p. xxi) he adds the name of Ordericus Vitalis.[23]

Fletcher, in the chapters, "Arthurian Story after Geoffrey" (*op. cit.*, pp. 116ff.), treats exhaustively the subject of Geoffrey's influence upon subsequent chronicle history. He mentions the passage from Alfred's Preface noted by Ritson, assigning the same date to it—"about 1150" (p. 116), and includes (pp. 169ff.) among those indebted to Geoffrey all the writers mentioned by Ritson except Roger of Chester and Florence of Worcester. (See n. 23.

Ritson then turns to Geoffrey's detractors (p. xxi): "The first, of those that appeared in the lists, was William of Newborough

[23] For descriptions of these chronicles, see Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 ff.; 214. Roger of Chester is, according to the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, almost certainly the same person as Ranulf, Randulfus, Ralph, Randal, etc., Higden. Fletcher (p. 175) notes that Ralph Higden was a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Werburg's Chester. "Matthew of Westminster," a portion of the *Flores Historiarum*, ed., H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, Lond., 1890, I, II. See Pref., pp. xi ff.; xliii, Matthew of Westminster is an imaginary person; the name really belongs to Matthew Paris.

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. . . . in the preface to his own chronicle."[24] This statement is confirmed by Fletcher (p. 54). Ritson gives a literal translation of practically the full text of William's attack (*K. A.*, pp. xxii ff.) and praises it as a notable piece of historical criticism. He cites the two allusions made by Giraldus Cambrensis[25] to Geoffrey as a prevaricator and recounts the Melerius story (*K. A.*, pp. xxxvii f.). He quotes Sir William Temple on the fictitious character of the history and the testimony of Scriver, a Dutch scholar, who, "without the least ceremony or respect" has pronounced Geoffrey's work "a great, heavy, long, thick, palpable, and most impudent lie." Thus Ritson leaves his reader in no doubt as to his opinion of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. This portion of the Preface is interesting in revealing Ritson's accurate knowledge of chronicle history and in showing how frequently he has anticipated the results of Fletcher.

5. The Round Table

Ritson (pp. xvi f.) alludes to Wace and to William of Malmesbury in confirmation of the theory that there were popular stories about Arthur before Geoffrey and he cites the famous couplet from the *Brut*:

> *Fist* Arthur la ronde table,
> *Dunt* Breton dient meint fable (9994 f.),

adding: "However he came by the round-table, he was, certainly, never indebted to Geoffrey of Monmouth" (p. xvi, n.; see also *Ancient Eng. Met. Rom.* I, 120).

Fletcher, alluding to these lines, says: "This certainly indicates that Wace knew previous stories about it [the Table], which may be substantially proved by the nearly certain fact that round tables were a very ancient pan-Celtic institution" (pp. 100, 142).

In a note to *Lybeaus Desconus* (*A.E.M.R.*, II, 37), Ritson also makes the above statement and refers there to two romantic accounts of the origin of the Table:

> This famous table . . . . was the property of Leodegrance, king of Camelard, who appears to have had it from Uther Pendragon, for whom it had been made by the sorcerer, Merlin, in token, as the book[26] says, of

[24] *Guilliemi Newbrigensis Historia sive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum Libris quinque*, ed., T. Hearne, Oxford, 1719, I, pp. lxxvii ff. Fletcher dates the chronicle 1198, referring to the ed. by R. Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, Rolls Series, Lond., 1884–85, *Introduction*.

[25] "Desc. of Wales, C 7," "Itinerary of Wales, B I, C 5." See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, VI, ed., J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series, Lond., 1863, pp. 57 f. 179.

[26] *Morte Darthur*, ed., Sommer, Bk. III, Chaps. I, II; Bk. XIV, Chap. II.

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the roundness of the world (or, according to his own romance[27]), in imitation of one established by Joseph of Arimathea, in the name of that which Jesus had made at the supper of the twelve apostles, etc.

Ritson does not allude to Layamon's account of the origin of the Table (Madden, Lond., 1839, vv. 22737 ff.), nor indulge in any speculation on the subject of origins. His brief notices merely show the extent of his reading and his recognition of Wace as the first to mention this celebrated treasure.[28]

6. Merlin—Myrddin—Ambrosius

a. *Merlin-Myrddin*

Maynadier ("Merlin and Ambrosius," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913, pp. 119 ff.) identifies Merlin with Myrddin a Welsh bard of the sixth century,[29] probably historical, who has been confused with Ambrosius Aurelianus, both from the same district of Wales and both of sufficient fame to become the nucleus of legends. "Geoffrey," he writes (p. 126), "made the identification of Merlin and Ambrosius quite plain. But so far as I am aware, no one has tried before me to trace the steps which led Geoffrey to his identification."

In attributing the identification of Merlin with Myrddin to confusion of the latter with Ambrosius Aurelianus Maynadier was anticipated by more than a century by Edward Lhuyd in his *Archæologica Britannica*, Oxford, 1707, p. 263, followed by Evan Evans in *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*, Lond., 1764, pp. 70 f., and John Leyden in his "Preliminary Dissertation" to the *Compleynte of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1801, pp. 194 ff., and by John Whitaker, *History of Manchester*, Lond., 1771–75, II, 32–3, 38, who names Evans and Lhuyd as his authorities. But all of these authors except Whitaker have fallen into the error established apparently by Giraldus Cambrensis[30] (*Itin. Kamb.*, *Opera* VI, 133; *Desc. Kamb.*, *Opera* VI, 196) of distinguish

[27] This incident is related in both the "Vulgate Merlin" (*Le Roman de Merlin*, ed., H. O. Sommer, Lond., 1894, pp. 54 f.) and the "Suite de Merlin" (*Merlin*, ed., G. Paris and J. Ulrich, *Soc. An. T. F.*, Paris, 1886, I, pp. 94 ff.).

[28] On the Round Table, origins and parallels, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 82 ff., who reviews the various theories; also the interesting article by L. H. Loomis, "Arthur's Round Table," *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 771 ff.

[29] J. Loth also made this identification, *Mab.*, Paris, 1913, II, 292, n. 4 and later Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 129 f.; 134, n. 15. All references to the *Mab.* are to this ed.

[30] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, n. 7, 93; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 141 ff.

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ing two Merlins: Merlinus Ambrosius who wrote the "Prophecies" in the *Historia* (Bk. VII) and Merlinus Sylvestris or Caledonius who wrote only those which are not in Geoffrey's work, a natural result of the great difference in the portrayal of Merlin in the *Historia* and in the *Vita Merlini*[31] (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 92, n. 7).

According to Leyden (p. 196) the subject of the *Vita Merlini* was Merlinus Ambrosius. Merlinus Sylvestris or Celidonius, identified by the above mentioned eighteenth century authors with Myrddin Wylt, was supposed to have killed his nephew and to have fled to the forest of Celidon, whence his name. Here he took up his residence. He wrote among other pieces a poem called *Afallenau* (the Apple-trees).

Ritson shows his knowledge of this identification of Merlin with Myrddin in the following passage, though he does not name his authorities.

> If, indeed, any reliance could be placed in the genuineness of the *Afallenau Myrddin*, or Merlin's orchard, supposed[32] to have been written by *Myrddin ap Morfryn* or *Myrddin wilt, Merlinus Sylvestris* or *Caledonius*, about the year 550, and mentioning *Medrawd*, *Arthur*, *Gwenhwyfar* and the battle of *Camlan*, nothing would more effectually tend to prove that either Geoffrey or his British author, had worked, at least, on ancient materials (p. xix, n., see also p. 59, n.).

From this passage, together with a remark in a letter to Scott[33]: "I likewise transmit to you Geoffrey of Monmouth's metrical life of Merlin the Wild" (*Letters*, II, 219, Apr. 10, 1802), it would appear that Ritson had freed himself from the erroneous tradition of the two Merlins established by Giraldus. Nowhere is there any clear indication that he recognized more than one Merlin.

b. *Merlin—Ambrosius Aurelianus*

The chronicle development of Merlin from Ambrosius Aurelianus has been fully treated by Fletcher (*op. cit.*, see Index under

[31] For discussion and analysis of the *Vita Merlini* see Bruce, I, pp. 135 ff. A recent investigation dates the poem 1150 instead of the usual 1148 (J. J. Parry, *Mod. Phil.*, XXII (1925), 413 ff.).

[32] The correctness of Ritson's doubts as to the existence of Myrddin poems before Geoffrey is born out by F. Lot, "Etudes sur Merlin," *Annales de Bretagne* XV (1900), 324 ff., 505 ff., and Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 129 f. There seems to be one exception, the *Dialogue of Merlin and Taliessin*, which is either contemporary with Geoffrey or slightly earlier.

[33] This letter shows, too, that Ritson had intended to print the *Vita*. He evidently had made a copy of one of the MSS. See cat., no. 959.

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"Aurelius" and "Merlin"). His results may be tabulated as follows:

Ambrosius Aurelianus,
A Roman-Briton military leader—Gildas (Fletcher, pp. 5 ff.)
He becomes king after Vortigern—William of Malmesbury (*ibid.*, p. 39)
Ambrosius, the "boy without a father," of the Vortigern tower episode —Nennius (*ibid.*, pp. 14 ff.)
Ambrosius, son of a Roman Consul (*ibid.*, pp. 14 ff.)
Ambrosius Merlinus, the "boy without a father" and Merlin the prophet—Geoffrey (*ibid.*, pp. 91 ff.)

Fletcher explains the merging of the two persons, Ambrosius Aurelianus and Merlin, thus:

It seems not unreasonable to surmise that Nennius's story is that of the British faction of the island, as opposed to the Roman faction of Gildas—that Guorthemir crowds out Ambrosius because he was the hero of this British faction, but that Ambrosius' fame was too great to allow him to be passed over without mention. The character of magician assigned to Ambrosius in Nennius is in harmony with this theory; for it is an explanation of a great chief's successes very natural to the minds of a hostile party, especially after the lapse of time has afforded opportunity for legends to arise (p. 19).

Ritson offers the following observations on the subject: He scoffs at Pinkerton[34] (*K. A.*, pp. xlii f.) for identifying Arthur with Aurelius Ambrosius, and states correctly that neither Gildas nor Bede mentions Arthur, but that both mention ("not, indeed, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a corruption of Geoffrey of Monmouth) Ambrosius Aurelianus." (See also pp. 49 f. & n.) In chapter XIII, "Of Ambrose Aurelian" (pp. 47 ff.), he follows Gildas in calling Ambrosius a "modest man . . . . peradventure, of the Roman nation" and William of Malmesbury in making him king after Vortigern. Concerning the Nennian story of the "boy without a father"[35] he remarks:

This boy is not intended for Ambrose Merlin, according to the interpolator of the history of Nennius and as it is in Geoffrey of Monmouth,[36] but, certainly, *Ambrosius Aurelianus* (a great general and, in process of

[34] *Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland*, 1790, I, 76, n. See this study, p. 254 f.
[35] *Historia Britonum*, ed., T. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiq.*, XIII, *Chron. Min.*, III, Berlin, 1898, pp. 181–87 (see esp. p. 182). See Loth's note on this incident, *Mab.*, I, 239.
[36] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, p. 91.

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time, king of Britain) . . . . who has been here confounded with Merlin (p. 37, n.).

Thus it appears that Ritson, while not the first to point out the confusion of Merlin and Myrddin, was evidently the first to indicate confusion between Merlin and Ambrosius Aurelianus and to call attention to Geoffrey's responsibility for corrupting the latter name.

7. Arthurian Tradition in the South (Camelot)

To turn from the Preface to the *Life*, proper, it may be noted that Ritson uses as authorities for the pre-Arthurian period the classical historians, Caesar, Tacitus (the *Annals* and the *Life of Agricola*) Suetonius, Herodian, and Don [Dion] Cassius. His medieval sources are Taliessin,[37] Gildas, Nennius, Bede, the *Saxon Chronicles*, Æthelweard's *Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntington. He is making an obvious effort to write from authentic documents.

Arthur is introduced in chapter XIV, "Of Arthur's birth" (p. 51), and his birthplace, on the authority of Leland, is located at Padstow in Cornwall. Discussing "Arthur's dominions and royal palaces" (Chap. XIX, 78 ff.) he refers to the story from Caradoc's *Vita Gildae* of Arthur's laying siege to Glastonbury Castle wherein Melwas had detained Guenevere, and his bringing up " 'the army of whole Cornwall and Devonshire:' which seems to denote that he had the power of those provinces, and, consequently, was king thereof. He might, nevertheless, have had territories in South Wales; but, certainly, was not king of Gwent, which was possessed by *Arthrius* or Arthruis, apparently, a different name and of a distinct race or family, which is much better known than that of our Arthur whom we may safely venture to call king of Cornwall."

[37] Ritson is doubtless following the tradition which assigns Taliessin to the sixth century (Loth, *Mab.*, I, 144, n. 2). He is mentioned in the Nennian *Chronicle* in the genealogy of the kings of Deiri, as living at the time of King Dutigirn who fought against the Angles (Mommsen, p. 205). This section is regarded as original (Fletcher, pp. 9, 16). On the Nennian controversy see below pp. 272 ff. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 226, says, however, that linguistic conditions preclude Taliessin's having lived as early as is commonly thought.

Saxon Chronicle, J. Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, Oxford, 1866.

Æthelweard's *Chronicle*, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. 499 ff.

William of Malmesbury (see above, n. 9).

Henry of Huntington, *Historia Anglorum*, ed., T. Arnold, Rolls Series, Lond., 1879.

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(pp. 78 f.). Later (p. 88), he explains that this Arthrius or Arthruis, king of Gwent, was son of Mouric, king of Morganwg and was contemporary with Comegern, Bishop of Llandaff about 600.[38]

There seems to be no reason for connecting Arthur with Padstow beyond the fact that the town is in an Arthurian locality; it is about twelve miles southwest of "king Arthur's Castle," Tintagel. But Ritson is quite in order about Arthrius, king of Gwent. He is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis* under the caption: "Grant of King Arthrwys" (p. 411). Here and in the chronological series of bishops of Llandaff (p. 625) he is mentioned as Arthrwys, son of Meurig, king of Gwent and as contemporary with Bishop Comereg in the time of St. Teilo, or about 566 (p. 623). Ritson's authority is Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*, III, 190 (from the register of Llandaff)." Volume III of the *Monasticon* contains a long quotation from the *Liber Landavensis* (Rees, p. xii).

Another echo of Arthurian tradition in the South is the location of Camelot. Ritson accepts without comment Leland's identification of Camelot as South Cadbury in Somerset (pp. 81 f.). It may be wise to follow him in keeping silent on the moot question of Camelot, but I am tempted in passing to note that the lines in *King Lear* (II, II, 77 f.),

> Goose, if I had you upon Sarum plain
> I'd drive ye cackling home to Camelot

seem to point to a tradition associating Camelot with Salisbury

[38] But see note to Chestre's *Launfal* (*A. E. M. R.*, II, 6) where on the authority of Carte he asserts that the king of Gwent was the great Arthur. The fuller notice in *King Arthur* doubtless represents the more mature opinion. Thomas Carte, *A General History of England*, Lond., 1747–55, I, 202. Carte's authority was probably the *Liber Landavensis*. See the trans. by W. J. Rees, Lond., 1840, pp. 625, 627.

In safely venturing to call Arthur king of Cornwall, Ritson has become somewhat contradictory. See Chap. xvi, "Of the death of Howel," pp. 62 ff., based partly on Caradoc's *Vita Gildae*, Ritson's comment on the phrase "Arthur, king of the whole of Greater Britain" (cf. *Vita Gildae*, ed., Mommsen, p. 108, "Arturi regis totius maioris Brictanniae"); "This can only mean Wales or part of Wales, and is termed Greater Britain in opposition to Less or Little Britain. In the middle of the sixth century, the greater part of England was in possession of the Saxons." The meaning of *Bretagne*, *Britannia* is a vexed question on which much has been written, but there seems to be no indication that "Greater Britain" was ever used to designate Wales exclusive of other parts of the island. See my study, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien de Troies*, Menasha, Wis., 1913, pp. 114 ff.; also, discussions by Zimmer, *G. G. A.*, 1890, pp. 787 ff.; *Zeit. fr. Sp.*, XII (1890), 239 ff.; M. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen, 1901, pp. 139 ff.; Windisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 f., and Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 60.

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Plain in Somerset. Shakespearean commentators[39] have referred to Selden, who in his notes to Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1748 ed., p. 252) says that Camelot is South Cadbury in Somerset. Selden's statement probably rests on the authority of Leland.[40] How Leland came by the identification I do not know.

These references to Cornwall, Camelot, Cadbury, Somerset show Ritson's acquaintance with traditions localizing Arthurian story in the South, particularly in Cornwall, a subject which has received the attention of modern scholars.[41]

8. Arthurian Tradition in the North (Carlisle)

In Chapter xxii, "Of Arthur's Popularity" (pp. 90 ff.), Ritson surveys what he knows of Arthurian localities, mentioning several in Wales, but denoting most space to those in the north of England —Anglesey, Westmorland, and Cumberland. He gives four instances of the situation of Arthur's residence at Carlisle: a passage from Froissart ("Eng. trans. 1525, fol. vii, b"); "two old ballads, upon the subject of king Arthur, printed in bishop Percy's *Reliques of ancient English poetry*,"[42] from one of which he quotes:

> At Tearne-Wadling his castle stands;

and lastly, "An ancient Scotish metrical romance of great merit,"

> In the time of Arthur an aunter bytydde,
> By the Tarne-Wathelan, as the boke telles,
> When he to Carlele and conquerour kydde.

This "Scottish romance" is the *Awntyrs of Arthur at the Terne*

[39] See *King Lear*, Var. ed., pp. 123 f. and notes. Selden wrote in 1612, at the request of Drayton, notes to the first eighteen cantos of the *Polyolbion*. See also, H. Sommer, *Le Morte Darthur* by Syr Thomas Malory, Lond., 1890, II, 157 and n. 3.

[40] Assertio . . . . Arturii (*Collect.*, V): Camaletum castrum olim magnificentissimum in ipsis Murotrigum limitibus. Britannice Camalete, alias Cairmalet (p. 66), ... Murotriges, qui & somurotriges, vulgo Somersetshire nenne (p. 67.). Leland's description of South Cadbury, Ritson quotes in full (p. 82) from the *Itinerary* ed., Hearne, Oxford, 1745, II, 46 f.

[41] F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 327 ff., 497 ff.; XXV (1896), 1 ff.; XXVII (1898), 529 ff.; XXVIII (1899), 9 ff.; 336 ff.; E. Brugger, *Zeit, fr. Sp.*, XX (1898), 99 ff.; H. Zimmer, *Zeit. fr. Sp.*, XII (1890), 231 ff.; XIII (1891), 26 ff.; J. Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1912, pp. 60 ff.; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 328 ff.; *Bruce*, I, pp. 72 f.; K. Malone, *J.E.G.Ph.*, XXIII (1924), 463 ff.

[42] The "two old ballads" referred to are "The Boy and the Mantle," *Reliques*, III, 41 ff., and "The Marriage of Sir Gawain," pp. 55 ff.

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Wathelyne, a poem now generally regarded as of northern origin.[43] Ritson (p. 93) accepts the explanation of Percy (*Reliques* III, 51, n.) that Tearne-Wadling—Turne-Wathelan is a small lake near Hesketh, Cumberland, on the road from Penrith to Carlisle, an identification made by later editors of the *Awntyrs*.[44]

But of particular interest in view of the puzzling *Carduel an Gales* of the romances and Zimmer's identification of Carduel with Carlisle in Cumberland (*G.G.A.*, 1890, pp. 525 & n. 2), is Ritson's note on line 8 of Chestre's *Launfal*, "Sojournede yn Kardeuyle" (*A.E.M.R.*, II, 2). After quoting several lines from Marie's *Lanval* of which he correctly states that *Launfal* is a version (*ibid.*, I, 47, II, 1), he proceeds:

> Thus in the MS and Mr. Ellis's edition; but read, as afterward, Kardevyle. It is Carlisle in Cumberland, where King Arthur is fabled to have had a palace and occasional residence.

Then follows the testimony of Froissart on Arthur's residence at Carlisle and the quotation from the *Awntyrs* and Percy's note on Tarn Wadling all evidently repeated in the *King Arthur* from this note. He continues:

> It is *Kardoel* in the original, and elsewhere *Cardueil*. The old romance of *Merlin* calls it "*la ville de* Cardueil *en* Galles."[45]

[43] See J. L. Weston, *Romance, Vision, and Satire*, N. Y., 1912, p. 332; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 127 f. The Douce MS of this poem (first printed by Pinkerton in *Scotish Poems*, Lond., 1792, III, 197 ff., under the title, "Sir Gawan and Sir Galaron of Galloway") was once owned by Ritson who had intended to print it himself. See his letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan., 1793 and the introductory note to the ed. of the poem by D. Laing, *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1822.

[44] Laing, *op. cit.*, note on "Turnewathelan" and note at end of poem; and F. Madden, *Syr Gawain*, Lond., 1839, p. 330; also apparently, J. Robson, *Three Early Eng. Metrical Romances*, Lond., 1842, pp. xiv f.

[45] See also, Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 330. A famous example of *Carduel an Gales* occurs at the beginning of Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain*, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed., W. Foerster, II, Halle, 1887, v. 7.

Ritson might have added as testimony of Arthur's residence at Carlisle the well-known line from Marie de France's *Lanval* (*Die Lais der Marie de France*, herausgeben von Karl Warnke, Halle, 1885, v. 5). He makes several allusions to Marie, showing familiarity with the *Lays* in manuscript (*Letters*, II, 226; *A. E. M. R.* I, 15, 47; II, 1 f.).

Among those who have pointed out the localization of Arthurian tradition in the North are Zimmer, *G. A. A.*, 1890, pp. 525 ff.; 781 ff.; *Zeit. fr. Sp.*, XIII (1891), 91 ff.; Brugger, *Zeit. fr. Sp.*, XX (1898), 79 ff.; esp. 122 & n. 52; 129 ff.; F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 518 ff.; XXVIII (1899), 27; J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XIII (1892),

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This is a characteristic example of Ritson's habit of stating emphatic conclusions without proof or argument. He has the scholar's insight and accuracy without the disposition to convince. Perhaps he neglected the latter faculty through that lack of respect for his opponents which he frequently displays in the *King Arthur* and other writings. It would have been most useful if he had disclosed his methods and materials by more frequent citation of sources and by giving his arguments in detail. However, in the present instance the source or sources of his conjecture have been unconsciously revealed by Zimmer, who gives as authority for his equation, *Carduel-Carlisle* (*loc. cit.*), Usher's *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates*, pp. 33 ff., and the *Saxon Chronicle*, year 1092. Ritson makes frequent references to Usher in the *King Arthur* (for example, pp. 73–74, n.) and he owned a copy of the *Saxon Chronicle* (Cat. no. 666). If he did not originate the equation, he at least called attention to it nearly a hundred years before Zimmer.

9. Pendragon and Mab Uther

The terms *Pendragon* and *Mab Uther* Fletcher explains as follows:

> Some texts of Nennius have at the mention of Arthur (chap. 56) an interpolation which states that he "was called *Mab Uter* because he was cruel from his boyhood." The proper interpretation of *Mab Uter* . . . . is "terrible warrior"; but it might also be translated "Son of Uter." It is possible, then, that Geoffrey (or some one before him) had a copy of the interpolated text, made the mistranslation, whether by error or because it suited his purpose, and then equated Uter with Uter Ben. This procedure would have been just what was needed to furnish Arthur with a father and to fill the gap which Nennius's narrative implies between Arthur and the Aurelius Ambrosius [Ambrosius Aurelianus?] of Gildas. The expansion of the name into Uther Pendragon presents no difficulty, since *Ben* and *Pen* are linguistically identical, and *Pendragon* means "Head Leader" (*op. cit.*, p. 89).

In the latter interpretation Fletcher is following Rhŷs[46] who shows that *dragon* in the sense of "leader" is figurative, the word

499 ff.; W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, I, 1876, pp. 152 ff.; J. S. Stuart-Glennie, *Arthurian Localities*, Edinburgh, 1869 (also in W. B. Wheatley's *Merlin*, E. E. T. S., 1899, I, pp. clvi ff.; W. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1905, pp. 373 f.

[46] *Celtic Britain*, Lond., 1884, p. 135; *The Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, Lond., 1888, p. 568; *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, p. 8; with D. Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, Lond., 1900, p. 106; Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

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being derived from the Latin *draco—draconis*, and signifying first the figure on Roman military standards, a device imitated by the Britons, and then probably coming to mean the leader himself.

Ritson in explaining *Mab Uther* and *Pendragon* states that Geoffrey is responsible for making Arthur the son of Uther Pendragon (p. 55). He explains *Pendragon* as "dragons-head" (pp. 53 ff.), which has been shown above to be the literal meaning, and says that this surname may have been derived from the form of his helmet or crest. He continues:

> This Samuel or some other interpolator [of Nennius; see below, pp. 272 ff.] says: '*Artur, Latinè translatum, sonat ursum horribilem vel malleum ferreum, quo franguntur molas leonum. Mabuter, Brittanicè, filius horribilis, Latinè; quoniam a pueritia sua crudelis fuit.*" *Mab*, however, is agreed to mean *son*, and, though *ythr* signify *horrible*, in one sense; *Ythyr*, in another, is a proper name, synonymous with *Uther*; so that *Mab Uther* seems to be the patronymic of *Arthur* (p. 54). It is highly probable that Arthurs entire name was Arthur Mab-Uther (p. 55).

Thus Ritson has anticipated later scholars in three respects: (1) in pointing out that the Mab Uther passage in Nennius is an interpolation; (2) in explaining *Pendragon* in both its literal and its figurative sense; (3) in calling attention to the double interpretation of *Mab Uther*, thus implying that the interpretation was made to account for Arthur's parentage.[47]

10. Arthur's Twelve Battles and the Date of the Battle of Mt. Badon

Fletcher (p. 27, n. 1) says that, as far as he knows, the first attempt to trace strategetically the course of Arthur's campaigns was made by John Whitaker (*History of Manchester*, 1771–75, II, 35 ff.). He names several other early writers on the subject and brings the bibliography down to recent times. Bruce (*op. cit.*, II, "The Date of the Battle of Badon Hill," pp. 45 ff.) adds other

[47] An interesting parallel to Ritson's discussion is furnished by K. Malone, "The Historicity of Arthur," *J.E.G.Ph.*, XXIII (1924), 463 ff., who quotes this same passage from Nennius and makes exactly the same points; his treatment of the matter is, however, much fuller. Professor Cross called my attention to Milton's comment on Nennius, interpretation of *Mab-Uther* in his *History of Eng.* Milton like Ritson points out that the term furnished the geneologists with a patronymic for Arthur. (*Prose Works*, Phila., 1847, II, 257). Ritson, though he must have known this passage, does not mention it.

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titles.[48] Ritson's chapter XVIII, pp. 71 ff., "Of the battles of Arthur," taken almost verbatim from Nennius, is devoted chiefly to notes on the manuscript variants of the place names and an attempt to identify them. Although brief, his discussion deserves mention in a bibliography of the subject.

Ritson attempts also to settle the date of the battle of Mt. Badon (pp. 73–74, n.). After assailing the shaky chronology of Usher, "Matthew the florilegist," i.e., "Matthew of Westminster," really, Matthew Paris (see above, n. 23), and others, though he gives 526 as the latest possible date, he comes to the conclusion that to fix the exact date is impossible.[49] Bruce (*loc. cit.*), who gives the latest opinions on this subject, shows it to be a hopeless problem.

11. Arthurian Material in the Triads

Ritson censures the Welsh for regarding the *Triads* as "documents of undoubted credit" (pp. 59, 83, n.). He continues:

> As to the historical *triads*, no ancient manuscript is to be found, and, most probably, they are after Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Mabinogi*: they are, manifestly, too childish and ridiculous to be of any "authority" (p. 59).

Again:

> Even the Welsh *triads*, which frequently mention Arthur, and are quoted by the Welsh as a very ancient authority, though not believed to have been written earlier than the twelfth century, and, certainly, not before Geoffrey of Monmouth, are silent about such a name [Uther Pendragon] altogether (p. 55, n.).

This statement seems to be taken from Owen's *Cambrian Biography*, p. 17 (see above, n. 3). Loth, too, is of the opinion that the *Triads* show in a number of places the influence of the *Historia*.[50]

Ritson, therefore, seems to be right in pointing to Geoffrey's influence on the *Triads*. In view of the unsatisfactory character of those that may antedate Geoffrey, it is natural that he should have rejected all of them. Though he is usually discriminating, he sometimes goes to the extreme of condemning the whole of a

[48] See also Newell, *PMLA*, XX (1905), 663, n. 1, and Windisch's brief notice, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[49] See the contradiction on page 51 n., "about 512." This may be another case of lack of revision. See notes, 10 and 88, this study.

[50] *Mab.*, II, 225. See also Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 267, n. 59.

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work without considering that some part of it may be genuine. Another instance is his denial of William of Malmesbury's authorship of any part of the *De Antiquitate.* (See below, pp. 282 ff.)

As to the silence of the *Triads* on Uther Pendragon, Ritson is mistaken. The *Triads* of the *Red Book* mention Uther twice (Loth, *Mab.*, II, 233, 252). The first allusion, especially, is thought to show Geoffrey's influence (*ibid.*, pp. 234–35, n.). Ritson has been led astray by "Owen's *Cambrian Biography*, p. 17."[51]

12. Mabinog, Mabinogion

Ritson (p. 58) seems to accept the definition of *Mabinogi*, pl., *Mabinogion* given in Owen's dictionary which explains these terms as derived from "*mabinawg, mabin*, youthful, boyish, *mab*, a boy, a son, juvenility; juvenile instruction; the amusement of youth; the title of some ancient tales. *Mabinogi Jesu Grist*, The infancy of Jesus Christ." Ritson observes: "apparently, a childish book or book for children, like 'Mother Goose's tales'." Just above, he quotes from Owen's *Cambrian Biography* which uses the phrase, "*Mabinogion* or juvenitities."

Thus Ritson is entirely at variance with modern conclusions[52] which have rejected altogether the connotation "juvenility" for *mabinogion.* Rhŷs, Zimmer, Loth, Bruce, for example, whose discussions of the subject are too familiar to require repetition, agree in the main that the term means tales used by a *mabinog* or apprentice in practicing the art of story-telling. And the view that *mabinogion* is the plural of *mabinog*, not of *mabinogi* is now generally accepted.

13. The Text of the Nennian Chronicle

The complicated nature of the text of the Nennian *Historia Britonum* was demonstrated some years ago by Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindicatus* (Berlin, 1893) who was followed by several others.[53] Thurneysen who carried the investigation further than

[51] Owen [Pughe], also, casts doubts on the authenticity of the *Triads, op. cit.*, pp. 13 f.

[52] Rhŷs, *Red Book of Hergest*, p. viii; Zimmer, *G. G. A.*, 1890, p. 513; Loth, *Mab.*, I, 7 ff.; *Contributions à l'Etude de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1912, pp. 30 ff.; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 45 f.

[53] L. Duchesne, *Rev. Celt.*, XV (1894), 174 ff.; R. Thurneysen, *Zeit. deut. Philol.* XXVIII (1896), 80 ff.; *Zeit. Celt. Philol.*, I (1897), 157 ff.; Windisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f.; Newell, *PMLA*, XX (1905), 622 ff.; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 8 f., reviews the whole question.

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Zimmer in that he used the Chartres manuscript which represents the pre-Nennian form of the work, comes to the following conclusions (*Zeit. Celt. Phil.*, I, 157 ff.): Nennius[54] seems to have been a pupil of Elbodug, Bishop of Bangor, Carnarvonshire who died in 809. Later, he studied with the priest, Beulan, in the region of Buelt in Powis, South Wales. In the Year 826 he compiled the complete history (the Harleian recension [MS Harley 3859], the oldest manuscript of the Nennian version[55]) from the earlier and shorter form (the Chartres MS, about 679). Presumably, directly afterward he made an abridged edition of this recension, on the advice of his master, Beulan. One of the copies of this abridgement which he had retained for himself and Beulan or Beulan's son, Samuel, he amended with marginal corrections and additions. Camb. Univ. MS, Ff. 1. 27, of the 12th–13th century, is the only early manuscript containing the two prologues, of which the first states that Nennius compiled his history in the year 858. But neither of these prologues is now thought to be by the compiler of the history.[56] Thurneysen has tried to clarify the confusion of dates in the history proper and he believes that in all probability the original work of Nennius, the Harleian recension, was compiled in 826.[57]

Ritson, discussing the Nennian problem in chapter xxv, "Of Nennius and Samuel" (pp. 114 ff.), declares: "Nennius, a Briton, was the disciple of Saint Elbod, and flourished . . . . in the year 858." He points out an anachronism in the chronology of Gale and Bertram[58]:

[54] Malone, *J.E.G.Ph.*, XXIII (1924), 467 n. 16, on authority of A. G. Van Hamel (Hoops, *Reallexikon d. Germ. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1911–19), thinks Nennius was of Irish origin.

[55] Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 41, who seems to be following Thurneysen, is therefore wrong in saying that the Harleian recension is pre-Nennian.

[56] H. Petrie and T. D. Hardy, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, Lond., 1848, pp. 62, n. 1; 63. This text is based on the Cambridge MS, Ff. 1. 27. The standard ed. is that by Mommsen, *op. cit.* (see above, n. 35), based on the Harleian recension.

[57] *Zeit. Celt. Ph.*, I, 164 f. But see W. W. Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 623, 671, who believes that the Harleian ed. resting on the Chartres ed. was not prepared till the eleventh century. Zimmer's date for the former is 796 (*N. V.*, pp. 107, 108, etc.). Petrie and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 68, assign it to the tenth century.

[58] Thomas Gale, *Historiae Britannicae Scriptores*, XV, Oxford, 1691, pp. 93 ff., Preface, under "Nennius." This was the first printed ed. and was based on the Cambridge MS, Ff. 1. 27.

Charles Bertram, *Britannicarum Gentium Historiae Antiquae, Scriptores Tres*, Havniae; 1757, based on Gale's ed.

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That Nennius was a monk of the monastery of Bangor is a mistake of Gale, continued, with equal folly, by Bertram. "*Elbodius* bishop of Llandaff, and archbishop of North Wales [died in the year 809]" .... (*History of Cambria*, p. 20). This monastery was destroyed long before 858 (p. 114).

After correcting Whitaker who in his *History of Manchester* ("II, 49") [1775 ed., II, 33, 40] asserts that Nennius was prior to Gildas and placing Gildas at 564 ca., much the same date to which he is assigned today (cf. Fletcher, p. 4, who gives 547 ca. for his book and 565 for the date of his going to Ireland), he comes to Nennius' work. He pronounces it an ancient work abounding in tradition and fable. Half the manuscripts are attributed to Gildas[59] and many are anonymous.

It, unfortunately fell into the hands of one Samuel, a Briton, and disciple to *Beularius*, a priest, who, either interpolated and polluted the text, or merely, according to the practice of that period, acted the part of a scholiast, by filling the margin .... with *scholia* or glosses; which, falling into still worse hands, were inserted, from time to time in the text, so that a genuine copy of Nennius, as originally written, would be difficult to meet with (p. 115).

Ritson then gives an account of the battle of Chester and the massacre of the monks of Bangor, according to Bede, noting the discrepancy between the dates of this battle as given by Bede (613) and the *Saxon Chronicle* (607). Bangor, on the authority of Leland ("*Collect.*, II, 601" [III, "Tomus Secundus," p. 60, ed. 1774]), is located twelve miles from Chester. The marginal references to Beulan and Samuel found in some of the manuscripts are quoted, as well as Leland's consequent conjecture that Samuel was the author of the annotations. Allusion is made to the manuscript [Camb. Univ. Ff. I. 27] which contains the account of Arthur's journey to Jerusalem (cf. Fletcher, p. 33 & n. 3) and to the existence of a manuscript in the Vatican library, on the authority of the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (II, vii), "the oldest that is known undoubtedly, written at the beginning of the tenth century."[60] The chapter closes with a

[59] See W. Gunn, *The "Historia Brittonum" commonly attributed to Nennius*; from a manuscript lately discovered in the Library of the Vatican .... Lond., 1819, p. xv; Petrie and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[60] Ritson may be skeptical here, for he is usually incredulous of the Welsh. Gunn, *op. cit.*, pp. iv f., on the authority of the MS itself, dates it in the tenth

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notice from the *Cambrian Biography* of "a very valuable edition of the Vatican manuscript now preparing for the press by the reverend William Gunn, which will clear up and rectify the obscurities and errors in the editions by Gale and Bertram."

This summary covers the main points of Ritson's discussion. Some of his assertions are obviously erroneous. The first concerns the monastery of Bangor. Since "Bangor" seems to have been a common name for scholastic group, college, monastery,[61] etc., the error is a natural one. Elbodug, who died in 809, as is generally, agreed, was bishop of Bangor in Carnarvonshire, Northwest Wales. The monastery of Bangor destroyed at the battle of Chester (603 or 613)[62] was Bangor Iscoed, twelve miles south of Chester. Thus when Nennius and Elbodug are associated with the right Bangor, the difficulty at once disappears.

The error of accepting 858 as the date of composition for the *Historia Britonum* on the basis of the statement in the preface is natural enough and yet hardly what would be expected from one of Ritson's discrimination. It cannot be explained as an accident, for the date is mentioned three times in the chapter. In his assumption that Samuel was the marginal interpolater, he has not done worse than Gunn (*op. cit.*, p. xxiv) and Zimmer (*N.V.*, pp. 49 ff.). The rest of his comments in the light of modern investigation seem sound.[63]

14. The Breton Expectation of Arthur's Return from Avalon

Ritson's comment on the Breton expectation is occasioned by William of Newburgh's derogatory remarks on the Bretons for their faith in this superstition (*Proemium*, p. 18; *K.A.*, p. xxvi).

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century, also Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Petrie and Hardy, "Presumably of the tenth century," p. 64. On the other hand, Mommsen, p. 112, and Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 623, put it in the eleventh century.

[61] W. Gunn, *op. cit.*, p. xxi, n. 3, on the authority of Owen Pughe; D. D. Jones, *The Early Cymry and their Church*, Carmarthen [Preface, 1910], p. 61.

[62] Editions of Bede do not agree on the date: J. Stevenson, Lond., 1836, p. 162, yr. 613; G. H. Moberley, Oxford, 1881, p. 93, yr. 607; A. J. Giles, tr., Lond., 1847, p. 71, yr. 603.

[63] Whitaker, *Hist. of Manchester*, though he puts Nennius before Gildas (Nennius, 550; Gildas, 564), points out the unsatisfactory conditions of the text. (See pp. 33, 40 f.) Hence, Ritson is not the first to have published indications of textual difficulties.

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Certainly such a tradition existed among the Britons or Welsh before the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is mentioned by William of Malmesbury, who, observing that the sepulchre of Arthur had never been discovered, adds, "whence the antiquity of elegiac songs and fables, that he is yet to come" [*Gesta Reg.*, ed., Stubbs, II, 342].

He then quotes Wace's lines [*Brut*, 13681 ff.] in confirmation and Robert Manning of Brunne's translation[64] of them, mentions a mysterious French romance in manuscript entitled "*Roman d'Arthus le rethoré*[65] (that is, Arthur restored or revived)," and Alanus de Insulis (d. 1202) who in his *Prophetia Anglicana*[66] says that faith in Arthur's existence still holds in "the Armorican kingdom, that is Less-Britain."

Fletcher gives a list of chroniclers and other writers who speak of this tradition (*op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.) and quotes from Alanus de Insulis the passage to which Ritson refers: that denial of Arthur's second coming in the country districts of Brittany would be likely to cost a man his life. Ritson tells a story, also alluded to by Fletcher (p. 188) and by Malone (*J. E. E. Ph.*, XXIII, 1924, p. 473), from Gervaise of Tilbury[67] showing that the same faith held in Sicily as in the "forests of Britain, Greater or Less." Citations are made, also, from the *Epistles* of Peter of Blois, Nos. 34, 57, and from *Don Quixote*, Pt. I, Chap. XIII. Finally, reference is made to the Sicilian belief that Arthur is alive under the protection of his sister, Morgan, whose fairy palace is mentioned by Swinburne in his *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, II, 263 [2d ed., 1770]. Altogether, his knowledge of the subject is fairly comprehensive.[68]

[64] Robert Manning of Brunne's *Chronicle* was finished in 1338; the first part of it is a paraphrase of Wace's *Brut* (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 204.). This part of it is edited by F. Furnival, Rolls Series, Lond., 1887.

[65] *Rhetoré, restoré?* See Godfroi *Dict. de l'Anc. Fr.* If such a romance exists, it must be under a different title or as part of another work.

[66] First ed., Frankfort, 1603, Bk. I, p. 17. This is Fletcher's reference. Ritson refers to an ed. published, 1608, and to pp. 19, 20, the title of which differs in several particulars from that of the 1603 ed.

[67] Gervais of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 1211 *ca.*, ed. incompletely by G. W. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, ... Hanover, 1707, I, 921; Selections, ed., F. Liebrecht, Hanover, 1856; p. 12.

Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, 5th ed., A. J. Giles, Oxford, 1847.

[68] For further bibliography on Arthur's return, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 34, n. 74; pp. 74 ff.

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15. Glastonbury[69]

Perhaps the most interesting question Ritson treats is the discovery of what was reputed to be King Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury Abbey about 1191. This "discovery" seems to have expressed the culmination of Glastonbury's desire to recover the prestige it held in the tenth century. Hence the monks began to resort to the fabrication of documents connecting famous names with the abbey: Joseph of Arimathea, St. Gildas, St. Patrick, St. Dunstan, and finally, towards the middle of the twelfth century, King Arthur.

Full accounts of the discovery are given by Giraldus Cambrensis in the *De Principis Instructione* (1194 *ca.*[70]) and in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, a later work. In the latter (pp. 47 ff.), Giraldus says he was shown the grave by the abbot, Henry de Soilly in 1191. The coffin was found after a long search by Abbot Henry, guided by historical documents and visions of monks. It was done upon the advice of Henry II, who assured the abbot that, according to the information of a British bard, Arthur was interred between the "pyramids" or crosses in the cemetery. Giraldus states, further, that Henry II ordered the remains to be reburied with honor.

Newell points out (p. 508) that in this statement Giraldus is incorrect since Henry II died before the appointment of Henry de Soilly as abbot. The latter came from another foundation, Bermondsey, where he had been prior, and whence he was removed to Glastonbury by Richard I in 1189 (p. 464). Hence, he could not, as abbot of Glastonbury, have received the suggestion of Henry II. He may, however, have pretended to Giraldus that he had it from the king while still prior of Bermondsey (p. 508, n. 2). Furthermore, the mention of the ancient bard is evidence "only of the

[69] For association of Arthurian legend with the abbey see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 77 f.; 262 ff.; II, 145 ff., and W. W. Newell, *PMLA*, XVIII (1903), 459 ff.; whose article forms the basis of my discussion. C. H. Slover's article, "William of Malmesbury and the Irish." *Speculum*, II (1927) 268 ff, casts doubt on Newell's position, but does not affect the point of my argument. On Glastonbury's loss of prestige in the eleventh century, see W. A. Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, I (1903), 257.

[70] Fletcher's date for the *De Principis* (*op. cit.*, p. 190); Newell, p. 506, n. 1, dates it 1217. Cf. Fletcher, pp. 279, f.

De Principis Instructione, *Opera* VIII, pp. 126 ff., Rolls Series, ed., G. F. Warner, 1891; *Speculum Ecclesiae*, *Opera* IV, pp. 47 ff, Rolls Series, ed., J. S. Brewer, 1873. See Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 191, n. 2, for a list of medieval writers who treat of that incident.

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tendency to seek confirmation of Arthurian fables in imaginary Celtic literature." Giraldus was interested in the discovery because it explained Arthur's being carried to Avalon through identification of Avalon with Glastonbury. (See below, n. 78.) Had there been in Wales, says Newell (p. 508), any such association of Arthur with Glastonbury, Giraldus who had been living in Wales prior to 1191 would have been likely to know it. His surprise at the discovery shows that the story must have been unknown until it suited the Glastonbury monks to exploit the fame of Arthur.

That the body of "Arthur the famous king of the Britons" lies in the cemetery of the monks at Glastonbury between two pyramids or crosses is stated also in the *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, which in its original form was written probably in the second quarter of the twelfth century,[71] by William of Malmesbury. These assertions directly contradict William's statement in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (1125 *ca.*) that the grave of Arthur was never seen (Stubbs, II, 342).

Newell has shown pretty clearly by parallel passages from the *Gesta* and the *De Antiquitate* that the Arthurian portions in the latter work were probably interpolated in 1191 when the disinterment took place under the direction of the abbot, and were added with a view to utilizing the fame of Arthur to exalt the dignity of Glastonbury. Obviously it would help to silence skeptics if William of Malmesbury, who died about 1143, could be cited as an authority. These interpolations include, besides the statement that Arthur's body lies in the cemetery at Glastonbury, the story that Arthur after the death of his knight, Ider,[72] killed in fighting giants, instituted twenty-four monks to pray for his soul and gave lands to the abbey to support them, and the description of the spot where Arthur's remains were exhumed (p. 510).

Newell's argument has been given at some length in order to make clear the points at which Ritson anticipated it. Chapter xx, "Of the death of Arthur" (pp. 85 f.), stresses the belief that the whereabouts of Arthur's grave is a mystery. Ritson cites Leland

[71] G. Baist, *Zeit. rom. Philol.*, XIX (1895), 327, gives 1139 as the date of the *De Antiquitate*. Newell, p. 460, shows that it must have been written after 1125. Cf. Stubbs, *Gesta Regum*, p. xxvii f., on the date. For the text see Thomas Gale, *Hist. Brit. Script.*, XV, Oxford, 1691, I, 291 ff.

[72] See also Fletcher, pp. 98 f.; 103; Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 154, is not so certain as Newell that the Ider passage is an interpolation. Others consider it doubtful. (See Fletcher, *loc. cit.*)

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(*Collect.*, V, 44) whose authority is "John, abbot of Burgh"[73] to show that Arthur's grave was unknown, and adds: "William of Malmesbury, a Somersetshire man, and very intimate, no doubt, at Glastonbury-abbey who is supposed to have died in 1143, expressly says that 'the sepulchre of Arthur was never seen'." Thus Ritson prepares us for his skeptical attitude towards William's alleged account in the *De Antiquitate* of the discovery of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury, which directly contradicts the statement in the *Gesta*.

Chapter XXIII, "Of the discovery, after many centuries of the remains of king Arthur and his queen" (pp. 98 ff.), is based chiefly on the account in the *De Principis*. In regard to this story Ritson is highly incredulous. Concerning the prefatory account of Arthur's devotion to the church of Mary at Glastonbury and his carrying the image of the Virgin on his shield (cf. Fletcher, p. 32), he declares:

> This puff preliminary, in which there is not a word of truth, he [Giraldus] had either amplified from some interpolated copy of Nennius or Geoffrey of Monmouth, or from some legend in the abbey, or been paid for fabricating. He was no more than an occasional visitor, though, by his relationship to the king,[74] and his connections at court, he might have had an eye upon it himself and this rigmarole stuff been calculated to cajole the monks (p. 99, n.).

[73] Leland, *Collect.*, V, 44: "Joannes Burgensis abba in suis Annalibus haec fidis commisit chartis: "Occuluit se rex Arturius moriturus, ne casui tanto insultarent inimici, amicique confusi molestarentur." Ritson emends "Burgh" to "Peterborough." The ascription of this passage to John of Peterborough is an error of Leland's which Ritson did not detect. There is no such passage in the chronicle under his name (John Sparke, *Historiae Anglicanae, Scriptores Varii*, Lond., 1723, pp. 1 ff.). The only references in this chronicle to Arthur concern the discovery of Gawain's tomb at Ros (p. 50) and the discovery of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury (p. 87). In the MS, Cotton, Claudius A V this chronicle is ascribed to "Joannes Abbas," but there was no abbot of that name at Peterborough between 1263 and 1408. He was supposed to have lived about 1380; he must, therefore, be an imaginary person (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). However, compare the above passage with the following from the *Flores Historiarum* of "Matthew of Westminster" (Matthew Paris; see below, n. 23), ed., H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, Lond., 1890, I, 269, at the year 542: "Occultavit se rex moribundus, ne casui tanto insultarent inimici amicique confusi molestarentur." This is probably the source of Leland's statement.

[74] Giraldus became Chaplain to Henry II in 1184. He dedicated to the king his *Topographica Hibernica*, 1188.

Ritson cites, also, the account of the discovery by Matthew Paris and records Leland's skepticism.

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Thus Ritson's conclusion that the story was a fabrication of whatever source, made at the pleasure of the Glastonbury monks is identical with Newell's.

Another matter which Ritson examines is the tradition that Guenevere was Arthur's second wife, in support of which is the inscription on his tomb as recorded by Giraldus: "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus cum Wenneveria uxore sua secunda" (*De Principis*, p. 127). Ritson quotes the curious explanation given by Usher (in his *Index Chronologicus*, at the year CXLII):

> That she may appear to be called *second*, in respect of another Guenever, married by Arthur in the very beginning of his reign; whom, by Melvas, king of Somerset, ravished at the year 509, from Carádoc of Llancarvan, we have observed.

and adds his own comment as follows:

> Carádoc, however, gives no such date, nor had Usher any, the slightest, authority for it, but his own fancy, there not being one single date throughout the *Vita Gildae* (p. 101, n.).

Ritson is correct about there being no dates in this document. Further, he says:

> With respect to the circumstances of Arthur's second wife, the Welsh antiquaries pretend that he had no less than three wives, everyone named *Gwenhwyfar* . . . . and that the Wenever or Guenever, whose bones were discovered along with his own, and whose name occurred in his epitaph "was not his last wife": so that he appears to have had one after he was dead.

His authorities here are John Lewis, *Hist. of Great Britain*, Lond., 1729, pp. 185, 196; Sir John Prise, *Hist. Brit. Defensio*, Lond., 1573, p. 134.

> To prove, however, the singular consistency of these infallible Cambrians, it appears from their favorite . . . . Triads that these three *Gwennhwyvars* were not the wives of Arthur, but "Three prime damsels" residing at his court; and that his "three wives etc." (pp. 106, f.).

He quotes directly from MS Harley 4181.[75] Ritson's interpretation of this passage agrees with that of Loth as against that of

[75] See *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of MSS* . . . . in the *British Museum*, Lond., 1759, II, No. 4181, "History of Welsh Heroes by Threes," etc.

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Rhys who interprets the three Gwennhuyvars as three wives[76]; incidently it shows that he must have had some acquaintance with Welsh. (See below, n. 89.)

In regard to Giraldus' story (*K.A.*, p. 102 and note) that Henry II was directed to the tomb upon the advices of "an ancient historical singer, a Briton," and Leland's elaborated version of it (*Assertio Arturii*, *Collect.*, V, 49) that Henry of Blois or of Soilli, his nephew, who then, or a little after, from Abbot of Bermondsey,[77] was elected prefect to the island of Glastonbury,"[78] was required by the king to search for the tomb, Ritson says:

This interview of king Henry the Second and the bard at a feast in Wales seems to have been worked up by Leland, himself; as Girald Barry only says, "that king Henry the second as he had heard from a historical singer, an ancient Briton" (*Ibi.* II, 10[79]); and all his authority for it appears to be an anonymous monk of Glastonbury. . . . . Henry had not been in Wales since 1169, and Arthur's bones were not discovered

[76] Loth, *Mab.*, II, 250, Rhŷs, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 35 ff., Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 44, n. 14; 78, n. 80, remarks on the difference in these interpretations.

An interesting attempt to explain Arthur's connection with more than one Guenevere may be found in the "Vulgate" *Merlin*, ed., Sommer, pp. 157, 163, 233.

[77] These errors are traceable to Leland: "Unde cum Henrico Blesensi, alias Soliacensi, nepote suo, qui tum, aut paullo post ex abbate [prior] Bermundianae insulae Praefectus Glessoburgensis designatus est" (*Collect.*, V, 50).

See above p. 277 and Browne Willis, *An History of the Mitered Parliamentary Abbies, and Conventual Cathedral Churches*, Lond., 1718, I, p. 103; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. & tr., J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, Lond., 1817, I, 5.

Henry of Blois and Henry of Soilly were different persons. See Dugdale, p. 4, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, which state that Henry of Blois died in 1171. Henry of Soilly was not appointed abbot of Glastonbury till 1189.

[78] The identification of Glastonbury with the isle of Avalon was made by a number of medieval writers with whom Ritson was familiar and whose etymologies he has followed uncritically. On this identification see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 197 ff.

In a note to page 104 Ritson observes the absence of Morgan from Geoffrey's *Historia* and her presence in the *Vita Merlini* and her association there and in "other romances of Arthur" with Avalon, but he contributes to this subject nothing significant. On Morgan in general, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, Index.

[79] This reference is to the *Speculum* and is, therefore, incorrect; Ritson took his account from the *De Principis*: "Rex angliae Henricus secundus sicut ab historico cantore Britone audierat antiquo" (p. 128). The corresponding passage in the *Speculum*, p. 49, is quite different. Ritson, however, refers to Leland (*Collect.*, V, 49) for his account of the incident (*K. A.*, p. 102, n.). See Thomas Warton's poem, "The Grave of King Arthur" (1777), Chamber's *British Poets*, XVIII, Lond., 1810, pp. 109 ff., which is based on this incident.

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until 1191 or 1192, whereas he died on the 6th of June 1189; and Henry de Sayle was not abbot till the 29th of September in that year (p. 103, n.).

And though he quotes several other chroniclers to show that the date given for the discovery varies from 1179–1191, he concludes thus:

At any rate, the discovery, if made in the presence of Henry the second, could not be in the time of Henry de Soilly, or if made by Henry de Soilly, could not be in the presence of Henry the second (p. 106, n.).

In saying that Henry II was not in Wales after 1169 Ritson appears to be mistaken. Salzmann[80] has shown that Henry made peaceful expeditions through Wales during his campaigns for the conquest of Ireland (1171–72). Indeed, Hearne notes this fact in his *History and Antiquities of Glastonbury* (Oxford, 1722, pp. 154 f.), adding that it was on this very expedition through Pembrokshire in October, 1172, that the Welsh bard sang to Henry of Arthur's burial place. Ritson must have been aware of this passage; if so, he forgot it. But he is probably right—and here he anticipates Newell—in doubting that Henry II got his information about the tomb from a Welsh bard and in showing the improbability that the discovery was made by Henry de Soilly in the presence and during the time of Henry II.

Ritson next attacks the Arthurian passages in the *De Antiquitate.*

Leland . . . . plainly affirms himself to have seen the donation of Arthur[81] (*Collect.*, V, 6, 32 ff.) which the no less pious than dexterous monks of the blessed mother of God, had, indisputably, forged, as they did the legend of Joseph of Arimathea,[82] their pretended original founder, the charter of Saint Patrick, the life of that saint by William of Malmesbury[83] whom they made to write, "Of the antiquity of the church of

[80] L. F. Salzmann, *Henry II*, N. Y., 1914, pp. 112, 243, 244, 246. His dates are taken from the "Itinerary of Henry II," Pipe Rolls. See also W. Stubbs, The Early Plantagenets, N. Y., 1891, pp. 48 ff.

[81] This refers to the Ider incident. See above p. 278.

[82] For bibliography and summary of the Christian origin of the Grail and its association with Joseph of Arimathea and Glastonbury, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 219 ff.

[83] K. Norgate, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, names this as one of William's lost works. Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 486 ff., shows that the account of St. Patrick in the *De Antiquitate* is much longer than in the *Gesta* and counts it among the interpolations. Hence, this "Life of St. Patrick" mentioned by Ritson may be, as he thinks, spurious.

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Glastonbury," not less than fifty years after his death .... and other legendary rhodomontades with which their precious archives abounded (p. 109).

In his final chapter, XXVII, "Of the Abbey of Glastonbury" (pp. 126 ff.), he resumes his abuse of the monks for their lying legends, including in his strictures Leland, Gale, Hearne, Browne Willis, Camden, Usher and other antiquaries; he quotes the Ider passage from the "pseudo-William" (p. 135) as a proof of their wicked machinations and closes his invective by quoting from the charter which Leland (*Collect.*, V, 27) found in the archives of Cambridge formerly bestowed by Arthur upon the students of that university.[84]

So it would seem that the doctors and students of the university of Cambridge were no less dexterous in diplomatic forgery than the abbot and monks of the convent of Glastonbury (p. 139).

It may be seen at once that Ritson approaches Newell's theory as to the reason for the presence of Arthurian passages in the *De Antiquitate*; namely, the desire of Glastonbury to enhance its prestige, and that he detects these interpolations on the same grounds: inaccurate chronology in the statements about Henry II and Henry de Soilly and the contradiction about Arthur's grave in the *De Antiquitate* and the *Gesta Regum*. An important difference in their estimates of the former work is that Ritson rejects any part of it as the work of William, while Newell seems to be right in distinguishing between an interpolated edition and the original version. Nevertheless, the passages which Ritson uses as evidence against William's authorship; namely, the Arthurian incidents, are the very ones which Newell considers interpolations. That Ritson was mistaken in rejecting the whole work does not diminish his credit for detecting what is doubtless spurious. The discrepancy between the date of William's death (1143 *ca.*) and that of the discovery of Arthur's alleged tomb (1191) as described in the *De Antiquitate* was so great as to preclude for him any possibility that the work might be genuine. This, together with

[84] A tradition recorded by a fifteenth century writer, Nicholas Cantaloupus, in his *Historiola de Antiquitate et Origine Universitatis Cantabrigiensis*, ed., T. Hearne in Thomae *Sprotti Chronica*, Oxford, 1719, pp. 267 ff. Cf. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

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the gullibility of Leland, Usher, Gale, Hearne, Camden, and others drove him to his extreme position.[85]

16. Arthurian Material in the Lives of the Welsh Saints

Fletcher (pp. 78; 105 ff.), remarking upon Arthurian tradition outside the chronicles, calls attention to certain Latin lives of Welsh Saints, written, he says, not much later than Geoffrey's time, which must have been current in his day and earlier and which show a primitive or less exalted conception of Arthur and his knights than is found in the *Historia*. One of the most important of these stories occurs in the *Life of Gildas*, ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan and recorded at just about the date of Geoffrey's *Historia*, whether before or after, cannot be certainly determined.[86] The gist of the story is that Arthur kills Howel, one of Gildas' twenty-four brothers because they are dissatisfied with him as a "rebel king"; but he is freely forgiven in a Christian spirit by the saint. (Ritson tells this story in chapter xvi, "Of the death of Howel," pp. 62 ff.). Fletcher then refers to anecdotes about Arthur occurring in a manuscript (Cotton Vesp. A. XIV) containing lives of Welsh saints.[87] These stories are all important in revealing Arthurian tradition independent of the chronicles.

Exactly half a century before the publication of this manuscript, Ritson had come across it, dated it correctly, "apparently of the thirteenth century (p. 144; cf. below, p. 285), had discovered these stories in it, and had included them in an appendix to his *King Arthur* (pp. 143 ff.). He tells all of the stories given by Rees, but makes the slight error of placing the story of St. Gundlei in the *Life* of that saint, whereas it occurs in the *Prologue* to the *Life* of his son, St. Cadog.

Commenting on these lives Ritson says:

> The 1st, 2d, and 8th lives, make mention of king Arthur, containing frequently, an anecdote, a tale or a miracle, whence it is inferred that they have been written after the publication of Geoffrey of Monmouth's

[85] Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 265, n. 56, names a number of modern scholars who once accepted the Arthurian passages as genuine. Baist, however, still maintains their authenticity. (Bruce, *loc. cit.*)

[86] F. Lot, *Rom.*, xxiv (1895), 330, thinks it was later: 1160 ca.

[87] W. J. Rees, *The Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, Lond., 1853, pp. 23 ff., 97 ff., 149 ff., 158 ff., 188 ff. Malone, "The Historicity of Arthur," *J.E.G.Ph.*, xxiii (1924), 481 ff., summarizes several of these stories.

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"History of the kings of Britain" in 1139[88] and are consequently a series of fables and forgeries.

Further evidence of their late origin he adduces from the St. Gundlei story in which Kay and Bedever are called, as he says, "knights" (p. 146, n.; see also, p. 80, n.). But *equites* (the word in the text) does not necessarily mean "knights," in the technical sense; it may mean merely "horsemen." The occurrence of this word in the story would not alone be of sufficient evidence to assign it to a late date.

Though Fletcher believes that these *Lives* were written later than Geoffrey (see above, p. 284), he thinks the material belongs to an earlier period (p. 106) and he cites Lot (*Rom.*, XXX, 1901, p. 1) and Phillimore (*Y. Cymmrodor*, XI, p. 128) who think that the *Lives* in this manuscript were composed about 1100. Lot dates the manuscript at 1200. Therefore, Ritson, while correct in dating the manuscript in the thirteenth century, may be wrong in not discriminating between the Arthurian anecdotes as they there appear and the material from which they were derived and thus in regarding them as altogether "fables and forgeries" which did not antedate the appearance of Geoffrey's history. But this error does not deprive him of the credit of being the first, it would seem, to discover the Arthurian contents in this manuscript.

Conclusions

Ritson's *Life of King Arthur*, considered as an example of his numerous contributions toward reviving interest in medieval literature and legend, has a three-fold significance. First, it reveals the author as a scholar of no ordinary attainments. Possessing a remarkably wide range of historical and literary information, and, in general, accuracy, sound judgment, and commonsense, he was able to avoid many of the pitfalls into which most of his predecessors and contemporaries in the field of historical research had fallen. Though he shared the enthusiasm for the past which in his day had become a cult, he showed himself more a scholar than an antiquary by his tendency to doubt rather than to believe. His fairness of judgment and incidentally his ideal of scholarship and his attitude towards the early antiquaries is illustrated by the judicial comment which he appended to a characterization of Usher given by Pinkerton:

[88] This date cannot be intentional. See Preface, pp. i, xii, xv, and this study pp. 255 f. This is doubtless another instance of lack of revision. See notes 10 and 49, this study.

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"If one were desired to mention a work capable of shewing that an authour may be vastly and profoundly learned, without possessing common judgment, Ushers *Antiquitates Britannicarum Ecclesiarum* might be produced as an instance. Yet . . . . had his judgment equalled his learning and diligence, he would have been the most valuable antiquary that the British islands ever produced" (Pinkerton's *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, I, 106). It is certainly a *just character*. Camden and Hearne, however, and many others, are little better, and Stukeley is below contempt (pp. 74–75, n.).

Yet Pinkerton was a particular source of irritation to Ritson as a historian without acumen and without discrimination. (See above, n. 11.)

Regarded by the standards of today, Ritson's chief sin, apart from a notorious and universally condemned acrimoniousness towards opponents, is a failure always to detail the processes by which his conclusions are reached and to bring forward sufficient evidence to convince. He relies too much on superpositive assertion. Occasionally, his opinions give the impression of having been arrived at through instinct rather than judgment. But whatever the method, the result is usually sound. Where his conclusions contain error, the error is more likely to be in the nature of exaggeration than of absolute incorrectness. It may be due to the tendency to rely too much on a memory which, though in general remarkably accurate, occasionally played him false; or as already pointed out (see notes 10, 49, 88), it may be the result of inability to revise before publication.

Secondly, it has been shown that in his *King Arthur* Ritson has introduced or revived, and in some instances solved, a surprising number of problems which are commonly supposed to have originated with Arthurian scholars from the mid-nineteenth century, on, or at least not to have been critically dealt with before. Yet modern criticism, with but two exceptions (see above, p. 251, n. 1) so far as I know, has passed over the work of this Arthurian scholar in silence.

Ritson was fortunate in having access to a wide range of material, yet that he utilized this material is due in large measure to his interest, self training, and industry, for much of it existed in works which in his day were still in manuscript; and what he found of value there, less discriminating or less well trained minds often misinterpreted or failed to perceive. When one reflects on the

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extent of his Arthurian studies, his linguistic equipment,[89] and the intensive quality of his work, one must rank him as the first modern scholar in this field. The only contemporary Englishmen who could be compared with him are Bishop Percy and Thomas Warton. But Percy was a careless workman (cf. Burd, pp. 96, f.; 150, ff.) and Warton, though he showed considerable acquaintance with Arthurian romances, made no attempt to treat such questions as those handled by Ritson. Moreover, his work is full of inaccuracies and he has not yet been cleared of Ritson's charge of plagiarism (Burd, pp. 55 ff.; 58, n. 51).

Finally, the *Life of King Arthur*, with its copious references to the works of historians and antiquaries—Leland, Gale, Usher, Camden, Hearne, Whitaker; in Scotland, Fordun and Pinkerton; in Wales, John Price, David Powel, Edward Lhuyd, Nicholas and William Owen—testifies to the continuity of interest in Arthurian story. The curious lore about Arthur, preserved in the Latin chronicles of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, was transmitted, largely from these chronicle sources, to the antiquarian and historical works from the sixteenth century to the modern period. Maynadier in his *Arthur of the English Poets* (1907, p. 254) says that Caxton's preface to Malory's *Morte Darthur* hints that the great day for Arthurian romance was passing. But though, except for its treatment by Spenser, Arthurian romance was to wait nearly 400 years before it was again to receive distinguished artistic handling, these learned works show that interest in Arthur had by no means died. As a popular romantic theme, it is true, the Arthurian Court suffered partial eclipse[90] during the interim from Malory to Tennyson. But Ritson's book proves that the historical Arthur continued to excite very lively interest among scholars and antiquaries, whose influence, in turn, helped to carry it on to later times.

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[89] Burd says he knew no Greek beyond the alphabet, but was acquainted with Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, was proficient in Middle English, and acquired some knowledge of Anglo-Saxon (pp. 15, 195). Cross (*op. cit.*, p. 234) thinks a little Welsh and Irish might perhaps be added to Ritson's linguistic stock. This suggestion is born out by the books on Cornish, Welsh, and Irish listed in the sale catalogue above mentioned (n. 14): nos. 76, 219, 682, 827, 869, 921. (See also, below, p. 269 f.) The catalogue testifies, too, to Ritson's interest in the history of Wales and of Ireland: nos. 419, 476, 479, 849, 925. (See also *Letters* I, 191; II, 2 f.)

[90] Maynadier, *op. cit.*, chaps. XVII f., has shown that there was considerable interest in Arthurian story in the eighteenth century as literature quite apart from its value as a stimulus to antiquarian research.

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XIV

QUELQUES ORIGINES LITTÉRAIRES DE "*RENÉ*"

AVANT même la publication des *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* un problème assez inquiétant s'est posé à propos de *René*. Sainte-Beuve n'a eu garde de l'éviter et, tout en prenant des mines effarouchées, il n'a pas manqué de signaler que si René n'est évidemment autre que Chateaubriand, Amélie ne peut être que sa douce et mélancolique soeur Lucile qui, dans le parc de Combourg, engagea l'adolescent à se consacrer à la Muse. Tout ce que nous savons de la vie de Lucile de Chateaubriand indique cependant que l'histoire d'Amélie comporte une grosse part de fiction. Même si à l'origine l'amitié très vive qu'elle a toujours ressentie pour ce frère ténébreux a été teintée d'un sentiment plus trouble, elle n'est point entrée au couvent, si ce n'est fort tard et comme pensionnaire, non comme religieuse. Elle semble avoir ébauché à Combourg même un roman d'amour avec un gentilhomme Breton, parent éloigné de Malfilâtre, elle accepta en fin de compte le vieux M. de Caud et, après un court veuvage, fut sur le point d'épouser en secondes noces le poète Chênedollé. Avec cette superbe inconscience qui paraît si souvent chez lui, Chateaubriand aurait mêlé à des souvenirs d'enfance une passion romantique perverse, mais complètement imaginaire. Il semble avoir trop aisément pensé que des lecteurs et des critiques moins informés de la réalité des choses et quelquefois plus malveillants, feraient d'eux-mêmes le départ de la vérité et de l'embellissement dans son roman-poème autobiographique. M. Giraud, qui plus que personne a souci de défendre le grand homme contre des soupçons injustifiés, avouait encore tout récemment, dans un passage significatif, que malgré tout, le problème n'était point résolu et probablement ne le serait jamais:

> Il y a bien des mystères dans la biographie de Lucile. Et d'abord, cette enfant sauvage qu'une affection si tendre unissait à son jeune frère, qui l'accompagnait dans ses courses passionnées des bois de Combourg, et qui provoqua les premiers bégaiements de sa muse, jusqu'à quel point ressemblait-elle à l'Amélie de *René*? On se posait la question du vivant même de Chateaubriand, et très probablement elle est insoluble. Je crois volontiers, pour ma part, que *René* est pure et simple fiction. Mais enfin, je n'en suis pas absolument sûr, et le tort du poète est peut-être d'avoir laissé planer un doute sur ce point délicat.[1]

[1] Giraud, *Passions et romans d'autrefois*, Paris, 1925, p. 108.

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Tel est aujourd'hui l'état de la question. Sans prétendre en donner une solution complète et définitive, on peut cependant en reprendre l'examen en signalant certains éléments jusqu'ici négligés. *René* apparaîtra plus certainement comme une "pure et simple fiction" si nous retrouvons le thème essentiel de cette passion illicite dans des ouvrages que Chateaubriand ne pouvait pas ne pas connaître.

Ici encore, comme en tant d'autres cas, il a eu soin de nous indiquer lui-même dans quel sens nous devions chercher pour retrouver ses "sources." Cette indication n'est pas cachée dans une note inaccessible au commun des lecteurs. Elle s'étale tout au long dans le passage de la *Défense du Génie du Christianisme* que Chateaubriand réimprima en guise de préface quand, en 1805, il donna la première édition séparée de *René*.

> L'auteur eût choisi le sujet de Phèdre s'il n'eût été traité par Racine. Il ne restait que celui d'Erope et de Thyeste chez les Grecs (Sen. *in Atr. et Th.* Voyez aussi Canacé et Macareus, et Caune et Byblis dans les *Métamorphoses* et dans les *Hérotdes* d'Ovide. J'ai rejeté comme trop abominable le sujet de Myrra, qu'on retrouve encore dans celui de Loth et de ses filles), ou d'Amnon et de Thamar chez les Hébreux (*Reg. 13, 14*); et bien qu'il ait été aussi transporté sur notre scène (Dans *l'Abufar* de M. Ducis), il est toutefois moins connu que celui de Phèdre. . . . . Il ne restait qu'à sanctifier, par le christianisme, cette catastrophe empruntée à la fois de l'antiquité païenne et de l'antiquité sacrée.[2]

Chateaubriand indique ensuite que, même alors, il n'eut pas tout à faire. Il trouva "cette histoire presque naturalisée chrétienne dans une vieille ballade de pèlerin que les paysans chantent encore dans plusieurs provinces. . . . . " Il m'a été impossible de la retrouver jusqu'ici; je me borne à signaler ce point aux chercheurs mieux équipés et plus heureux. Les matériaux qui nous restent pour notre démonstration sont d'ailleurs plus que suffisants.

Laissons de côté l'histoire de Thamar et d'Amnon, crime d'une brute cynique, simplement relaté comme un constat de police, dans lequel Chateaubriand n'avait rien à prendre. Nous pouvons éliminer également la tragédie de Sénèque qui a pour sujet non la séduction d'Ærope par Thyeste, mais la vengeance qu'Atrée tire de son frère, et que l'auteur de *René* n'avait probablement pas relue. Ovide, par contre, mérite de retenir l'attention plus longtemps. Chez le plus moderne et le plus compliqué des poètes latins

[2] *Défense*, p. viii; éd. Ladvocat, 1831, p. 164.

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Chateaubriand a trouvé une analyse bien plus fouillée des amours illicites. Il a trouvé avant tout chez ses héroïnes une revendication, presque romantique déjà, des droits de la passion, une révolte volcanique contre les lois morales et religieuses et la proclamation du droit de vivre sa vie. Voici tout d'abord la Phèdre d'Ovide, bien différente de «la chrétienne à qui la grâce a manqué» de Racine, et comme une héroïne d'Ibsen foulant aux pieds la *vetus pietas*.

Nec, quia privigno videar coitura noverca,
Terruerint animos nomina vana tuos.
Ista vetus pietas, aevo moritura futuro,
Rustica Saturno regna tenente, fuit.
Jupiter esse pium statuit quodcumque juvaret
Et fas omne facit fratre marita soror.
Illa coit firma generis junctura catena,
Imposuit nodos cui Venus ipsa suos. (*Héroïdes*, IV).

Et que le commerce d'une belle-mère avec son beau-fils n'épouvante pas ton imagination; ce n'est qu'un vain préjugé. Ce scrupule suranné, que les âges suivants devaient abolir, appartenait au règne rustique de Saturne. Jupiter a légitimé tout ce qui plaît, et l'hymen de la sœur avec le frère rend tout licite. Une telle union forme une chaîne indissoluble de parenté, puisque Vénus elle-même en a resserré les nœuds.

C'est ensuite Byblis, au caractère plus nuancé, déjà presque une Amélie, qui grandit aux côtés de son frère et dont l'amitié fraternelle se change, à son insu et par degrés insensibles, en un sentiment différent.

Non soror ut fratrem, nec qua debebat, amabat,
Illa quidem primo nullos intellegit ignes,
Nec peccare putat, quod saepius oscula iungat,
Quod sua fraterno circumdet bracchia collo;
Mendacique diu pietatis fallitur umbra.
Paulatim declinat amor, visuraque fratrem
Culta venit, nimiumque cupit formosa videri
Et si qua est illic formosior, invidet illi (*Métamorphoses*, IX, 456-463)

Elle l'aimait, mais non point comme on aime un frère, et comme une sœur devrait aimer. Tout d'abord, en vérité, elle ne reconnut pas les feux de l'amour, et ne pensa pas que c'était commettre une faute que de l'embrasser souvent et de lui jeter les bras autour du cou. Pendant longtemps elle se trompa à cette apparence d'amour fraternel. Mais peu à peu cette affection se changea en amour; elle se para pour aller voir son frère, elle semblait trop désireuse de paraître belle à ses yeux; et si

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quelque autre jeune fille lui semblait plus belle, elle était remplie de jalousie.

C'est d'abord dans une rêverie qui se transforme graduellement en sommeil, et non sans rougir, qu'elle ose s'abandonner à son amour:

> Spes tamen obscenas animo demittere non est
> Ausa suo vigilans; placida resoluta quiete
> Saepe videt quod amat; visa est iungere fratri
> Corpus et erubuit, quamvis sopita iacebat (*Métamorphoses*, IX, 468-471).

Cependant quand elle est éveillée, elle ne laisse pas ses pensées s'arrêter sur ces espoirs impurs; mais quand elle s'abandonne à une douce somnolence, elle voit souvent l'objet de son amour; elle se voit dans les bras de son frère et elle rougit, bien qu'étendue sur sa couche, elle soit plongée dans le sommeil.

Dans une longue et curieuse lettre, véritable confession d'un cœur torturé, elle avoue son amour à son frère et celui -ci pris d'une colère folle essaie tout d'abord de la tuer. Au dix-huitième siècle, Byblis aurait pu trouver un refuge dans un de ces couvents célébrés par Chateaubriand dans le *Génie* et qui offrait un refuge aux âmes blessées et coupables. Elle n'a d'autre ressource que de s'enfuir dans le désert et d'errer dans la solitude, refusant d'être consolée, jusqu'au jour où elle est changée en une fontaine au cristal pur.

Voici maintenant Canacé devenue la maîtresse de son frère et qui, sur le point de se tuer, revit sa douloureuse et coupable aventure:

> O utinam, Macareu, quae nos commisit in unum,
> Venisset leto serior hora meo.
> Cur unquam plus me, frater, quam frater amasti?
> Et tibi, non debet quod soror esse, fui?
> Ipse quoque incalui, qualemque audire solebam,
> Nescio quem sensi corde tepente Deum.
> Fugerat ore color, macies adduxerat artus,
> Sumebant minimos ora coacta cibos,
> Nec somni faciles, et nox erat annua nobis,
> Et gemitum nullo laesa dolore dabam.
> Nec cur haec facerem poteram mihi reddere causam;
> Nec noram quid amans esset; at illud eram (*Héroïdes*, x, 21-32).

O Macarée! que n'est-elle venue plus tardivement que ma mort, cette heure qui nous unit l'un à l'autre. Pourquoi, frère, m'as-tu jamais aimée plus qu'un frère? Pourquoi ai-je été à ton égard ce que ne doit pas être

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une sœur? Moi-même je me suis enflammée: j'ai senti dans mon cœur amolli je ne sais quel dieu dont on m'avait parlé. Mon teint avait perdu ses couleurs, mes membres s'étaient décharnés, ma bouche prenait avec dégoût quelques aliments; le sommeil ne venait qu'à grand peine; la nuit me paraissait une année, je gémissais enfin sans éprouver aucune douleur. Je ne pouvais me rendre compte des raisons qui me faisaient agir ainsi. J'ignorais l'amour, mais c'était lui.

Telle dans le vieux château où elle était venue retrouver René, Amélie "perdait le repos et la santé . . . . elle maigrissait, ses yeux se creusaient, sa démarche était languissante . . . . Le monde, la solitude, mon absence, ma présence, la nuit, le jour, tout l'alarmait . . . . Quand je l'interrogeais en la prenant dans mes bras, elle me répondait avec un sourire qu'elle était comme moi, qu'elle ne savait pas ce qu'elle avait."

Plus franche et même cynique dans sa passion pour son père, est Myrrha, la fille de Cinyras. En commun avec toutes les héroïnes d'Ovide, elle élève au nom de la passion et de la nature une protestation violente contre les lois. Byblis s'était contentée de mettre en doute la validité des coutumes qui défendaient de telles alliances:

> Quid liceat nescimus adhuc, et cuncta licere
> Credimus, et sequimur magnorum exempla deorum.

Myrrha se prévaut non plus de l'exemple des Dieux, mais de l'exemple des animaux dans sa profession de foi naturiste:

> Di, precor, et pietas sacrataque jura parentum,
> Hoc prohibete nefas scelerique resistite nostro,
> Si tamen hoc scelus est. Sed enim damnare negatur
> Hanc Venerem pietas: coeunt animalia nullo
> Cetera dilectu, nec habetur turpe juvencæ
> Ferre patrem tergo, fit equo sua filia coniunx,
> Quasque creavit init pecudes caper, ipsaque, cuius
> Semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales.
> Felices, quibus ista licent. Humana malignas
> Cura dedit leges, et quod natura remittit,
> Invida jura negant. Gentes tamen esse feruntur,
> In quibus et nato genitrix et nata parenti
> Iungitur, ut pietas geminato crescat amore.
> Me miseram, quod non nasci mihi contigit illic. (*Métamorphoses*, X, 321–334.)

Certes il n'y a rien dans cette violente explosion de passion qui rappelle même de loin la plaintive sœur de René. Nous verrons cependant plus loin que *René* doit être considéré comme une pro-

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testation contre ces mêmes théories qui reparurent à la fin du dix-huitième siècle et il n'était pas inutile de les indiquer dès maintenant. Pour l'instant nous nous contenterons de remarquer que toutes les héroïnes d'Ovide cherchent à justifier leurs fautes soit par des précédents mythologiques, soit par des analogies tirées de l'histoire naturelle. Le problème moral pour elles se réduit à un simple taboo, et déjà, comme les philosophes du dix-huitième siècle, elles mettent en doute la validité de ces défenses. Elles déplorent non leur faute elle-même mais les souffrances et les conséquences que leur passion a entraînées. Il paraît hors de doute cependant que Chateaubriand dont le goût pour Ovide est connu—n'était-il pas comme lui un "élégiaque" et comme lui un exilé—a emprunté au moins quelques traits et quelques "couleurs" au poète latin. Nous verrons plus loin ce qu'il lui a ajouté.

Chez le Romain, certains scrupules religieux empêchaient l'auteur de prendre à son compte les revendications de ses héroïnes, tout en les reproduisant avec un plaisir assez pervers. Quand au dix-huitième siècle on traita de nouveau le même sujet, comme un thème du primitivisme antique et du primitivisme océanien, toute apparence de blâme disparut.[3] C'est sans aucun émoi, et avec un parti pris évident de battre en brèche les "préjugés" et les idées reçues que Lantier dans les *Voyages d'Antênor*, 1798, raconte les amours de Philotas et de Chrysilla. Il importe ici encore de citer pour mieux comprendre comment, quelques années avant Chateaubriand, un philosophe présentait le sujet de *René*:

Cependant cette fille si modeste, si ingénue, m'étonnoit par l'attachement peu modéré qu'elle avoit pour son frère: ils ne pouvaient se quitter, ils se donnoient les noms les plus tendres. J'avois surpris Philotas sollicitant des baisers qu'elle refusoit avec trop de mollesse pour être obéie. Je blâmois beaucoup cette intimité et l'inadvertance du père; j'étois même décidé à lui en parler, lorsqu'une après-dinée il me dit: "Allons nous promener, j'ai le cœur inondé de joie; il a besoin de s'épancher dans

[3] Dans sa récente étude sur *Chateaubriand* (Paris. Garnier, 1927, p. 104, n. 2) M. Pierre Moreau a indiqué un rapprochement entre *René* et le thème de toute une lignée d'œuvres du dix-huitième siècle. Il renvoie à ce propos à l'ouvrage de M. Servais Etienne (*Le genre romanesque en France depuis l'apparition de la "Nouvelle Héloïse," jusqu'aux approches de la Révolution.* Paris, A. Colin, 1922, p. 308, n. 3). On trouvera chez M. Etienne une liste de quelques romans "ayant pour thème l'inceste" et publiés de 1763 à 1774. Il est douteux que Chateaubriand les ait connus. Il n'en est pas de même des ouvrages que nous allons étudier ici et qui sauf *l'Homme sauvage* de Mercier appartiennent à la période qui suit immediatement celle à laquelle M. Etienne s'est limité.

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le sein d'un ami. De plus, le tableau de deux amants heureux vous intéressera et pourra égayer votre imagination. Dites-moi, comment trouvez-vous ma fille?—Belle, aimable, et d'un caractère charmant.—Et son frère?—Il me paroît sage, laborieux, et sa figure est très agréable.—Oui, c'est un excellent sujet; aussi je m'occupe de son bonheur, je vais le marier.—Vous faites prudemment de le séparer de sa sœur: la jeunesse. . . . .—Les séparer! au contraire, je songe à les unir d'un lien indissoluble; je les marie ensemble.—Comment, frère et sœur?—Oui, depuis la naissance de Chrysilla, leur mariage est arrêté. Ignorez-vous qu'une loi de Solon, que nous avons adoptée, permet au frère d'épouser la fille de son père, et non celle de sa mère?—Je l'ignorois, et votre confidence, je l'avoue, me tire d'inquiétude. Je m'étois aperçu de leur inclination réciproque, et mes préjugés y attachoient de l'immoralité.—Tous les préjugés tombent devant la loi, surtout lorsqu'au lieu de contrarier la nature, elle en favorise l'impulsion: la fête se célébrera dans peu de jours, et je me flatte que vous vous réjouirez de notre joie. . . . . Cette noce champêtre, ce tableau riant du bonheur remplirent mon âme de douces émotions: elle s'épanouissait à la félicité de ces tendres époux. Qu'ils étoient heureux! ils ne respiroient que pour s'aimer, se le dire, pour partager leurs plaisirs, leurs peines. Chrysilla, quelquefois armée d'une serpette, émondoit les arbres sous la direction de Philotas, ou soulevant un arrosoir, désaltéroit les jeunes fleurs. Celui-ci, à son tour, quand l'intempérie de l'air suspendoit ses travaux, assis à côté de sa femme, lui lisoit les idylles de Théocrite ou quelque dialogue de Platon.[4]

Avec Diderot, dont le *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* parut en 1795, le retour intégral à la nature était prêché encore plus ouvertement. On se souvient que dans le sous-titre l'auteur avait indiqué le but qu'il poursuivait: *Dialogue sur l'inconvénient d'attacher des idées morales à certaines actions qui n'en comportent pas.* Discutant de l'amour, après l'avoir dépouillé de tout élément de sentiment et de passion, il en arrive dans la dernière partie à faire proclamer par son Tahitien que les mots tels que "fornication, inceste, adultère" sont de véritables non-sens et l'aumônier, poussé dans ses derniers retranchements, finit par reconnaître que "peut-être l'inceste ne blesse en rien la nature." Aussi chez les Tahitiens si "le commerce entre mère et fils" n'est guère fréquent à cause de la différence d'âge, "les unions entre frères et sœurs sont très communes—et très approuvées." La conclusion n'est pas moins nette. Dans cette société idéale qui existait à Tahiti avant l'arrivée des Européens:

Rien n'y était mal par l'opinion et la loi, que ce qui était mal de sa

[4] *Voyages d'Anténor*, ch. xx.

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nature. Les travaux, les récoltes s'y faisaient en commun. L'acceptation du mot propriété y était très étroite; la passion de l'Amour réduite à un simple appétit physique, n'y produisait aucun de nos désordres.

C'était bien là sinon la tendance dominante de l'école philosophique, au moins une tendance nettement marquée, et Chateaubriand lui-même l'avait noté: "Voici de quoi se compose votre paradis disait la marquise de Rochefort à Duclos," du pain, du vin, du fromage, et la première venue."[5] Même chez les philosophes cependant, ce naturisme ne pouvait s'étaler partout avec ce cynisme sans élégance. Il y avait dans le roman et encore plus dans le drame certaines traditions littéraires qu'on ne pouvait s'empêcher de respecter. Aussi dans les œuvres qui nous restent à analyser trouverons-nous plus de résistance à cette prétendue voix de la nature et autre chose dans l'amour qu'un simple appétit physique. Très curieuse à cet égard est la tragédie *d'Abufar* à laquelle Chateaubriand lui-même renvoie le lecteur et que les critiques de Chateaubriand ont négligée. La scène est dans l'Arabie heureuse sous les tentes d'Abufar. Farhan, fils d'Abufar, pris d'une mélancolie invincible et cherchant à s'échapper à lui-même a quitté la tribu et parcouru le monde pour trouver, comme René le dira quelques années après, un asile "conforme aux dispositions de son cœur."

Farhan

Je dis que le destin, que le Ciel dans mon âme
Versa de nos climats et l'ardeur et la flamme;
Qu'un besoin fatiguant, un désir furieux
De sortir de moi-même et de voir d'autres cieux,
Un de ces mouvements qui commandent en maître,
Que l'instinct nous inspire ou la raison peut-être,
M'ont emporté partout; dans ces champs fécondés
Par les trésors du Nil dont ils sont inondés,
Sous ces affreux rochers battus par la tempête,
Où ce fleuve s'enfonce et cache encore sa tête.
J'ai couru les déserts et les palais des rois,
Observé chaque peuple, et leur culte, et leurs lois,
Leurs trésors, leurs soldats, leurs mœurs, leurs origines,
Visité des tombeaux, des temples, des ruines;
Quelquefois, sur l'Atlas, médité près des cieux,
L'éternité du tems, l'immensité des lieux.
C'est là que m'emparant de la nature entière. . . .[6]

[5] *Essai sur les Révolutions*, ch. xxvii, citant Chamfort.
[6] *Abufar* (1795), Acte II, sc. vii.

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Comment ne pas reconnaître là une ébauche des voyages de René qui lui aussi, poussé par une inquiétude fiévreuse visite l'Egypte et le monde ancien, à une date où Chateaubriand ne connaissait encore que l'Europe du Nord et l'Amérique, médite sur les débris des cités en poussière, sur les mausolées des rois cachés sous les ronces et finit ses courses aventureuses par une ascension non de l'Atlas, mais de l'Etna "volcan qui brûle au milieu d'une île."? C'est seulement au retour de ses voyages que ramené vers les tentes d'Abufar par une attraction irrésistible Farhan fait l'aveu de son coupable amour:

. . . . Ah ma sœur, je la vois.
Mes regards enchantés. . . . . C'est toi. Connais ma flamme,
Mes ardeurs, mes tourments, les transports de mon âme.
Tu vois dans ces déserts l'image de mes feux,
Muets, brûlants, sans borne, et terrible comme eux.
De mon aspect errant j'ai fatigué l'Asie,
Et le Nil et l'Atlas, et la triple Arabie.
J'aurais voulu, courant, m'élançant loin de toi,
Sortir de cet amour qui fuyait avec moi.
Vains efforts, j'emportais ton image et tes charmes.
J'ai retenu mes cris, j'ai dévoré mes larmes;
Mais pourtant quelquefois, laissant couler mes pleurs;
Les échos étonnés m'ont rendu mes douleurs.
Enfin je suis venu, te cachant mon ouvrage
Rapporter à tes pieds ma flamme et ton image.
J'ai tout fait pour me vaincre: ici même en ce jour,
J'ai craint de t'avertir de mon fatal amour (Acte IV, sc. VIII).

Pour pitoyable que soit le style de Ducis, cette tragédie en quatre actes n'en est pas moins, Chateaubriand l'a avoué implicitement, sinon la source de *René*, au moins une des sources du roman poème où il a chanté les rêves inquiets de son adolescence. Il nous reste maintenant à étudier une autre filiation encore plus précise.

C'est une œuvre bien médiocre et même franchement détestable que *l'Homme sauvage* de Sébastien Mercier. Quand l'ouvrage parut en 1767, Grimm lui consacra un "éreintement" de quelques lignes, ajoutant en conclusion et comme pour l'enterrer définitivement:" on n'en parlera plus dans huit jours."[7] Si l'on doit encore en parler, c'est qu'à plus d'un égard l'*Homme sauvage* doit être considéré comme un des ancêtres authentiques de *René*. On ne l'a guère

[7] *Correspondance littéraire*, VII, 299.

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étudié jusqu'ici.[8] Personne en tout cas, moi-même pas plus que les autres, ne semble avoir prêté attention aux ressemblances frappantes que cette mauvaise utopie présente avec l'ouvrage de Chateaubriand. Dépouillée de ses détails incongrus et de ses dissertations philosophico-sentimentales, l'histoire racontée par Mercier est la suivante.

Au cours d'un voyage en Amérique, Lord Baltimore rencontra un ancien sauvage devenu chrétien, le sieur Williams qui, à sa requête, écrivit pour lui ses aventures et sa vie infortunée.

> Le sieur Williams rend grâces aujourd'hui de tout son cœur à la Providence qui a daigné le retirer de ce labyrinthe d'erreurs, où il étoit plongé. Ne le condamnons point avec notre précipitation ordinaire celui qui marchoit dans les ténébres. Eh, connaissons-nous jusqu'où peut descendre la foiblesse de l'homme lorsqu'il est livré à lui-même? O homme! dans ce tableau contemple toute ta misère; vois les rêves de ton fragile entendement; connois ta dépendance; oui, tu as besoin du secours d'un bras divin qui t'arrache aux bords du précipice où ton aveuglement te conduit. Songe que ta grandeur est de connoitre ta foiblesse; avoue ton impuissance, et entrevois avec les plus sages que la Nature seule est une mauvaise législatrice (p. 17).

Dans bien des romans exotiques, on voit ainsi un sage vieillard, le plus souvent un bon sauvage, tirer la morale de l'histoire, et un discours de ce genre est un *obligato* à toutes les aventures du désert. Mais ici l'accent est différent. Il ne s'agit plus de condamner la civilisation et de vanter la bonté et l'innocence des Indiens, mais au contraire de montrer la nécessité de corriger la nature par la religion. C'est déjà le discours du Père Aubry et plus encore le discours du Père Souël, où Sainte-Beuve, à tort selon nous, voyait une "moralité plaquée."

Après ce sermon-préface, arrivons à l'histoire elle-même. Zidzem et Zaka, Chébutois échappés par miracle au massacre de leur tribu par les Espagnols, ont été élevés dans la solitude par leur père Azeb, philosophe sauvage qui semble pénétré des théories de *l'Emile*. Ils grandissent livrés à eux-mêmes, sans enseignement moral ou religieux, et quand l'adolescence vient ils cèdent avec transports à la voix de la nature qui les attire l'un vers l'autre. Un enfant leur naît bientôt et leurs jours auraient coulé dans le bonheur et l'ignorance si le tentateur sous la forme d'Alonzo, un Espagnol recueilli par pitié, n'avait pénétré dans ce paradis ter-

[8] Voir cependant L. Béclard: *Sébastien Mercier, sa vie, son œuvre, son temps*, Paris, 1903, et G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, Paris, 1913, p. 413.

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restre. Azeb étant mort, Alonzo détermine les deux enfants de la nature à le suivre dans la civilisation. Devenu amoureux de Zaka, il jette une nuit dans le fleuve l'infortuné Zidzem qui échappe par miracle aux coups d'aviron que lui assène l'odieux Espagnol. Après des épreuves inouïes et atroces, Zidzem arrive dans une ville, non sans s'être marié et s'être converti en route, et apprend par hasard que Zaka qu'il croyait morte a trouvé refuge dans un couvent des environs. Son amour pour sa sœur renaît plus fort que jamais à cette nouvelle; il abandonne tout pour se précipiter vers le couvent. Mais Zaka, devenue chrétienne et baptisée sous le nom de Mariamne, le repousse avec horreur et lui envoie dans une lettre un dernier adieu qui a fourni quelques traits à la lettre d'Amélie à René.

Lettre de Mariamne à Zidzem

Pourquoi, ô Zidzem! ta présence profane-t-elle cette sainte solitude, que la religion et le repentir habitent. Mon devoir, mes sermens, tout m'oblige à t'oublier. Pourquoi tes gémissemens viennent-ils redoubler l'horreur qui me consume, et r'ouvrir une blessure que le tems et les remords doivent fermer? Eh! n'ai-je point assez du fardeau de mon crime et des menaces du ciel. Zidzem! ce que tu nommois un amour innocent est un amour horrible et détesté, que la Nature réprouve et que la bouche de tous les hommes condamne. La rougeur couvre mon front; la honte est mon éternel partage. O malheureux frère! les liens du sang sont trop étroits pour former d'autres noeuds, et l'amitié sainte et pure exclut l'amour criminel. Il est un Juge suprême, et sa loi me défend de nourrir une flamme coupable. Sa justice est inexorable et terrible; je tremble pour toi, frère infortuné: ouvre les yeux, le monde entier t'accuse; dans les ténèbres de notre ignorance rien ne nous distinguoit de la brute. . . Je prends la plume pour toucher ton cœur, puisse-t-il m'imiter dans son repentir; peut-être en te peignant mes larmes, je te laisse voir malgré moi une partie du trop cher penchant que je veux dompter. Je frémis de l'énormité de mon crime, et ton image cruellement me poursuit. O! évite-moi de tomber dans les gouffres enflammés où l'Eternel punit pendant l'éternité. Sois généreux, compatissant, aie pitié de mes maux, de mes combats, ils sont affreux; tranquillise cette âme que tu déchires: est-ce à toi d'y régner lorsque Dieu la demande sans réserve! Si je te suis chère, ne me vois plus. . . . . Mot cruel! mais, hélas! il faut que tu m'oublies, et que tu me permettes le bonheur de t'oublier. Je suis dans un asyle sacré où nous levons des mains pures vers le ciel; ne trouble point ce culte qu'une foible créature doit à son Créateur. Ce peu de jours que j'ai à vivre, et que le chagrin et la douleur minent à pas lents, vont s'écouler dans les austérités et les larmes de la pénitence; et pendant ce tems, mes prières monteront au trône de l'Eternel pour obtenir ta grâce et la mienne. Adieu, mon frère, c'est le seul nom qu'il me soit permis de

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te donner. Je suis en présence de la justice Divine, je vais lui offrir nuit et jour mes pleurs; mes pleurs la désarmeront en ta faveur, et elle laissera tomber sa vengeance sur moi seule, comme la plus criminelle dans l'excès de son amour (p. 285).

Comme René, Zidzem blasphème et maudit les lois humaines et divines qui le séparent de celle qu'il aime. Il essaie vainement de fléchir Zaka, ou plutôt Mariamne dont il admire l'héroïsme et la vertu, tout en se sentant "trop faible pour l'imiter." "Elle prit peu de tems après le voile, pour me ravir le reste de mon espérance. Elle prononça ses vœux avec une fermeté douce, et un courage sans faste et sans efforts. J'étois présent." .... Après avoir promené son désespoir autour du monastère qui enferme Zaka et la dérobe au monde qui lui était devenu odieux, Zidzem rencontre non point le Père Souël, mais un Anglais philosophe, M. Dorlington, qui lui révèle les beautés et la grandeur de cette religion qui exige de tels sacrifices. Plus heureux que René cependant, il finit par trouver sinon le bonheur au moins l'apaisement:

Je trouvai un vaisseau qui faisoit voile pour l'Angleterre, j'en profitai; pendant le trajet, j'eus lieu de pardonner aux hommes, j'en connus un qui fait l'honneur de l'humanité, c'est le vertueux Monsieur Dorlington, le plus honnête homme de la terre, et dont l'âme douce, tendre, bienfaisante, éclairée, a fait mon bonheur: il devint mon meilleur ami. Il reconnut en moi cette simplicité précieuse de la Nature, que tant de revers n'avoient pu encore altérer; je lui plûs beaucoup; il m'apprit à connoître cette religion sainte que l'intérêt de mon amour m'avoit fait adopter. Sa morale pure et sublime gagna mon cœur, ses préceptes me parurent un soutien assuré pour la foiblesse humaine, et ses promesses également consolantes et élevées. Je l'aimai, cette religion auguste, parce qu'il n'en est point qui rabaisse davantage l'homme orgueilleux, et qui mette plus d'égalité parmi les adorateurs du même Dieu. Elle nous montre à la fois toute notre dignité et notre foiblesse; elle nous donne des lumières lorsque notre raison ambitieuse nous abandonne..... Je commerçai pendant cinq ans, et la fortune me favorisa. L'amour de la patrie et de la retraite, le peu de goût que j'avois pour la façon de vivre des Européens me ramenèrent en Amérique: j'ai choisi .... pour mon habitation. Ici, je vis avec des livres et ma pensée, préférant la bonhommie de Caboul, dont l'âme grossière est droite, franche, sensible et vertueuse, aux entretiens ingénieux et flatteurs des autres hommes. Aussi détaché du monde que désabusé, je tâche de rentrer dans l'état de la bonne Nature, en conformant mes goûts à ses volontés, et en ne me permettant que des désirs simples et aisés à satisfaire. J'ai trop désiré, je ne désire plus rien. Cette flamme active et dévorante a épuisé mon cœur; il est devenu inaccessible aux traits de l'amour, il a été trop profondément blessé pour

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l'être une seconde fois. Il a perdu son ressort; il n'est plus depuis qu'il est privé de Zaka. Le repos, l'indépendance, une légère méditation au pied d'un arbre, un soupir qui s'échappe vers le Cloître de St. Salvator, voilà ce qui compose mon bonheur (p. 307).

Cette fois la situation est bien la même: dans l'un et l'autre cas, deux êtres qui s'aiment d'un amour coupable sont séparés par la religion; dans l'un et l'autre cas, les héroïnes se réfugient dans un couvent et prient pour le bonheur de celui à qui elles ont renoncé; dans l'un et l'autre cas, la foi triomphe des élans illicites du cœur et le couvent de San Salvator n'est autre que le cloître où se réfugie Amélie.

Si Chateaubriand lui-même n'a pas mentionné son prédécesseur, la ressemblance n'aurait pas échappé à Mercier qui selon les *Mercieriana* se serait flatté de voir dans son petit roman le prototype *d'Atala* (*Biographie générale* et Béclard, p. 44). Au lieu *d'Atala*, lisons *René* et la protestation de l'auteur de *l'Homme sauvage* serait encore plus légitime. De même qu'au total Chateaubriand avait pris l'affabulation *d'Atala* dans *Odérahi*,[9] sans rendre hommage à son humble prédécesseur Palisot de Beauvois, il est certain qu'à bon droit, *l'Homme Sauvage* peut être considéré comme "le frère aîné de *René*." Mais comme dans *Atala*, la transformation était si profonde et si essentielle que la dette était vraiment mince. Chateaubriand pouvait être conscient de ses emprunts, mais il était bien plus conscient encore de son originalité quand il a déclaré:

Qu'on prenne un tableau impie, qu'on le place auprès d'un tableau religieux composé sur le même sujet, et tiré du *Génie du Christianisme*, on ose avancer que ce dernier tableau, tout imparfait qu'il puisse être, affoiblira le dangereux effet du premier; tant a de force la simple vérité rapprochée du plus brillant mensonge.[10]

Telle est en effet la différence essentielle qui sépare Chateaubriand de ses prédécesseurs et cette différence ne se peut comprendre que si on a recours à la lumière fournie par le *Génie* pour l'étudier. Ici encore c'est à Chateaubriand lui-même que nous demanderons de nous guider.

Dans le *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, Diderot venait d'avancer sa fameuse théorie de la guerre civile entre l'homme naturel et l'homme artificiel:

[9] Voir Chinard, *L'Exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand* et *Revue Bleue*, 21 décembre 1912 et Paul Hazard, "L'auteur d'Odérahi," *Revue de littérature comparée*, juillet 1923.

[10] *Défense du Génie*, p. v, p. 159.

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Voulez-vous savoir l'histoire abrégée de presque toute notre misère? La voici. Il existoit un homme naturel: on a introduit au dedans de cet homme un homme artificiel, et il s'est élevé dans la caverne une guerre civile qui dure toute la vie. Tantôt l'homme naturel est le plus fort; tantôt il est terrassé par l'homme moral et artificiel; et dans l'un et l'autre cas, le triste monstre est tiraillé, tenaillé, tourmenté, étendu sur la roue, sans cesse gémissant, sans cesse malheureux; soit qu'un faux enthousiasme de gloire le transporte et l'enivre, ou qu'une fausse ignominie le courbe et l'abatte.

La philosophie naturiste du dix-huitième siècle s'était acharnée à tuer cet homme artificiel et avait tâché de supprimer ce dualisme sans arriver à autre chose qu'à rendre les passions sans objets et sans frein. C'est précisément l'état même que Chateaubriand a analysé dans son chapitre sur le *Vague des passions* et qu'il a repris dans les *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe.*

Ne pouvant jouir de ce qui n'existait pas, j'étais comme ces hommes mutilés qui rêvent des béatitudes pour eux insaisissables, et qui se créent un songe dont les plaisirs égalent les tortures de l'enfer . . . . un secret instinct m'avertissait qu'en avançant dans le monde, je ne trouverois rien de ce que je cherchais.

Ce n'est que plus tard qu'il reconnut les causes de sa détresse et qu'il s'aperçut que comme beaucoup de ses contemporains il était un grand blessé de la bataille philosophique, et c'est la confession douloureuse de cette mutilation que nous avons dans *René.* Arriva-t-il jamais à recouvrer la foi perdue? C'est fort douteux, et en tout cas ce n'était plus la foi de son enfance, vivante et capable de grands élans. Il y substitua un christianisme à lui, un christianisme esthétique qu'on lui a fort reproché; mais il n'en sentit pas moins qu'à la base même de la morale "qui avait changé parmi les hommes, du moins parmi les hommes chrétiens, depuis la prédication de l'Evangile" se trouvait ce dualisme irréductible que les "philosophes" s'étaient efforcés d'abolir.

Le christianisme seul a établi ces terribles combats de la chair et de l'esprit, si favorables aux grands effets dramatiques. Voyez dans Héloïse, la plus fougueuse des passions luttant contre une religion menaçante. Héloïse aime, Héloïse brûle, mais là s'élèvent des murs glacés; là, tout s'éteint sous des marbres insensibles; là des châtiments ou des récompenses éternelles attendent sa chute ou son triomphe. . . . . Au reste, on sent que ces cloîtres, que ces voûtes, que ces mœurs austères, en contraste avec l'amour malheureux, en doivent augmenter encore la force et la mélancolie.[11]

[11] *Lettre à M. de Fontanes sur la deuxième édition de l'ouvrage de Madame de Staël.*

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C'est qu'en effet Amélie séparée de René est encore bien plus Héloïse séparée d'Abélard que Mariamne écrivant du couvent de San Salvator à Zidzem. Quand il composa la fameuse lettre d'Amélie à René, Chateaubriand, comme il l'a fait tant de fois ailleurs, a repris et refait un passage de son œuvre antérieure. Il avait lu la piètre pièce de Colardeau sur Abélard et Héloïse et lui avait opposé l'original de Pope qu'il avait lui-même traduit mot à mot. On y trouvera le canevas même de la partie de la lettre où Amélie, enfin résignée, décrit à son frère les joies pures de la vie monacale:

Heureuse la vierge sans taches qui oublie le monde, et que le monde oublie. L'éternelle joie de son âme est de sentir que toutes ses prières sont exaucées, tous ses vœux résignés. Le travail et le repos partagent également ses jours; son sommeil facile cède sans efforts aux pleurs et aux veilles. Ses désirs sont réglés, ses goûts toujours les mêmes; elle s'enchante par ses larmes, et ses soupirs sont pour le Ciel. La grâce répand autour d'elle ses rayons les plus sereins; des anges lui *soufflent* tout bas les plus beaux songes. Pour elle, l'époux prépare l'anneau nuptial; pour elle, de blanches vestales entonnent l'hyménée: c'est pour elle que fleurit la rose d'Eden, qui ne se fane jamais, et que les séraphins répandent les parfums de leurs ailes. Elle meurt enfin au son des harpes célestes, et s'évanouit dans les visions d'un jour éternel.[12]

Ainsi remis dans son cadre dont Chateaubriand lui-même nous a fourni presque tous les éléments, la véritable signification de *René* apparaît nettement. Exactement documenté sur toutes les œuvres antérieures où des sujets analogues avaient été traités, Chateaubriand a bien voulu, comme il l'a déclaré dans sa préface, "combattre des poèmes et des romans impies avec des poèmes et des romans pieux." La pure figure de Lucile s'estompe et n'occupe plus qu'une place minime dans le roman tandis que s'accuse la ressemblance entre Amélie et les héroïnes de maintes fictions et de maints poèmes. Sans doute *René* reste par beaucoup de points un roman autobiographique, mais c'est aussi la reprise sur un mode chrétien d'un thème bien souvent exploité auparavant par les poètes et les dramaturges. C'est enfin contre les philosophes du monde païen et de leurs disciples du dix-huitième siècle, l'affirmation "de notre double nature, des contradictions de notre être, du haut et bas de notre cœur, et de ces terribles combats de la chair et de l'esprit si favorables aux grands effets dramatiques."

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[12] *Génie*, II, liv. III, c. V.

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XV

BRITISH REPUBLICATION OF AMERICAN WRITINGS, 1783–1833

THE student of Anglo-American literary relations in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is continually impressed by the number and kind of American books printed or reprinted in Great Britain. A full knowledge of the facts of such publication would almost certainly throw light on the whole matter of the reception of American writings in England. From what market did the publisher receive, or hope to receive, his return? What sorts of English readers bought the different classes of works? Or were the reprints sometimes sent back to compete with the American issues? Do periods in which there were many such reprints indicate waves of interest in things American, or merely that more American works offered themselves for republication at certain times?

A few instances of early republication are well known. Irving's biographers all record the fact that *Salmagundi* was reprinted in London in 1811. *Salmagundi* was a series of light, rather juvenile Addisonian essays brought out in New York by Washington Irving and two collaborators in 1807. It is full of local and temporary allusions, more or less veiled, to the society belles of the city, to minor public characters, to current theatrical events—mixed, naturally, with amateurish discussions of literary and other matters of more general interest. Why, when these local ephemera were four years old, and must have begun to need explanation to many residents of New York, should they be reprinted in London? A later republication of the same work in 1823 is readily understandable. Then, Washington Irving was a literary lion, and even his juvenile attempts were read out of curiosity; but until the appearance of the *Sketch Book* in 1819 he was virtually unknown in England, and the 1811 edition of *Salmagundi* bore no author's name. In the instance just cited an American work was republished with notes and comments on its American origin. A somewhat different phenomenon is found in the publication of James Fenimore Cooper's first novel, *Precaution*, which was issued in London in 1821 with no hint of its trans-Atlantic origin, and reviewed by several magazines with no reference to alien authorship. There is a tradition that the publisher, Colburn, in bringing it out, believed it to be the work of an English lady of rank. Since it must have been put in type from a copy with an

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American imprint it is hard to see how he could have been so deceived—even if Cooper's portrayal of English society life were accurate enough to pass unsuspected. A rumor of anonymous noble authorship might well help the sale of a novel, and perhaps the publisher was not unwilling to let such a report go uncorrected. At all events a mediocre novel by an American writer then unknown was reprinted as a commercial venture.

The cases of *Salmagundi* and *Precaution* are well known because the authors of both afterward became famous. In many other instances time did not so well justify the estimate of the publisher. So many of these came to light in the course of another study that it seemed worth while to make a superficial investigation. Unfortunately data are hard to secure. The book-trade lists for this period are incomplete, and judged by the standards of modern bibliography are woefully inaccurate. Most of the publishing houses in business at this time have long since gone out of existence, and the few that nominally survive have so changed that records and traditions of old transactions are lost, or at least are not accessible to the student. Even the books themselves are difficult to find. The British Museum collection is, in general, weaker for these fifty years than for any other period in the history of English literature; and the early American books which it possesses are more likely to be in the American than in the English editions—a fact which may have some significance.

The most important contemporary catalogues of this time are those compiled by William Bent from 1779 to 1823. Bent also founded the *Monthly Literary Advertiser*, which is of considerable value to the bibliographer. The most useful modern compilation covering the period is the *English Catalogue*, 1801–1836. These and such other bibliographical guides as were available have been examined for the period from 1783 to 1833. The results are necessarily unsatisfactory. The entries in the London catalogues of Bent are of the briefest sort, ordinarily one line each. Except in one issue, that of 1803, the publisher is not named. Author's names are given in the possessive, if at all. Long titles are so abbreviated that it is difficult to identify even a known work; and there is nothing to indicate whether the authorship was English or foreign, unless the reader chances to recognize the title. It is certain that some, perhaps many, American works were overlooked for this reason. Moreover, the incompleteness of the lists is shown by the absence of many works now found in the

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British Museum, or reviewed in contemporary periodicals. It is not clear whether these omissions are due to oversight, or to a policy of ignoring the output of piratical publishers.[1]

The British Museum contains but a small proportion of the reprints known to have been issued. Often, as has been said, it has the American but not the English edition. It is difficult to say whether this is because of the method of collection and purchase employed in building up the library, or because the English reprint was in cheaper and less respectable form. An examination of a considerable number of volumes throws little light on this matter, though in general the English reprints seem worthy examples of book-making, and compare well with the output of the better American printers. Some, indeed, bear the imprint of English houses of the highest standing.

British interest in certain kinds of American writings was natural. American histories, and as time went on the biographies of Americans prominent in the founding of the nation were read eagerly, as similar German utterances have been read in allied countries since the World War. State papers, especially such as had a bearing on international relations, were widely read in England; and as newspapers then carried less of such matter *in extenso*, Congressional reports, Presidents' messages, etc., were often issued and sold in pamphlet form. Economic documents and treatises were also interesting to a commercial nation. Reports of scientific research in the new country were of universal interest and were sure to be thoroughly examined in England, and if of value were republished there. Religious controversy and theological discussion have no national lines; and it should be remembered that some of the dissenting sects were more flourishing in America than in England, and found their most learned, scholarly, and astute supporters in the New World. Channing as an exponent of Unitarianism was well known in England, and his more important writings and many of his published sermons were promptly reprinted there. Channing's vogue outside his own sect was probably enhanced by the fact that in his once famous discourses on Napoleon he took the British rather than the French view.

[1] "The books inserted are the authentic editions, printed for the original proprietors or their assigns, no others being intended to be noticed, except some few, the genuine edition of which has been long out of print"—from Bent's *A General Catalogue of Books in all languages, arts and sciences, printed in Great Britain and published in London, from the year MDCC to MDCCLXXXVI. London, 1786.*

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A little earlier the theological writings of President Timothy Dwight were many times reprinted, and apparently met a need not exactly supplied by any English supporters of the same faith. It is harder to understand why the American *Book of Common Prayer* should be published in England in 1789 and again in 1833. Both editions are exact reprints of the Philadelphia issue, the former even retaining the American copyright certificate. Neither has any English note or comment. While English churchmen would be interested in the changes made by the American revisers it is hardly to be supposed that many of them would purchase the whole Prayerbook. Possibly the edition may have been exported to America; but the British Museum copies show no distinction of form that would help them in competition with the native product.

There were, clearly, several classes of books the reprinting of which is easily explained. It is especially works of pure literature concerning which questions arise. From the data collected, the republication of writings of this class seems to have fallen in periods. Shortly after the Revolution there was an interest in the attempts to create an American literature, and this led to the prompt reprinting of several American works. Thus, Humphrey's *Poem Addressed to the Armies of the United States* appeared in New Haven in 1784, in London in 1785.[2] Barlow's *Vision of Columbus* was reprinted in 1787, the same year that it appeared in America. There was a London edition of Dwight's *Conquest of Canaan* in 1788, and one of the *Triumph of Infidelity* in 1791(?). The same year saw the publication in London of Barlow's *Conspiracy of Kings*, this being the first edition, not a reprint.[3]

For about a decade after 1792 there were few reprints, possibly because few American books of that time seemed of value, but more probably because of a natural reaction against excessive interest in American affairs. Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry*, Hopkinson's *Essays* (some of which were plagiarized in England),

[2] No great pains has been taken in the verification of the dates given in the next few paragraphs. Authorities are sometimes at variance, especially in case of works published not long before or after January 1. Imprint dates and dates of publication are not always the same; and a book did not always appear on the exact date that had been announced. There may be a few variations of a year; it is unlikely that there are any greater than this.

[3] Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* also appeared in London in 1787, a year in advance of its publication in America.

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Dwight's *Greenfield Hill*, Barlow's *Hasty Pudding*, Brown's *Wieland* and *Ormond*, and some other works that appeared during the years in question surely had as much merit as many that were chosen for republication in other years. With the opening of the century, however, came a return of interest. Tyler's *Algerine Captive* was issued in London in 1802, as were Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* and *Edgar Huntley*.[4] The next year, 1804, saw the appearance of Adams' *Letters from Silesia*, Linn's *Powers of Genius*, Brown's *Jane Talbot*, and Mason's *Oration on Hamilton*, and the first volume of Marshall's *Life of Washington*. The first edition of Fessenden's *Poems* was published in London in this year. Though this was not a reprint the author appealed as an American to British readers. His *Poetical Petition* (*Terrible Tractoration*) had been published anonymously in 1803, and seems not to have been recognized as the work of an American. Brown's *Philip Stanley* (*Clara Howard*) was issued in London in 1807, *Wieland* and *Ormond* in 1810.[5] Barlow's *Columbiad*, published in 1807, was not reprinted until 1809. *Salmagundi*, already mentioned, came out in 1811. The London republication in 1811 of Thomas' *History of Printing in America* is significant, though the work is not itself one of pure literature. Paulding's *Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*, and Dunlap's *Memoir of Cooke*, both of which were published in New York in 1813, were promptly reprinted in England, and Paulding's *Lay of the Scottish Fiddle* was brought out in 1814, though during these years the United States and England were at war. All three of these works had a natural interest for English readers, though for different reasons.

The close of the War of 1812 seems to have been followed by a lull in the republication of American books. The great revival of interest in American writings came with the appearance of the *Sketch Book* in 1819, followed by that of the *Spy* in 1821. Cooper's earlier novel, *Precaution*, already referred to, seems to have made no great stir, and was not known by most of its readers to be the

[4] Alibone gives 1803 for *Arthur Mervyn*, and 1804 for *Edgar Huntley*; but Alibone is clearly wrong in some of his dates for Brown. On the other hand, I am not wholly sure of some of mine. In most cases I have followed the *British Catalogue*. Few of these reprints are in the British Museum or the Library of Congress; and in at least one case the imprint date of the British Museum copy is a year later than the *British Catalogue* date. There may have been an earlier and a later impression, but when books were printed from type this was not common.

[5] Alibone says 1806 and 1811, respectively. The British Museum copy of Wieland has the imprint date 1811.

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work of an American. All Irving's later writings appeared simultaneously in England and America, and enterprising publishers reprinted the *Knickerbocker History*, *Salmagundi* (1823), and even the still more juvenile *Jonathan Oldstyle Papers* (1824). Cooper's novels were also reissued in England at the earliest possible moment. There was a renewal of interest in Brown, with new editions of some of his writings, and a reprint of Dunlap's *Memoir*. Interest in American writers of fiction swept Miss Sedgwick into favor, and there were London editions of her *New England Tale* in 1822, *Redwood* in 1824, *The Traveller* in 1825, *Hope Leslie* in 1827, *Clarence* in 1830. Paulding's *Koningsmarke* was reprinted in 1823, *The Dutchman's Fireside* in 1830. John Neal gained much advertising from his visit to England in 1823–27, and his articles on American Literature in *Blackwood's*. His *Seventy-Six* appeared in London in 1823, *Brother Jonathan* in 1825, *Authorship* in 1830. Sarah J. Hale's *Sidney Romelee* was published there in 1827.

By 1830 the custom of reprinting American books was well established, and the choice of works was on the whole more easily understandable. Among many reprinted in the years 1832 and 1833 were Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, Longfellow's *Outre Mer*, Bryant's *Poems*, Paulding's *Banks of the Ohio, or Westward Ho*, *The Tales of the Glauber Spa*, Willis's *Pencilling's by the Way*, Marie Gowen Brooks' *Zophiel*. America was also furnishing a large number of moral and popular educational writings, of the sorts associated with the names of Peter Parley, Jacob Abbott, Sarah J. Hale, and Lydia Maria Child. One or two of the American annuals, such as the *Token*, were also issued in London.

A glance at dates shows three periods during which republication of American works was notable—one shortly after the Revolution, one, longer but less marked, from about 1802 through the War of 1812, and another after 1820. The first was a natural result of the War and the beginnings of business and political relations with a new nation. The last is readily enough explained by the popularity of Irving and Cooper and some of their contemporaries who though now nearly forgotten were not in all respects far inferior. If little was reprinted in the last decade of the eighteenth century it may have been because English readers, having satisfied their first curiosity regarding American poets and essayists, found the writings of those years wanting in interest. It was not until Brown's novels appeared that anything especially struck the popular fancy. Even the first republication of these novels by a

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house of no great reputation created little stir. The greatest vogue of Brown in England came later, when he was taken up by Colburn. The briefer lull in reprints after the War of 1812 is harder to explain, and may have little significance. British reviews of these years give a fair amount of attention to such American works as reached them. Indeed, this was the time of some of the most acrimonious discussion on the question whether America had or could have a literature.

There is little to aid in answering the important question regarding the kind of public to which these reprints appealed. The fact, already cited, that many of them are not found in the British Museum and other dignified English libraries may or may not mean much. It is noticeable that many of them, particularly those of the later eighteenth century, are common in American collections, and are frequently listed in American dealers' catalogues; but it is difficult to say how many of these found original sale here, and how many are recent importations. An examination of bindings, book-plates, etc., in a number of such volumes leads to the conclusion that many, perhaps most of them are of the latter class. Interest in Americana of this period came a trifle later in England than at home. While now English dealers often have an exaggerated idea of the value of American items, there was a time when desired volumes could sometimes be picked from the six-penny and shilling shelves; and during that time private and commercial collectors made the most of their opportunities.

In a few cases special explanations for republications may be found. It is probable that Linn's theological controversy with Priestley, in which he took the orthodox side, made his name so well known that a publisher considered it good advertising for his poem, *The Powers of Genius*. The edition of *Salmagundi*, mentioned earlier in this paper, was due to the enthusiasm of John Lambert, who was in America when the essays first appeared.[6] So far as is known it attracted little attention, though

[6] Lambert says that he included some of the papers, as a specimen of American literature, in his *Travels*, which had a small circulation because most of the edition was destroyed by fire. "The few essays from the Salmagundi, given in that work, having been greatly admired, I have been induced to publish the whole, together with an Introductory Essay and explanatory notes; these last will, I trust serve to elucidate such passages as are of a local nature, and, I hope, render my readers better acquainted with American manners than they have hitherto been. Should I have the good fortune to be instrumental to the removal of one single prejudice

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the Monthly Review made it the subject of a fairly long and not unfavorable article. There seems to be no way of knowing whether it met with a satisfactory sale.

It is probable that special and personal reasons now unknown account for the reprinting of a few of the other American works that appeared during this period. Many of them were doubtless taken up by small publishers looking about for something they could print without payment to the author. The lack of editing, almost of examination, is shown when dedications, copyright notices, and other material of no possible interest in England are included—as if the American volume had been handed to the printer for copy without a glance. That these reprints were not wild sporadic ventures is shown, however, by the number of them, often by the number brought out by a single publisher. It is a fair inference that as a whole they must have paid. As much exportation is unlikely they may be taken as an indication of the existence of a fairly wide interest in American writings on the part of the bookbuying public of Great Britain.

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against the Americans, or, in any way, tend to conciliate the minds of my countrymen in favor of a people whose character has been grossly misrepresented, I shall feel myself amply repaid for my trouble." This edition was printed for J. M. Richardson, 23 Cornhill. For some reason it is not listed in the *English Catalogue from 1801 to 1836.*

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XVI

JEUNES GENS AS PLURAL OF *JEUNE HOMME*

NO FOREIGNER learning French fails to remark the use of *jeunes gens* as the plural of *jeune homme*. The French, for whom this plural is a part of their linguistic inheritance, usually accept it unquestioningly, but in the *Mélanges Antoine Thomas*[1] Professor Oscar Bloch of the Lycée Buffon at Paris notes the abnormality of the expression and seeks to explain its origin. The cause of the disappearance of a plural *jeunes hommes* is, he thinks, to be found in a hesitation to employ, in a combination of the two words where the separate value of each is still in evidence, the linked *s*. In other combinations where such a linking to *hommes* occurs, such as *les bonshommes*, *les gentilshommes*, we have, says Mr. Bloch, true compound words in which the separate value of the elements has been lost.

This suggestion might seem to find a certain support in the rarity of *les vieux hommes*, replaced by *les vieillards*, but it can not fail to awaken hesitation when we recall *les grands hommes*, where linking accords itself perfectly to a separate value of the two words. Our hesitation is strengthened into conviction when we marshal the combinations of *jeunes* and plural substantives other than *hommes*, for we find abundant parallels wherein linking in no wise runs counter to the speech feeling: *les jeunes amis*, *les jeunes étrangers*, *les jeunes instituteurs*, *les jeunes hôteliers*, *les jeunes orateurs*, *les jeunes ouvriers*, etc., etc. Let us therefore turn from the exterior form of the words and seek a solution in the nature of their connotations in the French language.

It is in the first place important to note that for *jeune homme* we have no right to say that the combination of the two words represents, even approximately, the sum total of their separate values. *Un jeune homme* is not a man in the period of earlier manhood, an idea expressed either by *jeune* employed substantively: *un jeune*; or else by *homme* with *jeune* in postposition: *un homme jeune*, as in this passage from Edmond About (quoted by Plattner in his grammar): "Pas un jeune homme! Pas même un homme jeune, excepté moi qui suis hors de soupçon." The meaning of *jeune homme* is not "young man" but "youth," a male of the period between childhood and full manhood; *un jeune*

[1] Paris, 1897, pp. 29–34.

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homme is the masculine correlative to *une jeune fille*, who is not a "young woman" but a "girl."

For the feminine the development of the various French terms is intimately linked up with the earlier status of the female child in the family group. A descendant of female sex was regarded as a satellite of the parental family, and maintained this relation unless she married. She then either was transferred to the orbit of the parental family of her husband or took her place in a new family in process of creation. Thus the unmarried female was primarily a "daughter," and daughter she remained until she became a wife and in this wise became a "woman." Even the abandoned young person who refused to abide by the family law did not thereby cease to be a *fille*; the term *fille* was merely stripped of the qualifying adjective or possessive which had served to mark out a place for this *fille* in organized society and so to establish her good repute. There is nothing haphazard in the linguistic phenomenon whereby "woman" and "wife" are in France one and the same word, for in no Western country has the attainment of full womanhood been more strongly felt to hinge upon entry into the domain of wifedom. If a daughter had not entered this domain she was, according to her age, *une petite fille, une jeune fille, une vieille fille.* And remark that in France the period covered by the term *vieille fille* starts as soon as the period of girlhood is well past—that the terminology makes no provision in the case of an unmarried woman for a period of mature womanhood. To the indication of youthfulness, the combination of *jeune* and *fille* lends itself with double effectiveness, *fille* already connoting the subordinate and in a sense immature member of the household who had not yet become a *femme.* For the period when the language was taking shape nothing was more natural than that *une jeune fille, des jeunes filles* should become fixed as the formulas for "girl," "girls."

For adolescents of the male sex a term was equally requisite, but their differing social situation made an exact parallelism of terminology impracticable. The son's liberation from the status of a satellite in the parental family in no wise so overwhelmingly hinged upon his marrying. He more readily than his sister could while still single quit the family circle; instead of following his mate to her fireside he more normally introduced her into his parents' home; and with the loss of the father from the household the eldest son, even though a youth, was accounted the head of

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the family, and could be esteemed *un homme fait*. The transformation of the primary status of the male in no decisive fashion centering about his marriage, there arose no series of terms *petit fils, jeune fils, vieux fils* to parallel *petite fille, jeune fille, vieille fille.*

Whither then was the French language to turn for the masculine equivalent of *jeune fille*? *Garçon*, in some measure a counterpart of *fille*, provided no solution, *garçon* being basally "child of the male sex," so that *un jeune garçon* is not "a youth" but "a boy." But in the masculine a solution was available which in the feminine would have been out of the question. *Une jeune femme* could mean only "a young matron" and was incapable of a gradual transfer into the signification "a maiden nearing womanhood"; this immovability in the value of *jeune femme* left no place for the term *une femme jeune*, which consequently failed to take firm root in the speech. On the other hand, *un jeune homme* was a suitable term for any young male who had assumed man's responsibilities, and this flexibility of *jeune homme* both permitted and invited a perpetuation of *un homme jeune* for "un homme fait mais toujours jeune." The existence side by side of the two expressions gave the language all the fuller liberty to follow its natural tendency and invest the preposed adjective with a diminishing or subtractive effect upon the substantive, a tendency which would favor the application of *jeune homme* to a man who by reason of his tender years was not yet wholly a man—in short, to a youth. And as other historically antecedent terms which had been applied to youths—*jouvenceau, bachelier, demoiseau, valet*—ceased, for various reasons which have been pointed out by Mr. Bloch, to be applicable in this sense, the subtractive value of *jeune* in *jeune homme* became its exclusive value, and *un jeune homme* was standardized in the meaning "a youth," whether or not that youth showed the characteristics of an adult.

The firm establishment of the twin phraseology *jeune homme, jeune fille* was a natural outgrowth of French social conventions and French linguistic tendencies. It is true that in the process a bit of violence was done to the word *homme*, which now became an essential component of a term which had ceased to connote, save for its designation of masculine sex, the normal manly attributes; but when has human language failed to employ such violence if the end attained was felt to justify the means? Witness the similar violence which has been done to "man" in the English "man-child," and the far more devastating violence which has

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been done to the French *fille* when the word is unaccompanied by a saving qualifier.

The masculine correspondent to *une jeune fille* having taken the form *un jeune homme*, what was to be the correspondent to *des jeunes filles*? It would seem that the same procedure which had transformed "young man" into "youth" could apply to the plural and give us *des jeunes hommes*. And so it could; see the examples of Mr. Bloch for this expression, extending down to the time of La Fontaine, who refers in Fable 8 of Book XI to *trois jouvenceaux* whom he calls in the title of the fable *les trois jeunes hommes*. But, as we have seen, the change in signification for the singular was made in order to meet a need for which no other adequate solution was to hand; for the plural another solution was offered by *des jeunes gens*, an expression lacking a singular. It is true that theoretically this expression was applied to groups of young folks of either sex or of the two sexes; for groups of girls, however, there existed in *des jeunes filles* a specific designation which met all needs, and social conditions occasioned more frequent reference to exclusively masculine than to mixed agglomerations. To offer a single illustration out of many, the *jeunes gens* of the university were males, and these males were divided into manifold sub-groups according to nationality, province, prospective career and the like. In the whole social and industrial structure of the nation, the instances in which a collective term applicable to young people would by inevitable or by natural implication embrace only youths were far the more numerous. Compare the inevitable implication regarding *gent* in the opening portion of the ten-syllable version of the *Roman d'Alexandre*:

> Ot lui esteit de jovne gent asez,
> De filz de contes e de filz d'amirez
> Qui tuit lo servent volenters e de gré[2];

and compare further the natural implication regarding *genz* when Guillaume de Lorris says in the *Roman de la Rose* (ed. Langlois, 21–25):

> Ou vintieme an de mon aage,
> Ou point qu'Amors prent le paage
> Des juenes genz, couchiez m'estoie
> Une nuit, si con je soloie,
> E me dormoie mout forment.

[2] Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, I, 29.

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Between a plural *des jeunes hommes* transferred in meaning from "young men" to "youths," and a plural *des jeunes gens* restricted to males in such cases as the attendant circumstances did not clearly point to a mixed group, the language for a time hesitated. It might standardize *des jeunes hommes*, and for this it had the support of the singular *un jeune homme*, though the plural was free from the pressure exercised in the singular by the absence there of any adequate alternative. Or it might standardize *des jeunes gens*, which would involve only adopting a little more definitely what was already the normal interpretation in all instances where there was nothing to show that the broader meaning of *gens* was to be retained. In a parallel situation the English has taken this very course, for both "youths" and the singular "a youth," now exclusively masculine, have in their origin nothing to indicate a restriction to males.

The final selection was not hastily made. Ménage and the Père Bouhours still echo the struggle for survival between *hommes* and *gens* in their dispute (summarized by Livet in his *Lexique de la langue de Molière* under the word *gens*) as to whether it is preferable to say *dix jeunes hommes* or *dix jeunes gens*. In the end, however, the French chose the second alternative and standardized *des jeunes gens* for young people of the male sex.

But had the damsel of yesterday come to her own as completely as the girl of today, the lexicographical history of the *jeune fille*, and no doubt of the *jeunes gens* as well, might have followed a notably different course.

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XVII

THE CHORIAMBUS IN ENGLISH VERSE

A FOOT in English verse is that portion which is spoken as an undivided unit. It may comprise a whole line with many words or it may consist of a single vowel spoken alone. In measuring and analyzing graphic records of English verse I find that it contains many feet on the same rhythmic plan as those in Greek verse. This is what should be expected. Greek verse probably developed from an ancient form—the enoplios—which had four long vowels while the number of weak vowels before, between, and after the strong ones might vary from 0 to 2 at each spot. This is practically the same as the rhythmical structure of most lines of *Beowulf* except that this latter has greater liberty in the number of weak vowels. The later forms that have developed in each language are much alike. One of the commonest of these is the choriambus.

The choriambus is a verse-unit, or foot, indicated in Greek prosody by — ⏑ ⏑ —. The order of the component elements in the choriambus is, accordingly, strong-weak-weak-strong. While analyzing graphic records of English verse I found to my great astonishment that the choriambus not only occurs frequently but is also actually the basis of some poems.

To avoid misunderstanding I must add that analysis has shown that the variations in strength which produce the rhythm consist of variations in duration, intensity, pitch, quality and precision of enunciation. Although the Greeks may have given more weight to variations in duration and pitch and the English to intensity, all elements are always present to some degree. A choriambus, for example, may have its effect produced mainly by long-short-short-long, or high-low-low-high, or loud-faint-faint-loud, etc., but in any case the rhythmic form of strong-weak-weak-strong remains the same. The choriambus can be expressed in terms of strong and weak in the following way: : . . : where : indicates a strong vowel and . a weak one.

It is useful to be able to express the structure of a foot numerically. Let the total number of vowels be G, while the number of strong vowels is given by S and the number of weak ones by W. The *total weight* of the foot is $G=S+W$. The *rhythmic weight* can be indicated by $q=S/W$. Let the *rhythmic span* be indicated by $v=$ the number of weak vowels between each pair of strong ones.

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The *course* is determined by comparing the last vowel with the first one; according to the result the course is $k = \nearrow$ or $\searrow$ or $\rightarrow$ s or $\rightarrow w$, where s = strong and w = weak. For the choriambus :. . : $G=4$, $S=2$, $W=2$, $v=2$, $q=1$, $k=\rightarrow s$.

The choriambic swing may be extended to forms like : . . : . . :, : . . : . . : . . :, etc. It is convenient to name rhythmic forms according to the number of regions with strong vowels. The form : . . : has two such vowels and may be called a *choriambic doublet.* The longer feet of the series are to be termed the *choriambic triplet, choriambic tetraplet,* etc. The choriambic triplet has the same form as the Greek *hemiepes* — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —.

The choriambic doublet is the basis of many nursery rimes. Thus:

Old Mother Hubbard	: . . : .
Went to the cupboard	: . . : .
To get her poor dog a bone;	. : . . : . . :
But when she got there	. : . . :
The cupboard was bare	. : . . :
And so the poor dog had none	. : . . : . . :

The choriambus grows by tags and prefixes. The formula for the whole poem is $G=5-7$, $S=2-3$, $v=2$, $q=\frac{2}{3}-\frac{3}{4}$, $k=\nearrow$ or $\searrow$.

A recent example occurs in Watson's *England my Mother*:

England my mother,	: . . : .
Mistress of waters,	: . . : .
Builder of peoples,	: . . : .
Maker of men	: . . :

The last line of each stanza is a choriambus with the formula $G=4$, $S=2$, $W=2$, $v=2$, $q=1$, $k=\rightarrow s$. In the other three lines the foot is a choriambus with tag with $G=5$, $S=2$, $W=3$, $v=2$, $q=2/3$, $k=\searrow$.

The choriambic backbone is evident in the following lines from Hood's *Bridge of Sighs*:

One more unfortunate	: . . : . .
Weary of breath	: . . :
Rashly importunate	: . . : . .
Gone to her death!	: . . :

If found alone the first and third lines would be considered dactylic. If they are considered so here, then it must be assumed that

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dactylic and choriambic feet go well together. Otherwise it must be assumed either that the framework is choriambic with double tags in the first and third lines, or that it is dactylic with double curtailment in the second and fourth. The poem itself affords no decision among the three views. A strong rhythmic effect is produced by the alternations in total weight: $G=6$ and $G=4$.

Every line of the following poem (Moore, *Where Shall We*, etc.) is a choriambic triplet with the form : . . : . . : and the formula $G=7$, $S=3$, $W=4$, $v=2$, $q=\frac{3}{4}$, $k=\rightarrow s$.

Where shall we bury our shame?
Where in what desolate place,
Hide the last wreck of a name
Broken and stained by disgrace?

The choriambic triplet is found in Monkhouse's *Violet*:

Violet delicate, sweet,
Down in the deep of the wood,
Hid in thy still retreat,
Far from the sound of the street,
Man and his merciless mood.

The third line illustrates the fact that in English verse two weak vowels may be replaced by one weak one.

English children speak the following rime with emphasis as indicated.

Pússy-cat, pússy-cat, whére have you beén?
I've beén to Lóndon to loók at the Queén.
Pússy-cat, pússy-cat, whát did you thére?
I fríghtened a líttle mouse únder the chaír.

The first and third lines may be regarded as choriambic tetraplets : . . : . . : . . : with the formula $G=10$, $S=4$, $W=6$, $v=2$, $q=\frac{2}{3}$, $k=\rightarrow s$. The second and fourth lines have prefixes. The second line substitutes a single weak vowel for two weak ones unless the words "up to London" are used.

The choriambic tetraplet is found in every line of the following (from Kipling's *The Charm of the Bisara*) except the third, which has one substitution of a single weak vowel for two.

Líttle Blind Físh, thou art márvellous wíse,
Líttle Blind Físh, who pút out thy éyes?
Ópen thy eárs while I whísper my wísh —
Bríng me a lóver, thou líttle Blind Físh.

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The choriambic hexaplet : . . : . . : . . : . . : . . : with the formula $G=16$, $S=6$, $W=10$, $v=2$, $q=\frac{3}{5}$, $k=\rightarrow s$ is the basis of the following lines from Swinburne's *Hesperia*:

Out of the golden remote wild west where the sea without shore is,
Full of the sunset, and sad, if at all, with the fulness of joy,
As a wind sets in with the autumn that blows from the region of stories,
Blows with a perfume of songs and of memories beloved as a boy.

The word *memories* is spoken *mem'ries*. The first and third lines have tags; the third has also a prefix. There is one substitution of a single weak vowel for two weak ones in the first line.

The heptaplet with the formula $G=12$, $S=7$, $W=12$, $v=2$, $q=\frac{7}{12}$, $k=\rightarrow s$ is found in Burns's *Where are The Joys*, etc.:

Where are the joys I have met in the morning, that danced to the lark's early song?
Where is the peace that awaited my wand'ring at evening the wild woods among.

The word *evening* is spoken as *ev'ning*.

One of the commonest feet in English is what I have ventured to name the cretic after the first member of the series. The cretic doublet : . : corresponds to the Greek amphimacer or cretic — ⏑ —. The cretic triplet is : . : . : which corresponds to the lekytheion — ⏑ — ⏑ —. Then follow the tetraplet, pentaplet, etc.

The close connection between the choriambus and the cretic is illustrated by Tennyson's *Merman*:

Who would be	: . :
A Merman bold	. : . :
Sitting alone	: . . :
Singing alone	: . . :
Under the sea	: . . :
With a crown of gold. . .	: . . :
On a throne	: . :

The backbone of the poem is cretic and choriambic, the two forms being used as equivalent. The second and sixth lines have prefixes.

It is a fundamental principle of English verse that two weak vowels can be replaced by a single one or a single one by two in the same rhythmic scheme. Cretic and choriambic can be used

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interchangeably, as shown in this poem. This principle does not hold for Greek verse.

The resemblance of the two forms gives rise to a cretic-choriambic movement which is characterized by $v=1-2$, $k=\rightarrow s$. It may conveniently be termed the *one-two-dip* movement.

The one-two-dip of the following form : . . : . : corresponds to a common form of the Greek dochmius — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —. It is used by Adams in *The Triumph of Labour*:

What is defeat to us?
  Learn what a skirmish tells,
Onward our armies march
  Storming the earthly Hells.

The cretic-choriambic or one-two-dip tetraplet has several forms. Shelley's line (*To Night*)

Swiftly walk o'er the western wave

with the form : . : . . : corresponds to the Greek glykoneus — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —. Another line inthe same poem,

Blind with thine hair the eyes of Day,

with the form : . . : . : . : corresponds to a form of the Greek choriambic dimeter — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —.

The following lines from *In Memoriam* are peculiarly interesting in being perfect examples of two forms of the choriambic dimeter. Tennyson uses them as equivalents just as in Greek.

Peace and goodwill, goodwill and peace,
Peace and goodwill to all mankind.

The forms are given by

: . . : : . . :
: . . : . : . :

The analysis gives the exactly identical result except for v for both lines: $G=8$, $S=4$, $W=4$, $q=1$, $k=\rightarrow s$.

Such a form as : . . : . . : . :

Drunk with Idolatry, drunk with wine (Milton, *Samson Agonistes*)

seems to have no Greek equivalent.

Dactyls are often combined with choriambics. The movements are evidently felt to be similar.

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Bird of the wilderness,
Blithesome and cumberless,
Sweet be thy matin o'er moorland and lea! (Hogg, *The Skylark*)

The two dactylic doublets are followed by a choriambic tetraplet.

The relation of the choriambus is very close to a foot . : . . : . which I have ventured to call the *billow foot*. The familiar nursery rime will illustrate the passage from a choriambus to *a* choriambus with prefix and then to a choriambus with prefix tag:

Ride a Cock Horse : . . :
To Banbury Cross . : . . :
To see a fine lady . : . . : .
On a white horse : . . :

The third line here is exactly what is called the billow foot. The Clown's Song in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (I, iv, 117–126) is composed of billow feet, four lines being curtailed into choriambics with prefixes:

Have more than thou showest, . : . . : .
Speak less than thou knowest, . : . . : .
Lend less than thou owest, . : . . : .
Ride more than thou goest, . : . . : .
Learn more than thou trowest, . : . . : .
Set less than thou throwest; . : . . : .
Leave thy drink and thy whore, . . : . . :
And keep in-a-door, . : . . :
And thou shalt have more . : . . :
Than two tens to a score . . : . . :

The intimate relations among choriambic, cretic and billow movements appear in the following from Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*:

Before the beginning of years . : . . : . . :
There came to the making of man . : . . : . . :
Time, with a gift of tears; : . . : . :
Grief, with a glass that ran; : . . : . :
Pleasure, with pain for leaven; : . . : . : .
Summer with flowers that fell; : . . : . . :
Remembrance fallen from heaven, . : . : . . : .
And madness risen from hell; . : . : . . :
Strength without hands to smite; : . . : . :
Love that endures for a breath; : . . : . . :
Night, the shadow of light, : . : . . :
And life, the shadow of death . : . : . . :

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Choriambic feet sometimes have double prefixes that make them of the same form as anapaests. The mixture of the two forms is not common.

The choriambus is the basis of a vast amount of Greek verse. The entire strophe, for example, of Euripides, *Phoeniss.*, 226–238, is formed on the choriambic dimeter with its contraction, the pherekrateus. Equally large amounts of English verse are likewise choriambic.

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XVIII

THE COWARD KNIGHT AND THE DAMSEL OF THE CAR

AMONG the many curious episodes in the Grail Romance, *Perlesvaus*,[1] that of the Coward Knight has received comparatively little attention. It is mentioned by Birch-Hirschfeld[2] and by Brugger[3] and a few pages are devoted to it by Professor Nitze in his dissertation.[4] The most recent, as well as the fullest, treatment which it has received thus far is that given to it by Miss Jessie Weston.[5] Professor Nitze and Miss Weston make the story of the Coward Knight the basis of their argument as to the relative date of *Perlesvaus* and Manessier's continuation of Chrétien, since this happens to be the only episode common to these two texts. But though they deal with precisely the same evidence they arrive at opposite conclusions. The question, therefore, appears to be one which invites further discussion. Before considering their arguments, however, it will be convenient to have before us an outline of those portions of the romance which deal with the Coward Knight and his lady, the Damsel of the Car.

When Gawain, about to part company with the Damsel of the Car, is rebuked by one of her attendants for having failed to inquire concerning her peculiarities, she tells him that he will learn the reason of them "only by the most coward knight in the world, that is mine own knight and goeth to seek me and knoweth not where to find me."[6]

Some time later Gawain meets the knight in question.

[1] Tr. by Sebastian Evans with the title, *The High History of the Holy Grail*, London 1910.

[2] *Die Sage vom Gral*, Leipzig, 1877.

[3] "Enserrement Merlin," *Zft. für französ. Sprache*, XXIX.

[4] W. A. Nitze, *The Old French Grail Romance, Perlesvaus*, Baltimore 1902 (Johns Hopkins Univ. Diss.).

[5] "The *Perlesvaus* and the Story of the Coward Knight," *Mod. Phil.*, XX (1922), 379–397.

[6] Branch II—Title 4, p. 32.

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As soon as he sees Gawain he calls out to him for God's sake to do him no hurt. His appearance is as striking as his cowardice. The armour which he wears is disarranged: his shield and spear upside down, his habergeon and chausses about his neck. And he himself rides backward on his horse. Gawain is much amused: he would have laughed outright had he not been so heavy of heart because of an adventure that had just befallen him. He reassures the knight, however, greets him, finds out that he is "the Damsel's Man of the Car," and helps him to set his armour to rights, for as soon as the Coward has recognized Gawain's shield he dismounts and seeks to rearrange his gear. But the change in his appearance does not alter his character. He stands by without striking a blow while Gawain defends himself against a knight who attacks him, and upon the conclusion of the fight comments in the following pacific fashion: "Sir, I have no mind to be so hardy as are you; for, so God help me, had he defied me in such wise as he defied you, I should have fled away forthwith, or elsewise I should have fallen at his feet and cried him mercy." "You wish for nought but peace," says Gawain. "By St. James," replies the Coward, "therein are you quite right, for of war cometh nought but evil; nor never had I no hurt nor wound save some branch of a tree or the like gave it me, and I see your face all seamed and scarred in many places. So God help me of such hardiesse make I but small account, and every day I pray God that He defend me."[7]

The Coward then gives Gawain some explanation of his Damsel's peculiarities, and they depart their several ways. They meet but once again, when Gawain sees the Coward fleeing for dear life from a knight who, he says, "hath a look so fierce that I thought I was dead when I saw it."[8]

The Knight Coward reappears but twice more in the romance, both times in connection with Perceval. When Perceval first meets him he is surprised that a knight so comely should be such a coward and he takes him in hand to make him brave. An opportunity offers immediately, for they come upon two damsels who are in the power of a robber knight. The Coward is forced to defend them and he acquits himself so well that Perceval dubs him the Knight Hardy.[9]

At another time, the Coward, now the Knight Hardy, defending Sir Perceval's sister from her oppressor Aristot, vanquishes him, but only at the cost of his own life.[10] Finally, Sir Perceval receives the thanks of the Coward Knight's brother for making him brave, since "better is he dead sith that he died with honour than that he should live with shame."[11]

[7] Branch IV, Titles 5 and 6, pp. 51–2.
[8] Branch XII, 1, p. 154.
[9] Branch XVII, 4–7, pp. 200 ff.
[10] Branch XXXII, 1–3, pp. 327 ff.
[11] Branch XXXV, 25, p. 376.

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The Coward's lady is no less remarkable than her knightly servant. Robed in silk and gold, attended by two damsels, and followed by a richly ornamented car which is drawn by three white harts, she carries her right arm slung in a stole of gold about her neck and wears an elaborate head-gear only to hide a head "all bald without hair." In her hand is the head of a King sealed in silver and crowned with gold and one of her attendants carries, sealed in lead and crowned with copper, the head of the Queen who betrayed the King as well as the 150 knights whose heads, variously sealed in gold, silver and lead are in the Car drawn by the harts. In every way, the Damsel of the Car embodies the significance of the Grail Quest. She may not dismount from her mule in the presence of knights "until such time as the Graal be achieved," nor will she have any hair on her head until that happy day, and not till then may one of her damsels cease to do penance by going on foot in the fashion of a running footman.

Furthermore, she plays the part of Grail Messenger by bringing to Arthur's court the news of the Fisher King's languishment. It is she who points out in every case the evils that will be righted once the Grail is achieved, and in every instance foreshadows the events of the central adventure of the romance. Thus, for example, Gawain's experience with her, when he forgets to ask the significance of her peculiarities, is but a premonition of what will occur to him at the Grail Castle. She brings word to Perceval concerning his sister and calls on him to protect the New Law.[12]

Miss Weston thinks that Manessier's version is inferior to the *Perlesvaus* and an obvious reworking of it; Nitze, that it is more skilful and more primitive. Again, though they agree that the two versions go back to an earlier story in which a handsome coward is changed into an ugly hero, they differ as to the inter-relationship of the versions, Nitze holding that they are independent of each other while Miss Weston asserts that "there is a direct affiliation between the two."

I am inclined to agree with Miss Weston in postulating a direct relationship between Manessier and *Perlesvaus*, but with Nitze in considering Manessier the earlier. Miss Weston's evidence does not seem to me to be conclusive. For example, the fact that in the *Perlesvaus* the knight himself is riding backwards while in Manessier he only carries his arms behind him hardly justifies the inference that "such a feature would undergo modification rather than exaggeration at the hands of a later writer." Furthermore, I cannot see why the absence of the Gawain episode in

[12] *Ibid.*, II, 1–2, pp. 23 ff; 2–4, pp. 26 ff; III, pp. 33–4; VI, 11, pp. 80–1; IX, 2–7, pp. 112 ff; 11–18, pp. 118 ff; XI, 1, p. 141; XV, 32, p. 194; XXII, 4, p. 269; XXXII, 11, p. 334; XXXII, 15, p. 336; XXXV, 22, p. 372; XXV, 26, p. 376.

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Manessier must be due to condensation on the part of the later author, since its presence in the *Perlesvaus* might equally well be considered as an expansion of an earlier version. It is undoubtedly true, again, that the incident in which the maidens are rescued is more adequately motivated in the *Perlesvaus* where the knights must deal with but one robber, whereas in Manessier there are ten of them with footmen; and it is equally true that the tournament episode, which occurs in Manessier but not in the *Perlesvaus*, is very *banal*. But why should these be "unhappy alterations" on the part of Manessier rather than improvements made by the author of the *Perlesvaus*, for whose creative powers Miss Weston herself has so much respect?

> He has made admirable use of his material [she writes], the whole scheme is well knit, the adventure which forms the turning point of the hero's life is ingeniously motived, the rescued maidens are friends of Gawain and owe their danger directly to his action, thus connecting the two parts of the story, and, as the circumstances of his death, are in complete harmony with and form a dramatic conclusion to, the previous adventure. . . . . The author of the *Perlesvaus* was possessed of very considerable constructive ability, and made free and independent use of his material.

Nitze's arguments seem to me more convincing than Miss Weston's. He holds that the knight's death, not related by Manessier, is an obvious amplification of the original tale, grafted upon the source to complete the story and "enforce the special moral of the version," for "obviously the story has a didactic purpose so that we cannot go far wrong in calling it a knightly fable, if the term be admissable"; that this incident, "the main points upon which the romances differ," is therefore "somewhat more than a mere addition"; and that, furthermore, the fact that in the *Perlesvaus* the Coward Knight adjusts his armour before Gawain has a chance to taunt him indicates corruption of the original story.[13]

Finally, it will be noted that in the *Perlesvaus* the story of the Coward Knight is very closely connected with that of the Damsel of the Car. Had Manessier been familiar with this form of the story, he would scarcely have taken the trouble to disentangle and separate these two motifs, nor is it likely that he could have succeeded in obliterating all traces of the Damsel. Since the

[13] Nitze, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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connection between Manessier and *Perlesvaus* is too close to suppose an independent use of similar sources or even of the same source, it is reasonable to suppose that the author of the *Perlesvaus* took the figure of the Coward Knight directly from Manessier, simplifying to advantage the episode of the damsels, omitting the commonplace incident of the tournament, and, with symbolic intent, introducing the Damsel of the Car and making the Coward ride backward on his horse.

The view that Manessier's is the earlier of these two versions is confirmed by noting the existence of the Coward Knight story unconnected with the Damsel of the Car in the *Ipomedon*, which was prior to either Manessier or the *Perlesvaus*.

This "three-decker metrical romance,"[14] composed by Hugh of Rutland about 1187, is remarkable for its combination of adventures which appear to be borrowed from Arthurian romance, without being actually connected with the Arthurian cycle.

The plot of *Ipomedon* has been analysed by Professor Carter into two main themes: "the three days' tournament, and the rescue of a besieged lady by a knight who plays the fool." Professor Carter has studied the first of these themes in connection with the group of folk-tales to which it belongs, showing that except for the substitution of the tournament for some more primitive test, the romance draws largely upon the material of folklore.

Among other incidents, we note that in all the folk tales examined, as well as in the *Ipomedon*, the hero "on each day wins the tournament and departs secretly, keeping his identity unknown. The Princess each day implores the hero to take part; he says he will, but apparently does not, thus keeping her in continual suspense. On his return each day he is laughed to scorn." Now the *Ipomedon* differs from the fairy-tales and from analogous romances in its characterization of the hero and hence in the reason for which he is laughed to scorn. Ipomedon is considered an absolute coward:

> Cowarde be countennaunce he semyd,
> To hardenes nothynge he yemyde,
> To melle hym there wythall:
> When knyghtes yede to turnement,

[14] C. H. Carter, *Ipomedon* (Haverford Essays), Haverford, 1909, p. 237. The reference to the Coward Knight story in this romance I owe to Professor Carleton Brown.

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There to wold he take no tente,
Nother grette ne smalle;
Of dedes of armus when they spake
Ipomadon wolde turne his bake
And hye oute of the hall;
He wold here of no chevalrye;
Prowde men of the courte for thy
Cowarde gan hym call.[15]

At the same time he is handsome:

A noble countenaunce he hade,
A blyther and a better made
Before they had not sene.
Also bryght his coloure shone
All hym lovyd, that lokyd hym one,
Both lord and lady shene (stanza 31).

and the lady who falls in love with him bemoans the circumstance that one so handsome should be a coward:

Allas, that ever so grette gentryse
Ys lost on hym for cowardice,
Woo worthe destone,
Syn he is so fayre of face
That god had not gevyn hym grace,
Of hert hardy to bee! (stanza 46)

and again:

The quene cursyd his desteny,
Wyth oute prowes that he shuld be,
That was so fayre off face (stanza 255).

Thus we have in this early romance a hero who is indubitably a handsome coward, and this circumstance is sufficiently unusual in Arthurian tradition to warrant our assuming a connection between it and the Coward Knight episode of the Grail Romances. If this connection be admitted, the emphasis on the knight's good looks in Hugh of Rutland's romance would tend to substantiate Miss Weston's and Professor Nitze's "ugly hero" tale, and to bring *Ipomedon* closer to Manessier than to the *Perlesvaus*, where the knight's beauty is not emphasized but only suggested. It is to be noted, however, that even here this original tale is no more than implied. The three days' tournament corresponds to the

[15] *Ipomedon*, ed. E. Kölbing, Breslau 1889, stanza 44.

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tournament of King Baudemagus in Manessier, an episode omitted in *Perlesvaus*, while the encounter with the damsels which occurs in Manessier and *Perlesvaus* does not appear in *Ipomedon*.

It is not impossible, therefore, that Manessier knew the *Ipomedon* and utilized it for his purpose; that he retained the tournament but omitted the "rescue" motif which was not so appropriate to his type of romance, but that instead of the rescued lady he substituted the damsel attacked by robber knights; and that, finally, in order to emphasize the peculiarity of his hero and to make him even more laughable than formerly, he added the description of his disarranged armour.

The author of the *Perlesvaus* made two important changes in Manessier's form of the story. He made the knight sit backwards on his horse, and he pressed him into the service of the Damsel of the Car. I shall now consider the significance of these additions.

The supposition that the original form of the story was one in which a handsome coward was changed into an ugly hero does not seem to me to be wholly satisfactory. In the first place, no version can be mentioned, so far as I know, in which this transformation forms the central theme. Indeed, Nitze uses the fact that Manessier emphasizes the knight's beauty without any reference to the sacrifice of it as evidence that his version is second-hand. The rest of Nitze's argument, which is based on this assumption, concerns largely the inappropriate change of name: *Biaus Mauvais* should have been *Biaus Coarz* and this should have become *Li Laiz Hardis* and not the *Biaus Hardiz*.[16] Miss Weston supports Nitze's hypothesis and cites instances in Arthurian tradition where *Li Biaus Coarz* and *Li Laiz Hardi* figure prominently either separately or together. She mentions especially *Erec*, where *Li Biaus Coarz* and *Li Laiz Hardi* are mentioned fifth and sixth in the list of knights of the Round Table, and the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation where *Li Laiz Hardi* plays a leading rôle in the introductory episode. Unfortunately, the examples adduced here by Miss Weston have nothing in common with our incident. In *Erec*, Li Biaus Coarz and Li Laiz Hardi are only mentioned, while Miss Weston's own summary of *Li Laiz Hardi* episode in *Chastel Orguellous* shows how little bearing it has on our problem:[17]

[16] Nitze, *op. cit.*, p. 86 and note p. 87.

[17] Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*; London 1909, II, 202.

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Arthur, having launched a general accusation of treason against the knights of the Round Table, retires to his 'loge' and fastens the door. The knights follow, indignantly demanding an explanation, and Gawain forces his way in. The knights crowd after him, and Li Laiz Hardiz makes himself a spokesman for all. He is introduced on the scene in a remarkable passage:

> A la table reonde avoit
> Coustume que nul n'i seoit
> Se il n'avoit plaie en la chiere;
> S'en avoient en grant maniere
> Les chiere mult plus esfraces,
> Plus cremues et redoutees.
> Li Lais Hardis s'est mis avant,
> Sachiez que je parlast atant.

The fact that in *Erec* the name *Biaus Couard* and *Laiz Hardiz* occur in close juxtaposition does not seem especially significant. The names present a natural antithesis which might have occurred to any writer; there is no reason to suppose that they must have originated in a story in which a handsome coward was made into an ugly hero.

Then again, the knight's beauty is not so much stressed in the *Perlesvaus* as Miss Weston would lead us to suppose. It is true that the Coward Knight remarks that whereas Gawain's face is "all seamed and scarred in many places" he himself has never had neither "hurt nor wound save some branch of the tree or the like gave it" him; and that Perceval describes him as "tall and comely and well-shapen and adroit" and declares it "sore pity that cowardize should harbour in so comely a knight." But that is all. Besides, to dwell on the good looks of a knight is a commonplace of Arthurian literature. Many a rider appears tall and comely. Perceval is not only the Best Knight of the world but also the comeliest. Clamados is of "right goodly complexion of body and right comely of face." The same is true of Gawain, and indeed of every knight who is not an out-and-out villain.

Finally, the story of the Coward Knight includes other elements equally prominent with that of the hero's beauty, which are left unexplained by the hypothetical "ugly hero" tale. Such, for instance, is the Great Fool motif which enters into every version we have considered, and such also is the strange appearance of the knight in both Manessier and *Perlesvaus*. To explain these traits, another story must be sought, and Manessier's comment

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that the strange knight is either overburdened with sorrow or out of his wits affords a hint as to what this original tale may have been. The story was perhaps of some one who either through sorrow or madness rode backward on his horse with his clothes turned inside out. This hypothetical original is, in my opinion, just as likely as the story of the handsome coward changed into an ugly hero. Indeed, the Coward Knight probably represents a fusion of these two primitive tales. Certainly in both Manessier and *Perlesvaus* the disarranged armour and the strange position of the figure are no less striking than the knight's beauty and the possibility of facial disfigurement.

The suggestion of just such a tale as I have conjectured occurs in Saxo Grammaticus' account of Amleth's feigned madness:

> Feng slays his brother Horwendil and takes his wife. Horwendil's son Amlet "beheld all this, but feared lest too shrewd a behavior might make his uncle suspect him. So he chose to feign dulness, and pretend to an utter lack of wits." He remains "listless and unclean," flings himself on the ground, "bespatters his person with foul and filthy dirt" and feigns other forms of madness. Some people, however, suspected, "that his mind was quick enough and fancied that he only played the simpleton in order to hide his real understanding and veiled some deep purpose under a cunning feint." They advised to test his sanity by putting a fair woman in his way in some secluded spot "who should provoke his mind to the temptation of love." And so Amleth was taken in his rides to remote parts of the forest there to be confronted with temptation. But he was warned against any show of sanity by a faithful foster brother, and indeed the danger of throwing off his guise "was also plain enough to Amleth himself. *For when he was bidden mount his horse, he deliberately set himself in such a fashion that he turned his back to the neck and faced about, fronting the tail; which he proceeded to encompass with the reins, just as if on that side he would check the horse in its furious pace. . . . . The reinless steed galloping on, with the rider directing its tail, was ludicrous enough to behold.*"[18]

If my hypothesis is correct, then, the Coward Knight represents the fusion of three distinct story motifs: 1). The "Great Fool" theme, 2). The story of a madman, and 3). The tale of a handsome coward. The Amleth version represents a stage wherein the first two of these were combined, *Ipomedon*, the first and third, and *Perlesvaus* all three together with a complicated symbolic significance.

[18] Elton, *Folk-lore Soc. Publ.*, XXXIII, 108.

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The *Perlesvaus* belongs to that type of romance in which more is meant than meets the eye. Every one of its incidents is fraught with symbolic implications which are not extraneous to the story itself. The symbolism is consistently carried out, and is far from being a conveniently inserted rationalization. The central theme of the romance was suggested by Nitze in his article "On the Chronology of the Grail Romances."

> At the Chapel of St. Austin [he notes] Arthur is urged to *esfacier la mauvaise loi et essaucier la loi qui est renouvelee par le crucefiement du seint prophete.* This gives the keynote to the entire work and explains its proselytizing character. . . . . This spirit is apparent also in Arthur's visit to the Grail. Here the King is welcomed by Perceval and is instructed concerning the 'chalice' and the 'bell,' which the text says were previously unknown in Britain. The 'bell' is explained as a gift brought from the *terra repromissionis* by priests who bear the name of Gregory. Thus by a series of hints Gregory, St. Augustine, and St. Paul's in London are linked with Arthur and Glastonbury, and the British conversion story is made complete.[19]

The late Professor Bruce, although he did not regard the military ideal as the central theme of the romance, remarked that its "hero is a propagator of the Christian faith (New Law), even at point of the sword, and Arthur and his knights exhibit an equal zeal in proselytization."[20]

This idea has been elaborated by Miss Claudia Lyon in her (yet unpublished) study of the symbolism of the Old Law and the New. Miss Lyon refers to some forty odd passages in the *Perlesvaus* in which the Law is specifically symbolized or mentioned, and to half a dozen, at least, more or less important episodes that deal with conversion. "The Law is emphasized," as she points out, even at "the highest point of the story . . . . . when Perceval enters the hall of King Fisherman and the Grail and bleeding lance return." One may note also the purpose of the book as announced by Josephus in the opening sentences: namely, "that the truth might be known by his writing of good knights, and good worshipful men how they were willing to suffer pain and to travail for the setting forth of the Law of Jesus Christ, that He willed to make new by His death and by His crucifixion." I thus agree entirely with Miss Lyon that the "*Perlesvaus* . . . . . is the record of the

[19] *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1919), 161 n.

[20] J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of the Arthurian Romance, from the Beginnings to the Year 1300*, 1923, II, 18.

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gradual conversion of King Arthur's land," and that "the central point of interest is the establishment of the New Law of Christ and the overthrow of the 'false believe' in the Old Law." The recognition of this fundamental purpose in the *Perlesvaus*, clears the author, I think, from Bruce's criticism that the conclusion of this romance is "a good illustration of the author's want of judgment and the low level on which his imagination moves," because "the final achievement of the Grail adventure contains no mystical elements, but consists merely of the capture of a castle (the Grail castle) by force of arms."[21] Now, if the primary motive of the *Perlesvaus*, is not the quest but rather the conquest by force of arms of the Old Law and the establishment of the New, the achievement of the Grail is identified with this proselytizing ideal, so that the conclusion of the adventure is quite in keeping with the spirit of the romance. When the heathen are converted to Christianity, the Grail is achieved, the land once more flourishes, and happiness reigns again.

The Coward Knight typifies this central theme of conversion. At the Castle of Inquest, it will be remembered, where all things mysterious are explained to Gawain, the hermit states with reference to the Coward Knight: "The law was turned to the worse, before Our Lord's Crucifixion, and so soon as He was crucified was again restored to right."[22]

Nor was this symbol of a figure turned backward original with the author of the *Perlesvaus*. It is well known that the common symbol for the Old Law in the Middle Ages was a female figure represented with her eyes bandaged. So the celebrated statues of the Old Law in the Cathedral of Strasbourg; so also at Rheims, at Notre Dame de Paris, at Saint-Sevrin de Bordeaux.[23] A medallion in the Cathedral of Saint Denis represents Christ crowning the New Law with one hand, while with the other he takes off the veil which covers the face of the Old Law. Below is the inscription:

Quod Moyses velat Christi doctrina revelat.[24]

The reason for this type of representation is, of course, that the Old Law was considered the incarnation of all sin, and

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 19.

[22] Evans, VI, 12, p. 81.

[23] Reproduced by Emil Mâle, *L'Art religieux du 13e siècle en France.* Paris, 1923, p. 195, and n. 3.

[24] Mâle, *L'Art religieux du 12e siècle en France.* Paris, 1922, p. 159.

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that Sin is blind to Righteousness. Now, moving or turning backward is a similar form of symbol. It is representative of a sinful state, and is very easily identified with blindness, since the element of importance to be symbolized in a personification of sin is its inability to see the way of righteousness.[25] This association finds early expression in primitive belief. I shall cite but a few illustrative instances, but a closer study of primitive rites and mythologies would yield, I feel confidant, many more.

In Mexican mythology, for example, we find the god Yztlacoluihqui, who signifies the lord of sin and blindness, represented with his eyes bandaged and identified with a star in heaven that proceeds in a reverse course.[26] This god was one of the manifestations of a more important deity, Tezcatlipoca who when he was "portrayed with bandaged eyes bore the name Yztlacoluihqui and presided over sin and cold."

In the Old Testament "turning back" is used in a figurative sense. There are passages where the figure is rather obvious and perhaps too conscious to be significant for our purpose,[27] but there are others where the phrase, decidedly symbolic of falling into sin, stands alone, thus indicating that the image was proverbial. Such, for instance, are Jeremiah 7:24:

> But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear, but walked in their own counsels and in the stubbornness of their evil heart, *and went backward* and not forward.[28]

Lamentations 1:8, where the city of Jerusalem is personified:

> Jerusalem hath grievously sinned; therefore she is become an unclean thing; all that honored her despise her, because they have seen her nakedness; yea, she sigheth, and *turneth backward;*

[25] Cf. Longinus who symbolically recovers his sight by the blood of Christ. It is this same idea of spiritual blindness which led to the representation of the Jewish people by an owl, in the cathedrals of Mans, of Poitiers, in a church of Avesnières; on misericords at Ely and Gloucester. (See Mâle, *12e siècle*, p. 333, and Francis Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches*, v. I, "Misericords," London, 1910, p. 47.)

[26] Lewis Spence, *The Gods of Mexico*, London, 1923, p. 338.

[27] Such are: Deuteronomy 28: 18; I Samuel 15: 10, 11; II Chronicles 29: 6; Job 34: 26, 27; Jeremiah 32: 33; Zephaniah 1: 6; perhaps also Psalms 78: 41, and Lamentations 1: 13.

[28] Or, as the phrase is translated in the American revised version, "Turned their back, and not their face" (American Standard ed. of the Bible, 1901).

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or Psalms 44:8, where the connection between the symbolism of turning backward and the idea of following the path of righteousness is clearly expressed:

> *Our heart is not turned back,* neither have our steps declined from thy way.

In a twelfth-century miniature of a *Hortus deliciarum*,[29] the Synagogue is shown with her eyes bandaged and sitting *backward* on her mule. She is turned away from Christ in contrast to the Church who faces him. There can be no clearer indication that turning backward was like blindness a current symbol for sin and the Old Law.

But the symbol was not confined to personifications of sin and the Old Law; it was extended to all sinful creatures. Thus, in the *Southern Passion*, "shrews" are represented as going backward:

> So seggeþ þe shrewes ȝut, þat among us her beoþ.
> Þat euere goþa-bakward, and þe leng þe worse y-þeoþ.[30]

It is curious to see how long and in what varied forms this figure persisted. The Yates Thompson MS of *Li Faits des Romains*, of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, bears in the margin of an illustration representing the Passage of the Rubicon the picture of a Saracen, easily distinguished by the blackness of his face, sitting backward on a mule (or horse).[31] In the Feast of Fools in Bohemia, described by John Huss, early in the fifteenth century, a clerk, grotesquely vested, was dubbed 'bishop', set on an ass with his face to the tail, and led to mass in the church; the clergy also turned their garments inside out, and danced.[32] In a St. Thomas Day Pageant against which ecclesiastical commissioners protested as late as Nov. 13, 1572, a friar rode backwards and was 'painted like a Jew.'[33]

Finally, in Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*[34] occurs the stage direction: 'Heir sall the thrie estaits cum fra the palȝeoun, gangand backwart, led be thair vyces.' Wantonnes sees them

[29] See the reproduction by Mâle, *Art religieux du XIII^e siècle*, p. 229, fig. 101.

[30] *The Southern Passion*, ed. Mrs. Carleton Brown, *EETS*, Or. Ser. 169, vv. 1809 10.

[31] Reproduced in Dr. H. N. MacCracken's edition of Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, London, 1911, p. 56.

[32] Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford 1913, I, pp. 320–21.

[33] *Ib.*, p. 261, n. 3.

[34] EETS, or. ser. 35, 37, pp. 463 ff.

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coming and cries out in amazement, 'What is that I see? Luke, Solace, my hart!' 'What think you,' says Solace, 'the thrie estaits, I trow, gangand backwart.' whereupon Wantonnes:

> Backwart, backwart? Out! Wallaway!
> It is greit schame for them, I say,
> Backwart to gang.
> I trow the King Correctioun
> Man make ane reformatioun
> Or it be lang.
> Now let us go and tell the King.

The Three Estates are taken to the King, proceeding backwards. Correction desires to know the cause of this strange way of walking to which Spiritualitie replies:

> Soveraine, we haue gaine sa this mony a 3eir.
> Howbeit 3e think we go undecently,
> Wee think wee gang richt wonder pleasantly.

In the trial which follows great concern is shown about this peculiarity of the Three Estates. John looks sad 'Becaus the thrie estaits gangs, all, backwart,' and declares that it is no wonder they do so, considering the rogues by whom they are led.

In view of this evidence that going backwards was a generally accepted medieval symbol for sin, it seems most likely that the author of the *Perlesvaus* drew upon this symbol for his figure of the Coward Knight. He may have known a tale of the Amleth type, but his choice and his use of it were both determined by this churchly tradition which was so admirably suited to the symbolism of his romance.

This symbolic use of secular material is also illustrated by the figure of the Damsel of the Car. Her prototype is without any doubt the loathly grail messenger of other romances. Nitze has pointed out the similarity between her and Chrétien's messenger, Nutt has listed the resemblances between the loathly ladies of Chrétien and of *Peredur* and the even closer parallels between those of the *Didot Perceval* and of Wauchier, and Miss Weston has briefly summarized and discussed the incident as it occurs in these versions, while the importance of the rôle assigned to the loathly Kundrie in Wolfram's *Parzival* confirms Miss Weston's view that the "Loathly Lady was recognized by the romance writers as part of the Grail tradition."

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If we regard the Damsel of the Car, then, as continuing the tradition of these ugly maidens, it is interesting to note that both Wauchier, and the *Didot Perceval* connect the loathly messenger with the knight Li Biaus Mauvais. The Damsel of the *Perlesvaus* is unlike the other maidens only in so far as the nature of the romance in which she occurs differs from that of the other romances.

If the ideal of conversion be accepted as the central theme of our romance it is easy to see why the Grail Messenger should also represent the influence which induces the New Law to be set up in place of the Old and why, therefore, the Damsel of the Car should bring news of lands where the Old Law holds sway, always urging Arthur's knights to propagate the new faith. And just as the Coward Knight typifies conversion itself, the Damsel of the Car typifies the force which converts, that is, the Church Militant.

Nor is this the only proof of her identity, for the car which follows her is itself symbolic of the Christian Church. It is both interesting and instructive for our purpose to trace the steps by which this symbol developed.

The Church was early represented by the Ark, and later by any type of ship. We learn from Hulme[35] that "The Church of Christ, as a ship, is often found on early gems, lamps, and other objects, and is freely depicted on the walls of the catacombs," and that "instead of a masted vessel it is often the ark of Noah," a symbol so well known that it is unnecessary to cite further instances of its use.

Very early also the Ark of the Deluge and the Ark of the Covenant became identical, probably for the reason given by Jeremias:

> In so far as the ark has to do with the throne, it represented the chest in the Ancient Oriental myth of the expectation of the Deliverer (or ship, ship of Isis, ark of the Deluge), in which the future Deliverer is hidden.[36]

The Ark of the Covenant was also used interchangeably for the cart on which it was carried, and this in turn was combined with the chariot of Ezekiel's vision. I quote again from Jeremias a suggestion as to the way in which this confusion occurred:

[35] F. E. Hulme, *History, Principles and Practice of Symbolism in Christian Art* London 1899, p. 211.

[36] Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, v. II, p. 126.

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The ark was made portable. . . . . In the migration from station to station a chariot drawn by oxen served the same purpose as the wheels of the *merkaba* in Ezekiel. The cherubim symbolize the throne-bearers, but they could not move.[37]

This curious connection is also well illustrated by a painting at St. Denis, described by Didron as follows:

One painting executed in the time of the Abbé Suger, and now adorning the apse of St. Denis deserves notice. The subject is simple in itself, but represents, at the same time, the Glorification of the Cross, and that of Christ. There is a green cross to which Christ is attached, historiated in filagree work. The Father holds the cross between his arms, and rests upon a car with four wheels, called in the inscription painted below, a 'quadrige.' This car is simply the Ark of the Covenant, upon which the cross seems to be planted, and within which are seen the Tables of the Law and the Rod of Aaron. One of the four attributes of the Evangelists appears as if harnessed near each wheel. . . . . The following distich composed by Suger himself, is appended as an explanatory legend:

> Faederis ex arca cruce Χρι sistitur ara;
> Federe majori wet (*sic*) vita mori.[38]

Finally, with Dante the identification is complete, when *plaustrum*, "the term used in the Vulgate," as Fletcher tells us, "for the car or cart on which the ark of the covenant was carried in the exodus of Israel from Egypt" is employed as a synonym for *carro*, which is the Church.[39]

Thus in the mediaeval process of strenous Christianization when the Old Testament was considered as merely prefiguring the New, the Ark became the symbol for the Christian Church, whether in the form of a ship or as a chariot or car.

The latter figure is elaborately used by Dante, whose work it is not inappropriate for us to consider since he is so truly the "Mediaeval synthesis." On the figure of the chariot employed in the *Paradiso*,

> Se tal fu l'ana rota della biga,
> in che la santa Chiesa si difese,
> e rinse in campo la sua civil briga (*Par.* XII, 106-8).

[37] *Ib.*, pp. 130–31.

[38] M. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, v. I, tr. E. J. Millington, London 1851, p. 417.

[39] J. B. Fletcher, *Symbolism of the Divine Comedy*, New York 1921, p. 86.

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Professor Fletcher comments as follows:

> The two leaders, Dominic and Francis and by implication their later representatives and spokesmen, Thomas and Bonaventure, are called the two wheels of the chariot of the Church. The straight-forward progress of the Church depends upon the perfect circularity of its wheels. If either get out of plumb, the pilot-car runs off the road, and the folk following are thrown into confusion. . . . . The war-chariot, *biga*, is the Church Militant against the world, the flesh, and the devil. The car, *carro*, is the church conceived as the vehicle, or vessel, in which man is conveyed to heaven, and of which the prototype would be the car of Elijah.[40]

I contend that our Damsel's car falls in the category of this very symbol. In the account of its richness it accords admirably with the customary descriptions of the rich ship that is the Church.

Also the hart or stag—it will be remembered that the Damsel's car is drawn by three white harts—has a symbolic meaning which is generally recognized. The stag, Hulme tells us, is "the emble,m of solitude . . . . . of purity of life, ... of religious aspiration". and adds (what is very significant for our purpose):

> In the old belief that the stag was 'a great enemy to all kinds of serpents, which he labors to destroy when he finds any, though he be afraid of almost all other creatures,' it became in the days of exaggerated symbolism a still more popular emblem, its supposed ruthless antipathy to the serpent rendering it not inaptly a symbol of the Christian fighting against evil.[41]

Thus, it seems perfectly plain that our Damsel symbolizes the Church.[42]

One more circumstance may or may not further our position At the Castle of Inquest, the Damsel of the Car is said to signify "Joseu Josephus that was bald before the crucifixion of Our Lord, nor never had his hair again until such time as he had redeemed His people by His blood and by His death." Who this Josephus is I do not know, but perhaps he is none other than the alleged author of the *Perlesvaus*. If this is so, and if we accept

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 82 and 85.

[41] Hulme, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–77.

[42] Nitze cites as "an excellent example of the Christianizing spirit, the sealed heads which the Damsel of the Car carries about." He considers it an elaboration of Revelations 7: 3 (*M. Ph.*, 17, 161 n.) and although this in no way furthers our thesis, it is an interesting point to note.

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the argument of Professor Bruce for the dependence of the *Perlesvaus* on the *Estoire*, especially in the identity of this character, the nature of the Damsel of the Car becomes even clearer. Says Professor Bruce:

> The scholars who . . . . assign an early date to the *Perlesvaus* and . . . . put its composition before that of the Vulgate *Estoire del Saint Graal*, have adopted the theory that the writer had in mind the well-known Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus. But in our romance the author of the supposed Latin original is definitely said to have been 'the first priest to sacrifice the body of our Lord'—that is to celebrate mass. Now, nowhere is there recorded any legend to this effect concerning the historian Josephus. Indeed, if we except the present passage of the *Perlesvaus* and the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, nowhere is any such legend recorded concerning any person whatever. But this passage in the *Perlesvaus*, as we have observed, contains a mere allusion. On the other hand, the long and elaborate episode of the *Estoire* in which Christ initiates Josephe(s), son of Joseph of Arimathea, into the mysteries of the mass, consecrating him the first bishop of the church, ... the Grail being the center of the sacramental service—and Josephe now celebrates the first mass, is of cardinal importance in that work, since *Josephe here typifies the church in the execution of its mission to carry the Christian faith to the ends of the earth* for the salvation of mankind, in which mission the authority is mainly based on its possession of the mysteries that are embodied in the mass.[48]

If now our damsel is equivalent to this Josephus, and if he is to be interpreted according to Bruce, then it is easy to see that, studied from this angle also, the Damsel of the Car appears to be the Church Militant.

But if the Damsel of the Car is the Church Militant and the Coward Knight is the Old Law turned to the New, the question arises why does he serve her even before his conversion? I think it very probable that the mediaeval writer or reader, so accustomed to elaborate symbolic explanations, could easily rationalize this element into agreement with the central idea. Just as the Old Law prefigured the New; the Books of the Prophets, the Gospels; the Synagogue the Church, so the prospective convert was unconsciously the servant of the Church. He himself was not aware of his service, for he was blind to righteousness, "turned back" until baptism, or the Crucifixion gave him sight or set him straight; and he wandered through darkness in search of the Church until the moment light was given him.

[48] Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, 157–59. *The italics are mine.*

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On the other hand, in his study of the *Perlesvaus* Nitze remarks that the "Damsels and their Cart typify Fortune." He doubtless bases his statement on the further interpretation given to the damsel at the Castle of Inquest: "The car that she leadeth after her," says the hermit, "signifieth the wheel of fortune, for like as the car goeth on the wheels, doth she lay the burden of the world on the two damsels that follow her." The Hengwrt MS here gives a somewhat different reading:

> The maiden is likened to the destiny, according as Joseph interprets to us, and the destiny also formerly was bald, before Christ suffered; and without hair also until Christ suffered; and when he brought his people by suffering death. The chair, which she has, signifies that destiny exists with which she goes through the world.[44]

The passage is decidedly obscure, indicating that the orginal must have been rather vague at this point.

I think, however, that the explanation given can be shown to be the result of a confusion of symbols. In Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*, Fortune is spoken of as bald,[45] and Nitze suggests,[46] very plausibly, that in the figure of the Damsel of the Car we have an elaboration of this passage. As Professor Kittredge has shown, the association of Fortune with baldness was proverbial in the Middle Ages. Commenting on Professor Matzke's quotation from Erasmus's *Adagia*:

> ad quod erudite simul et eleganter allusit quisquis is fuit, qui verisculum hunc conscripsit *Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva*,

he remarks that "the line occurs in the so-called *Disticha Catonis* II, 26 . . . . . which was used as an elementary manual by pupils in the eleventh century, and there is abundant evidence of its continuous employment as a school-book, in England as well as elsewhere, down to 1750 or even perhaps 1800."[47] Its popularity, he shows, was "immense throughout Europe in the Middle Ages." This proverbial figure must have been present in our author's mind and was the cause of his grafting the interpretation which he did upon an already logically conceived character.

[44] Hengwrt MS, I, 592.
[45] G. Baist, *Crestiens von Troyes conte del Graal*, Freiburg 1909, l. 4609.
[46] "The Sister's Son and the *Conte del Graal*," *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 296.
[47] Kittredge, *M.L.N.*, VIII (1893), 231.

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Nitze also suggests that in the literature of the time "invocations, etc. of Fortune and her wheel abound."[48] The car he here treats as equivalent to a wheel. As a matter of fact the Wheel of Fortune, as numerous representations show, was a thing quite different and far removed from the Damsel's car; and could have played only the same part in the interpretation of the Damsel as did the baldness of Fortune herself. In every way, the explanation given by the hermit at the Castle of Inquest seems an addition and a mixture. Her significance as Fortune is due to a confusion of symbols. The author of the *Perlesvaus*, having formulated from material of various origins, a character that embodied the driving, militant force that set all knights on their proselytizing mission, could not but interpret it in the light of a familiar tradition, which certain details in its make-up suggested to him. It may be remarked, by the way, that the identification of the Church Militant with Fortune or Destiny would not be difficult for an ardent ecclesiastic.

Finally, it will be remembered that the Coward Knight dies in the service of Perceval's Sister. Now Perceval's sister without doubt typifies the Christian Church in its mystic and pacific aspects, as the Damsel of the Car typifies the Church militant. And it is therefore most fitting that the Coward Knight should serve the one and die in protecting the other. This last point added to the others in the study of the Coward Knight episode leads one to the conclusion that the author of the *Perlesvaus* was no mere compiler of commonplace material but that he chose his sources with care and used them with skill to fit into the scheme he had worked out.

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[48] Nitze, *Old Fr. Grail Romance Perlesvaus*, p. 63.

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XIX

THE DEATH OF TRISTAN, FROM DOUCE MS 189

DOUCE MS 189 in the Bodleian library consists at present of 78 parchment leaves, measuring Om310×Om210, of which the first 64 contain the *Mort Artu*, and the last fourteen a fragment of the Prose Romance of *Tristan* the only manuscript of the prose *Tristan* preserved in the libraries of Oxford.

The *Tristan* fragment begins with Mark's invasion of Logres with an army from Cornwall and Saxony and contains §§534-551, 568-570, according to Löseth's analysis, ending with the famous epilogue of Hélie de Borron. The text chiefly resembles that of B. N. fr. 772. The following are the principal variants of Douce 189 from this text in the passages where different MS. readings are given by Löseth:[1]

§534: Douce 189 follows the version of B. N. fr. 760 (*L*, p. 372, n. 5).

§535: In contrast with the Paris MSS, it omits Tristan's promise to revenge the deaths of Erec and Lamorat.

§538: It follows the abbreviated version given by B. N. fr. 99 (*L*, p. 377, n. 1); but whereas in the Paris MSS the damsel enquires Tristan's name, in Douce 189 she guesses it by his skill in harping and singing. The forest in this episode is called *Haut*, as in B. N. fr. 336 and 760 (*L*, p. 376, n. 2).

§540: The son of the king of Norgalles is called *Jeon*.

§545: With B. N. fr. 97, 99, 101, 349, 758, 760, 772, 1463, and 24400, it omits the reference to *Lucas del Gait*.

§549: In the mention of Galahad, it adds the epithet *le fils Lancelot dou Lac*, as B. N. fr. 760 (*L*, p. 388, n. 3); and, in contrast with the Paris MSS, describes the daughter of King Pelleas as *la mere Galeas*.

§550: In *L*, p. 388, l.13, it adds *qi amoient Tristan*, as B. N. fr. 758 (*L*, p. 388, n. 7); and omits *charnel*, with B. N. fr. 760 and 1463, (*L*, p. 388, n. 9). In *L*, p. 389, l.9, it gives the variant of B. N. fr. 757 and 1463 (see note 11), and follows 757 and 1463 in *L*, p. 389, l.10. In l.13 it gives *et voloient* instead of *en lor vie*. It omits *L*, p. 390, ll. 7–8. In *L*, p. 391, ll. 1–2, it follows 760 (see note 15).

[1] E. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan, le roman de Palamède, et la compilation de Rusticien de Pise; analyse critique d'après les MSS de Paris*, Paris 1891. Hereafter cited as *L*.

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For §§569–570 Löseth gives the variants of the Paris MSS in full detail, and it may be useful to tabulate the readings of Douce 189 in these sections at length.

L, p. 402, l.5: follows 336 and 757 (see note 5).

l.6: gives *me dona* for *m'en prestai.*

ll. 7–8: omits *por les . . . . . deduire* (see note 7).

For the rest of this section, except where indicated, Douce 189 follows B. N. fr. 1463.

L, p. 402, ll. 14–16: omits *et par sa bouche . . . . . ai trouve.*

l.36: adds *il*, as 336.

L, p. 403, l.1: follows 757 (in notes 1, 2, and 3).

l.6: omits *droiturier, tout*, and *grant* (see note 6).

l.7: gives *serons au comencement de la douce . . . . .*

l.8: has *la senson* for *le tens.*

l.13: omits *adont, grant*, and has *sor* for *selon.*

ll. 16–18: gives *je vedrai qe faudra e qe je troverai el livre de latin je farai un livre entier.*

note 14: gives *aconplerai* for *conpilerai.*

l.18: has *Lucez dol Grant.*

ll. 20–1: Omits *meismement . . . . . les livres que*

L. p. 404, l.1: has *Gautier Maz.*

note 3: gives *Rubert de Baron, Helies de Borron.*

L. p. 405, l.5: has *Henri.*

l.6: reads *qu'il*, with 336 and 757.

It ends with 1463.

In his Introduction Löseth (pp.xxv–xxvi) notes as surviving traces of a metrical source of this prose romance several phrases which form true octosyllabic verses. He adds however: "on n'y rencontre pourtant pas de rimes." The Oxford manuscript affords an example of an exact rhymed couplet occurring in the Romance: "car il n'est onques gramment hore que la roine Ysolt ne plore" (fol. 65 ^{vo}. a).

The Oxford fragment appears to have been written by a comparatively ignorant scribe, and faults are common. Some of the chief features in this connection may be noted. The initial letter of a word is often duplicated whether vowel or consonant: the scribe writes *mmantes* (fol. 72 ^{ro}. a, l. 1). *llor* (fol 71 ^{vo}. b, l. 22); also frequently *aautre, aaisi, lli, llui.* The letters *l* and *r*, *t* and *r* are often confused, such as *crerement, grorieusement* for *clerement, glorieusement*, and *pooit, avoit, soit* for *pooir, avoir, soir.* The bar denoting nasalization is occasionally omitted, and once

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added erroneously (*feit*, fol. 73 ro. a, l. 30); while the distinction between Singular and Plural in verbs in the third person is purely arbitrary.

I have endeavoured to introduce as few alterations as possible into the text, although several have been necessary owing to scribal corruptions. Where the text is unintelligible it has been restored from that of B. N. fr. 772, with that of Douce 189 in footnotes. The abbreviations *q*, *qi*, 9 in italics have been rendered as *qe*, *qi*, and *con* as these are the more common forms in the MS, when they appear without abbreviation.

(*fol. 65, r°.a; L*, §*534.*) Or dit li contes qe ne demora mie gramment que li rois Marc avoit assegié le rois Artu dedens Kamaalot. Sens doute li rois Marc estoit venus au roiaume de Logres a force de gent, et avoit amené avec lui adonc tou le poïr de Sensoigne et de Cornoaill. Et entra de nuit en la Joieuse Garde, e prist[2] la roine Yzolt, et por ce q'il avoit dotance q'il ne la perdist en aucune maniere au roiaume de Logres, la mande il en Cornoaille tout erranment q'il la tient. Il ala puiz sor le rois Artus e le desconfist, car trop avoit gent et li rois Artus en[3] avoit petit; et si s'enfui dedenz Kamaalot toz navrés et desconfis villainement, et fist clorre[4] les portes tot mantenant, et li rois Marc l'asseja et fist logier sa gent entor la cité. Et qui ceustui conte voldra oïr[5] tout apertement, si preigne le livre Monseignor Robert, car cil le devise tot mot a mot; por ce ne voil deviser en cestui livre.

A celui terme que li rois Marc avoit en cel maniere assegé le rois Artu dedens Kamaalot, Galaaz en oï parler. Quant il savoit que ce estoit verités, il dit q'il le diliveroit s'il onques pooit, et maintenant se mist au chemin et tant q'il trova Palamedes, Estalabor, pere Palamede, et Artu le petit, le filz le roiz Artus. Ensint com je vos ai conté, celui jor issi jorz de la cité li rois Karados Briefbras, a tant de gent com il avoit aferi en l'ost le roi Marc; maiz desconfist i eust esté sainz faille, se ne fust[6] la prouesce de Galaas, qui onques ne mostre si bien[7] apertement q'il estoit chevalier sor tos autres chevaliers. Car quant la bataille fu plus pleinere, il comença a faire si grant mervoille d'armes qe nuls nel voit qi nel tenist a la plus grant mervoille dou monde, car or estoit loing, or a destre, or a senestre, or amont, or aval.

Quant li home le roi Marc virent cele mervoille il estoient[8] durement espoentés, il n'i a si ardis (*r°.b*) qi atendre l'osast, et por ce tornerent il a desconfiture, et li barons de Cornoaille et tuit li baron de Sensogne et li chevalier autresint. Que[9] vos diroie? la fu occisiom si grant c'onqes au

[2] MS. *priste.*
[3] MS. *enn.*
[4] MS. *corre.*
[5] MS. *or.*
[6] MS. *eust est sainz faille se ne ffust.*
[7] MS. *Galaas onques si bien.*
[8] MS. *estoit.*
[9] MS. *quez.*

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roiaume de Logres n'avoit eu greignor devant. Celui jor li rois Marc s'en fui a tant de gent com il pooit. Quant Galaas vit qe li enemi le rois Artu estoient desconfis, et que recovrer[10] ne se poent mes, il se parti de la bataille au plus coiement q'il pot, et s'en ala d'autre part. Mais atant laisse ore li contes a parler de Galaad, et retorne au roiaume de Cornoaille.

Or dit li contes aprés ce que li rois Marc de Cornoaille fu desconfis devant la cité de Kamalot, ou il avoit li rois Artu assegé par la force des baronz de Sençogne, non pas par le pooir de cele de Cornoaille. Quant li rois Marc fu ensint desconfit par la haut prouesce de Galaad, li rois qi s'i tient a bien paié de ce ceulement q'il en puet son cors eschanper. Car, s'il ne se fust[11] fuiz et priveement, bien i eust enpris et retenus. Quant il s'en fu partiz de la bataille assi poi de gent q'il n'estoit pas xxiiii chevalier, il s'en ala permi le roiaume de Logres au plus coiement q'il puet, q'il ne venoit onques n'en chastel ne ville ou il ne fust erranment ocis se l'en le reconeust; por ce li convenoit aler ausi celeement q'il ne fust conneuz ne d'uns ne d'autre. Quant il fu venus a la mer, et entrés en une nef, et arivés en Cornoaille, adonc mercia il Nostre Seignor de ce q'il estoit sainement reparés dou roiaume unde il ne cuidoit jamés reparer.

Granz est li duelz que tout li home de Cornoaille ont receu[12] a cestui point, car de toz les chevaliers que li rois Marc avoit amené de Cornoaille a cestui voiage, ne reparent mie xxx chevalier, car que tuit li autre avoient esté que mort que pris en la grant bataille dou roiaume de Logres. Et granz est[13] li duels et la plainte q'il font tuit de Cornoaille; il sont tant durement corrucciez de ceste[14] grant perte q'il ont faite a cest foiz au roiaume de Logres que l'unz ne set reconforter l'autre.[15] Tuit entendent a faire duel fors li rois Marc seulement; mai il ne fait senblant ($v^o.a$) se petit non q'il en soit gramment corrouciez. Toutes les foiz q'il regarde Madame[16] Ysolte il oblie toute[17] sa perte; ele est tout son confort et son solas e sa joie. Mais, certes, s'il a le corz en sa bailie, il n'en a mie le cuer. Li cuers est en autre leu qe Cornoaille; li cuer est en une[18] grant tor triste et dolenz et jor e nuit, e bien le puet apertement[19] li rois Marc veoir tout adés, car il n'est onques gramment hore que la roine Ysolt ne plore. Il est mervoille ou el puet treuver tantes larmes com ele rent[20] se le drot[21] ele

[10] MS. *que li recovrer.*
[11] So B.N.fr. 1463; MS. has *cil sien s'en fust.*
[12] MS. *a receu.*
[13] MS. *este.*
[14] MS. *de st.*
[15] MS. *reconforte.*
[16] So 772; MS. *soit gramment Madame.*
[17] MS. *toutez.*
[18] So 1463; MS. *est une.*
[19] MS. *i apertement.*
[20] MS. *ront.*
[21] MS. *le drodrot.*

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est au roiaume de Logres. Et, s'ele veille ansint, en dormant est ele adés avec Monseignor Tristan, car li rois Marc ne n'a de li se non la parole[22] et mal senblant. Or a il le cors seulement que ne[23] vaut plus d'une dame mort. Et quant il ne a autre chose coment se puet il reconforter, maiz il l'aime tant q'il n'est chose el monde q'il tant aime, en celle est bien tout sa vie. Mais s'il en est joianz, chez Monseignor Tristan en est dolenz, car puis q'il set veraiement coment li rois Marc estoit venu au roiaume de Logres a force de jent, et avoit asegé le rois Artu en Kamaalot, et puiz avoit esté desconfit par Galaad, et avoit tant fait q'il avoit tret la roine Ysolt de la Joieuse Garde, et l'avoit envié en Cornoaille q'il ne la peust perdre por aucune aventure dou munde au roiaume de Logress.

Quant Monseignor Tristan entendi toutes ces novelles, il ne fu onques maiz si dolenz por le grant duel q'il avoit au cuer; se parti il de tot ces genz; il ne volt mener avec soi escuier nul ormais; ne sera, ce dit il, reconfortés quant il a sa dame perdue en tel maniere. Tristan demoine si grant duel que mervoille estoit coment il dure; petit manje et petit boit. Onques mais ne fu a mal aise q'il ne soit orendroit plus; il maldit Deu et tout le monde, et dit q'il est le plus mescheans chevaliers qi onques portoit armes; doumages est q'il a tant[24] vescu, com il dit.

(*L*, §*535*.) Un jor q'il chevauchoit parmi une forest, armés de totes armes, menant molt grant duel, avint q'il encontra Kex le (*v°.b*) Seneschale e Dodinel le Seuvage. Monseignor Tristan aloit pensant si durement q'il ne savoit s'il estoit morz ou vis. Li deus chevalier se restent enmi le chamin. Quant il virent Monseignor Tristan venir, il dient: "Veez ici venir un chevalier errant, tout apareillez de joster." Et Kex dit erranment: "Je voil avoir la jostre de lui." Il se met adonc avant e dit: "Sire chevalier, a jostrer estuet voz a moi." Monseignor Tristans qi n'en entent pas ce que Kex dit, ainz vient toutez voies avant ensint com a son cheval plaist. "Des aït!" fait li,[1] "par foi je ne vi piece mainz nul chevalier si orgueilleuz com est cestu qi seulement respondre ne me doigne. Or ai je deshés se je repentir ne le feise de ceste follie se je onques puis." "Kex" fait Dodinel, "or aiés vos deshaies se vos nel portez a terre se vos onques poez; car de faire hontes a chevalier orgueillius[2] com est cestui, ne devroit nul home estre blasmés."

Monseignor Kex, quant il set ce[3] que Dodinaus li dit, il ne fait autre demorance, ainz hurte erranment le cheval des esperonz et s'en vient a Monseignor Tristan, et le fiert si durement en son venir q'il le fait les archons voidier et le porte a terre, et ce pooit il legierement faire a celui

[22] MS. *plaitele.*
[23] MS. *na.*
[24] MS. *atant.*
[1] MS. *aie.* The scribe has added erroneously the abbreviation for "er" above *li.*
[2] MS. *orgueilli.*
[3] MS. *il ce.*

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point a ce que Monseignor Tristan pensoit encor esperdument.[4] Quant Monseignor Tristan se set ensint abatu, il en devient tous esbaïs. Si se relieve molt justement, e quant il voit Kex, il le conoist voirement et erranment, maiz lui ne pooient il mie legiement conoistre adonc, car il ne portoit nulles entranseignes q'il solt porter, et por ce le mesconeurent il adoncqes en cel maineres. Quant il reconoist Monseignor Kex, il dit auques coroucés: "Monseignor Kex, Monseignor Kex, mal m'avés abatu en cel mainiere." "Por quoi estes vos si durement orgueillius" dit Monseignor Kex "que ne me doignés respondre? et si vos avoie deus foiz appellés. Certes, plus a en vos orgueill que non a en Monseignor Tristan qi est le meillor chevalier dou monde. Si m'aït Des!" fait Kex, "il me poise[5] que je ne vos ai fait pis qu'abatre seulement." (*fol. 66, r°. a.*) "Kex" fait Monseigneur Tristan, "ce n'est pas li[6] premere honte qe vos m'avés faite. Par cele foi qe je doi a Deu, se por autre ne fus ce, je m'en cuidasse[7] bien chevaucher de vos et assés tost, mais je m'en soferai atant ore a ceste foiz." Et quant il a dit cest parole il voloit aler, quant Kex li vient au devant et li dit: "Sire chevalier, vos qi dites qe vos vos fuissiés si tost de moi vengiés, qi estes[8] vos se Des vos saut?" "Ce ne vos dirai je pas ore" fait Monseignor Tristan, "car il ne me plaist." "Non?" fait Kex, "il est mistié que je sache qi vos estes avant que vos departés de moi ou vos vo combatroiz a moi." "Certes" fait Monseignor Tristan," la bataille de vos ne voldroie je mie puis que vos connoiz, car je feroie encontre ma volonté, et por ce voz dirai je qi je sui. Sachis de voir que je ai nom Tristan di Leonoys."

Quant Kex entent ceste parole il dit: "Hay! sire, merci; pardonez moi par la vostre cortoisie cest outragie que je vos ai orendroit fait. Veraiement le sachiez que je ne vos connosoie pas que n'eusse vos fait mie cest envi que je voz ai fait, maiz je l'ai fait par mesconnoissance." "Bien le sai" fait Monseignor Tristan, "et por ce le vos pardoing je de bone volenté, et je vos comant a Deu ormez car je ne puis mie plus demorer. E quant vos vendrois a la maison dou roi Artu, si me saluez tos les compaignons de la Table Reonde de ma part, et lors dites que Tristan di Leonoys ne fu onqes si corrouciez en tutez sa vie com il est orendroit. A Monseignor Lancelot dites, ne fu onques si bien cheans que je soie mescheans plus malament. Palamede me saluez, et dites li seurement qu'il ne me veroit[9] jamés si com je croi. Mesaventure et meschance me vindrent soudainement; onques queste ne fu si dolerouse com cest est por moi com fu celle del Saint Graal; je suis honis, et si morrai[10] a grant dol. Or ce me va le cuer disant, et li rois Artus en sera desonorés et vergoignos, car autrement ne remandra cestui fait. Por Deu, Monseignor Kex, toz mez compaignons

[4] MS. *esperdinement.*
[5] MS. *poisa.*
[6] MS. *il.*
[7] MS. *cuidas.*
[8] MS. *est.*
[9] MS. *verois.*
[10] MS. *morra.*

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viés saluez; je ne sai (*r°.b*) se je lé veroie jamais, et toz les chevaliers dou lingnage lo roi Ban me salués autresint." "Coment, Monseignor Tristan" fait Kex, "creez vos qu'en ceste quest soient mort chevaliers de lingnage le roi Ban?" "Oïl" fait Monseignor Tristan, "aisez plus que meistier ne fust a la Table Reonde. Or vos ai je dit ce que vos voloie dire; desormés vos comant je a Nostre Segnor." Kex respont tout en[11] plorant, et dit: "Sire, Jesu Crist vos conduie[12] a sauvement."

Quant Monseignor Tristan se parti de Kex le Senescal, chevaucha tout celui jor e l'autre ausint tant que aventure l'aporta en une belle plaigne devant une fontaine, assez pres d'une foreste, qi estoit apellé la foreste Diane, por ce que trop estoit belle et trop delitable. Quant il fu venus devant la fontaine, il descendi por boivre et por repouser, car travaillez estoit durement, et li fesoit trop grant chaut, si com il se reposoit desoz les arbres. Atant es vos issi de la foreste un chevalier, armés de totes armes, qi portoit un escu tout vermoilles sens autre segne nulle, et chevauchoit tout seul senz compaignie nulle.[13]

Quant li chevaliers fu issiz de la forest, ensint com je vos cont, il s'en vient droit a la fontaine, ou il avoit ja autre foiz estee, e venoit droitement por soi reposer; e quant il vit Monseignor Tristan desoz lez arbres, il reconoist erranment que ce est chevalier aventuroz, et cuide bien qu'il ne demore iluec fors por jostrer, et por ce regarde que son cheval ne faille rienz q'il peust amender, et puis monte e dit a soi meismes q'i valt mielz q'il apeaut cest chevalier de joste que cil l'en apelast. Monsignor Tristan, qi bien en out veu le chevalier venir e bien connust erranment au chevaucher, bien q'il rasoit q'il ne puet estre en nulle maniere q'il ne soit preudome des armes, il se remue com cil qi est pensis durement tristes; mais ce pence il voirement bien q'il est venu a la jostre.

Quant li chevaliers fu auqes pres de Monsignor Tristan (*v°.a*) il s' arest, et puis li dit: "Sire chevalier, venez joster s'il vos plest." "Biaus sire" fet Monseignor Tristan, "je n'ai orendroit volont de joster." "Coment" dit le chevalier, "n'estes vos chevalier errant?" "Oïl" fait il, chevalier errant sui je voirement." "Et coment est ce donc" fait il, "que vos refuisés la jostre d'autre chevalier que vos ne connoiez puis q'il vos en apelle?" "Il ore ne me plast" fait Monseignor Tristan," de joster a voz ne a autre; il m'est plus ore d'autre chose." "Certes" fait li chevaliers, "vos n'estes mie sages quant vos entre chevaliers erranz vos metés, et vos ne volez faire ce que chevalier errant doit[14] fare; et il vos en porroit encore venir deshonor." "Je ne feroie autre chose" fait Monseignor Tristan, "certes, je n'ai volonté de joster ne a voz ne a autre." "Se Des vos dont bone aventure" fait li chevaliers, "dites moi qi vos estes." "Certes" fait Monseignor Tristan, "je sui un chevalier estranges." "Et de quel roigne?" fait cil. "Je sui" fait il, "de Cornoaille." Fait cil: "Que vos

[11] MS. *tout co en.*
[12] MS. *condu.*
[13] MS. *nulles.*
[14] MS. *doie.*

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soiés li tres mal venu! et quel male aventure venistes vos or encontrer[15] au roiaume de Logres, quel[16] pecié voz i aporta? Et puis que vos estez de celui[17] honi païz, qi vos dona ardement d'aler par le roiaume de Logres en guise de chevalier erranz et de chevalier aventureux?" "Or est ensint" fait Monseignor Tristan, "puis que je l'ai encomencié, je nel laisserai a cestui point ne por voz ne por autre, se grant[18] force nel fait faire."

Quant li chevaliers entent ceste parole, si se coruce molt fort del coruz q'il haurte le cheval des esperonz et vient por l'escu Monseignor Tristan, et le prent, si le gitte en la fontaine, et dit que ce estoit en despit de toz les chevaliers de Cornoaille. "Sire chevalier" fet Monseignor Tristan, "se Dex me saut, vos faites molt grant villanie qi mon escu desonorés en tel maniere; vos ne me puissiés faire greignor honte. Se Dex vos saut, aprés la vilanie que vos m'avés faite, faitez ore tant de corteisie que vos descendés et remetés mon escu la ou vos le pristes; si l'avroiz adonc amendé partie de la onte (*v°.b*) que vos li avés faite." "Et je descendroie por vostre escu" dit li chevaliers, "ce fust[19] hore par male aventure. Cist escu est ore ou[20] l'escu de Monseignor Lancelot ou de Monsignor Tristan." "Des! com est ore grant doumage qe cist escu est abatus, sire chevalier" fet Monseignor Tristan. "Encor vos di je que vos mon escu ne desprisiez; je le pris et le honorai de tot mon pooir; qi le face honte, il fait a moi primierement honte; et encore voz di je qe vos l'escu relevez dont vos le gitastes, et, se vos nel faites,[21] je ferai autre chose."

Et le chevalier comence a riere[22] quant il entent cest parole et dit: "Coment, sire chevalier de Cornoaille, menachiez vos? Se Dex vos dont bone aventure, qe cuidés vos faire?" "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "je cuit fare tout autre chose q'il vos tornera a deshonor; ne vos ne troveroiz pas en moi si mauvés chevalier de Cornoaille com vos cuidés." "Or en faites quant que vos en poroiez faire" fet li chevaliers, "que ja[23] par Sainte Croix, ne sera par moi remuez de la ou il est. Leissiez le boivre longuement; et se vos estiez avec lui ce ne seroit mi trop grant doumage puis que vos estez de Cornoaille."

Tant parloient li deus chevalier li un encontre l'autre que Monseignor Tristan se muet en ire; il estoit corrociez tant q'il ne puet plus avoir que li chevaliers li a fait tel deshonor q'il a gité son escu en la fontaine, et voient lui ce est[24] une chose que trop durement le desplait. Lorz se drece tout maintenant e vient a son escu, et le lieve orz de la fontaine e dit[25]: "Certes, escu, onques mais en ma compaignie ne voz fu faite si grant deshonor, ne a scu que je portasse; et se je orendroit ne me venge, je ne

[15] MS. *econtre.*
[16] MS. *quil.*
[17] MS. *de lui.*
[18] So 1463; MS. *sant.*
[19] MS. *juste.*
[20] MS. *ore e.*
[21] MS. *faite.*
[22] MS. *comenc arriere.*
[23] MS. *je.*
[24] MS. *este.*
[25] MS. *dites.*

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voil pas que l'em me tiegne desormaiz a chevalier." Et lorz le met a son cuol erranment, e vient a son cheval et monte, et prent son glaive qi estoit dreciés encontre un arbre, et quant il est apareilliés (*67, r°.a*) de joster, il dit au chevalier a l'escu vermoil: "Sire chevalier, or poez voz de moi avoir la jostre. Vos m'alez hui molt blasmant de ce que je la jostre refusoie; mais ore l'avez a point trové. Ore pensés bien de vos tenir en sele, que, par la foi qe je doi a Deu, molt me pesera[26] durement se je ne vos faiz voler a terre et se je ne vengne la deshonor que vos avés faite a mon escu." Et quant le chevalier entent ceste parole, il comence a sorrire molt durement et dit: "Coment, sire chevalier de Cornoaille, avez voz donc hardement de jostrer a moi?" "Oīl, certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "et vos le verroiz tout maintenant." "Des me gart"[27] fait li chevaliers, "que je a chevalier de Cornoaille me jostrasse, car je ne me porroie plus vergogner que le honorer.[28] Je vos qit de totes quereles, et de ce que je vos apellai de jostre me repent je, puis que je sai que vos estes de celui païs." "Certes," fet Monseignor Tristan, "a jostre vos estuet a moi; par parole ne m'eschanperois en tel maniere. Ou vos m'abaterois a terre ou je vos; en autre maniere ne puet departir nostre querelle. Or vos gardés huimaiz de moi car a la joste estes venu; li mienz escu sera vengiés orendroit."

Et quant il a dit ceste parole, il ne fait[29] autre deleance, ainz hurte le chevaus des esperons, e s'en vient ver le chevalier tant com il puet del cheval trere. Cil ne se remue com cil qi de grant cuer estoit, ainz atent totez voiez, car il ne cuide pas que semblant q'il face. E por ce atent il q'il ne se mue, et tient l'escu encontre son pis. E Monseignor Tristan, qi li vient, irés et dolenz durement, et le fiert si roidemant en son venir que tout fust li chevalier de grant pooir qi se poisse tenir es archonz. Il c'esforce durement quant il sent le cop de la lance[30] q'il s'i tiegne en tel maniere q'il ne cheïst; mes[31] tout son esforce ne li[32] valt; il est si durement ferus q'il li estuet voidier les arçons et cher a terre molt felloneusement, q'il ne set s'il est nuit u jor; et gist iluec une molt grant piece q'il n'a pooir ne force de soi relever.

Quant Monseignor Tristan le voit a la terre, il discent senz (*r°.b*) faire delaiment nul, e prent l'escu au chevalier, et li ost dou col, et le porte a la fontaine et le gite dedens, et puis s'en revient a son seval e monte et s'en vait outre son chemin.

(*L*, §*536*.) Il n'oit mie grammentalé q'il n'encontra une damoiselle tout soule qi estoit di trop grant biauté, et venoit le grant chemin criant ausint com s'en la vousist ocirre—si durement espoenté que jamais ne veroit plus espoenté de li,— e ele crioit tant com ele pooit: "Aide, aide, bone gent!" Quant Monseignor Tristan voit venir la damoiselle, si vit[1]

[26] MS. *pensera.*
[27] MS. *gardi.*
[28] MS. *que ehonorer*
[29] MS. *faite.*
[30] MS. *lnce.*
[31] MS. *ne mes.*
[32] MS. *il.*
[1] MS. *vint.*

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maintenant qu'ele estoit durement espoentee; si li dit: "Ha! damoiselle, n'aiés paor: je sui un chevalier erranz qi vos preing en ma garde." "Ha! sire chevalier," fait ele, "ne me tenés ci par paroles; se vos ne m'en[2] leissiez aler je sui morte maintenant. Ja garentir ne me porés, car un chevalier vient ci aprés moi qi me vel ocirre." "Damoiselle" fait Monseignor Tristan, "avez paor fors d'un chevalier suelement?" "Sire" fet elle, "n'est ce trop?" "Damoiselle" fait il, "e vos promet que encontre un seul chevalier vos garentrai je ce se n'estoit Monseignor Galaas ou Monseignor Lancelot; nul de ce ij, ce sai je bien, ne feroit a damoiselle villanie e nulle mainiere; por quoi je vos pring seurement en conduit. Or remanés." "Biaus sire, qi estes vos qi si m'asiurés?"[3] "Damoizelle" fait Monseignor Tristan, "je sui un chevalier errant de la maison lo rois Artu, et compaignon de la Table Reonde." "Sire" ce dit la damoiselle, "et je remandrai por seurté de vos. Or vos prie je par vostre cortoisie que vos me garentois encontre un chevalier qi ça vient, et qi[4] prendre me volt, si com je croi." "Damoiselle" fait, "je vos promet loiaulment que vos n'avrés doumage ne mal senz moi. Qi est cest chevalier dont vos plagnoit si duremant, et por quoi vos cace il?" "Sire" fait ele, "se Des me dont bone aventure, je ne sai autre raison forz que je chevauchoie ore per ceste forest en la compaignie d'un chevalier qi mé freres charnels est, e trovamnez un chevalier armés de toutes armes, et si estoient toutes blances; et maintenant q'il me vit il me corrut sus, e non pas a mon frere (*v°.a*), et si me volt ferre d'un glaive; et je me laissai[5] chere del cheval a terre. Et quant mes freres vit ceste chose, il lasse corre sor le chevalier, et cil a lui, et comencerent la melee; e quant je vi ce, si ving a mon cheval, et montai et me tornai erranment en fue. Je regardai ariere et[6] vi que li chevaliers avoit mon frere abatu; si ai trop grant paor q'il ne l'ait[7] mort; et je, qi sui feme, avoie paor q'il ne lasast mon frere et venist aprés moi, m'en ving fuiant en tel mainiere com vos veez. Or vos ai conté tout mon fat, e si vos pri por vostre cortoisie que vos ne me laissiez ocire en vostre compaignie." "Damoiselle" fait Monseignor Tristan, "or soiez a seur; vos n'avez garde de lui, se Deu plaist."

La ou il parloient en tel maniere, com je vos cont, il voient venir encontr'eus tout le grant chamin un chevalier, armés d'unes armes blanches, et se alchuns me demandoit qi estoit le chevalier, je diroie que ce estoit Brehus sanz Petié, qi maintes hontes ha faites a dames e a damoiselles; et, por soi plus deguiser en toutes les mainieres q'il puet, portoi il les armes blanches senz autres entrenseignes nulez, por ce q'il resenblast chevalier novel. Tot erranment que la damoiselle le voit pres de lui, ele dit a Monseignor Tristan: "Ha! sire, por Deu merci; veez ci venir le chevalier dont je me plaing." "Coment, damoiselle" fait il, "ce

[2] MS. *mei.*
[3] MS. *misiures.*
[4] MS. *qil.*
[5] MS. *llaissai.*
[6] So 1463; MS. *me regardai et.*
[7] MS. *me lai.*

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est un chevalier noviaus, et si vos voloit faire cest hont? Or le laississ venir avant, que de lui vos asseur je bien." "Sire" fait ele, "metés voé devant moi; si serai adonc plus seure." "Volontiers" fait il, "domoiselle, puis que vos plaist." Si se met devant tot maintenant. "Je ai grant paor" fet ele, "que mes freres ne soit ocis." "Damoiselle" fait Monseignor Tristan, "ne vos esmaiez; le fait de vos et de vostre frere n'ira[8] pas si malament com vos cuidés."

Atant es vos Brehus venir, et quant il vint[9] pres de Monseignor Tristan il dit: "Sire chevalier, laissiez la damoiselle se vos ne vos volez (*v°.b*) combatre a moi." Monseignor Tristan li respont: "Sire chevalier, je ai pris en conduit cest damoiselle encontre vos et contre touz autres chevaliers a mon pooir, tant com elle sera en mon conduit." "Coment, sire chevalier" fet Brehus, "volés vos donc combatre a moi por la damoiselle?" "E nom Dieu" fait Monseignor Tristan, "je n'ai ore nul chevalier qi li fist ennvi tant com elle est en ma compaignie." "Anvi ne li voil je faire, mais le puis par ragion, car je l'ai conqise a forse d'armes encontre un autre chevalier." "Je ne sai" ce dit Monseignor Tristan, "que vos avés fait, mes se vos avoir[10] la volez, il convendra greignor force que la vostre avant que vos puissez avoir par force." "Sire chevalier" fait Brehus, "il m'est avis qe vos volez avoir la meslee." "Certes," fait Monseignor Tristan, "je ne me qier amesler a vos s il ne vos plaist, maiz ançois me mesleroie je a vos que a vos l'enmenissiez; car je l'ai prise en mon conduit." "Donc estes venu a la meslee" fait Brehus; "or vos gardés humai de moi, se volez vos."

Breus ne tient plus parlamant, ainz leisse corre a Monseignor Tristan, et il a lui; et Monseignor Tristan leisse corre a lui,[11] et le fiert si roidement en son venir q'i li fait les arçons voidier, et le fait flatir a[12] terre molt feloneusement. Li cheval s'en torne fuiant, et Monseignor Tristan prent le cheval, et le moine a Brehus, et li dit: "Sire chevalier, montés et ne me sachiez mal gré se je vos ai abatu, car vos le me feïstes faire par force." "Biaus sire" fet Brehus, "vostre merci. Certes, vos m'avez ore mostré grant pitié de vostre cortoisie, et, se je en venoie en leu, je vo rendroie le guereedom." Et lorz vient aprés lui le chevalier a l'escu vermoill que Monseignor Tristan avoit abatu, et dit a Monseignor Tristan: "Ha!sire chevalier, vos m'avés gabez durement que me deïstes que vos estiez chevalier de Cornoaille. Certes, vos n'en estez pas de celui mauveiz païz car vostre chevalerie le mostre." Monseignor Tristan rit des paroles dou chevalier; il ne li respont ne ce ne qoi, ainz s'en vait outre et dit a la damoiselle: "Damoiselle, il m'est (*68, r°.a*) aviz que vos estes delivrés dou chevalier dont vos avés si grant paor. Volés que je vos face plus?" "Sire" fait ele, "je voudroie, s'il vos pleisoit, qe vos a cest chevalier que

[8] MS. *ni ara.*
[9] MS. *vit.*
[10] MS. *avoit.*
[11] MS. *llui.*
[12] MS. *faltir la a.*

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vos avés orendroit abatu foissés acreanté q'il ne me feïst villanie." "Certes" fait Monseignor Tristan, "ce vos ferai je molt volentiers." Et lors dit Monseignor Tristan a Brehus: "Sire chevalier" fet il, "vos pri que vos a ceste damoiselle pardonez tout le maltalent que vos avés a li, si qu'elle s'en puisse aler tout qitement la ou ele voudra aler." "Certes" fait Brehus, "molt volentiers por l'amor de vos la qit je de totes querelles; aler s'en puet quel part qu'ele voudra." "De ce vos merci je molt" fait Monseignor Tristan. "Damoiselle, aler vos en pués quel part que vos voldrois, e, se vos volés, je vos condurai plus." "Sire" fait ele, "vostre merci; mes je ne voil que vos me conduisoiz[13] en avant, car je n'en ai mestier, puis que je sui a seur de cel chevalier." Et lors s'en vait outre.

(*L*, §*537*.) Quant la damoiselle s'en fu parti, Brehus s'en vient a Monseignor Tristan, et li dit: "Sire chevalier, je ai tant esprovez de vos que je sai de voir que vos estes preus e vaillens. L'en doit de tout son poïr honorer preudome, et por ce vos pri je que vos me doignez un don que rienz ne voz gravera; et sachiez, sire, que je le fai por vostre preu et por vostre honor." "Dites" fet Monseignor Tristan, "que vos volés, car je puisse faire ce." "Sachiez, je vos di" fet Brehus, "que je ai pres de ci un recet si bel et si cointe que bien y poroit herbergier honoreement li rois Artu. Il est tart,[1] ce veez vos bien; ne il n'a pres de ci ne recet ne maison ou vos puissiez deshormés herbergier aeisiement q'il ne fust tart; por quoi je vos pri por vostre aeise et por vostre preu que vos i rimanois[2] cest nuit, et herbergois avec moi; et sachiez, si vos i venés, que je vos i ferai honor autant com je feroie au roi Artu meismes, cui je sui home lige, et qi me fist chevalier." "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "quant vos m'en priez si fort, je le ferai par amor de vos." "Molts merci" ce dit Brehus.

Lorz s'en revient au chevalier a l'escu vermoil, et tant li prie durement de venir avec lui herbergier que cil li respont (*r°.b*): "Biaus sire, je irai puis que tant me priés; si n'i irai tant por vostre priere com por veoir cel chevalier qi abatu m'a, autresint com il fist vos; e sachiez de voir que, se je veïsse nulle droitte achaison por qoi je me peusse a lui combatre, je m'i combatisse orendroit por vengier la honte q'il m'a faite; mais a cest point m'en convient soffrir, et encontre ma volonté meismes." "Biau sire" fet Brehus, "or laisiez tout rancune, et entendon a autre chose." "Volentiers" fet le chevalier, "ja plus ne me oroiz parler a ceste foiz."

Atant se meten a la voie qu'il ne font[3] autre demorance, et trespassent par devant une tor, et il oïent i damoiselle qi trop bien chantoit laens, et avoc[4] tout ce ele arpoit si glorieusement[5] que ce estoit mervoille a oïr. Ele cantoit adonc i lai que Monsignor Tristan avoit ja fait quant il connuit premierement Madama Ysolt e la nef, ensint com hom connoit feme. Quant Monseignor Tristan entent lou son, il connoist tout clerement

[13] So 1463; MS. *conduez.*
[1] MS. *tant.*
[2] MS. *rrimanois.*
[3] MS. *ffont.*
[4] MS. *aavoic.*
[5] MS. *grorieusement.*

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que ce est laienz, si s'arest delez la tor por escouter la damoiselle, e quant il a une grant piece escoutee, il est ensi com toz esbaïz, car il dit a soi meismes qe onques a nul jor de sa vie il n'oït feme si bien canter ne si bien arper com cest fait, ce se ne fu Madame Ysolt, por qoi si bien arper e ci doucement chanter li sovient des amorz. Cil dui chevalier, voirement, por les jostes[6] ou il l'avoient mis, et por les paroles ou il le tenoient, li avoient fait oblier une grant partie de sos solas maiz orendroit l'en resovient.

Quant il a une grant piece escouté la damoiselle, il dit en sospirant de cuer parfont: "Ha! Sire Dex, tant cante glorieusement la damoiselle. Sire Dex, poroie je encore tant vivre que je veïsse la dame des dames, qi set arper et set chanter[7] sor totes les dames mortelz." Et Monseignor Tristan, quant il a dit ceste parole, si s'apoie sor l'arçon devant, si pensis et si conqis de la grant piece si qe li dui chevalier qi le regardent ausint con tuit sont esbaïz[8], car bien voient tout apertement q'il est trop durement amalaisi. A chief de piece s'escrie[9] Monseignor Tristan si aut que Brehus et li autre chevalier l'entendent tout clerement.[10] "Halas!" fait il, "com je sui mort et com je sui plus malaventureux que nul autre chevalier! je ne puis en nul leu venir qe adez non me crossent mes dolorz; a cestui point m'a cest damoiselle mé dolorz renovellez. Et qe diroie je? sui morz plus qe nulle autre ome."

E quant il a dit cest parole, il s'en taste ne dit plus; d'une grant piece est si maiz et si pensiz con s'il fust mort. Et Brehus, qi voit q'il est trop durement a mal aisse, li dit por lui riconforter: "Ha! sire chevalier, ne vos desconfortez si durement. Certes, si bon chevalier com vos estes[11] ne se devroit desconforter por nulle aventure del monde, car teles sont les aventures q'aprés grant duel revient grant joie." "Ha! sire" fet Monseignor Tristan, "se ensent me pooit avenir, con je seroie cheanz!" "Tout ce vos porçoit avenir et encore plus" ce dit Brehus; et de cele parole se reconforte molt Monseignor Tristan.

Quant il sont venu a la porte Brehus s'escrie: "Ovrés, ovrés." Cil de laienz saillent sus et ovrent la porte maintenant, et reçoivent lor seignor a grant paor et a grant doute, com cellui q'il ne redotoient gaires moins de la mort. Quant il sont laienz entré, il descendent enmi la cort, et Monseignor Tristan, qi comence a regarder tout entor lui, voit le manoir si bel et si cointe par senblant, que piece ne vit il mais un si bel de le grandesse q'il a ci. Descent tout, et au descendre q'il a fait dit Brehus a sa mesnee: "Ne servis moi pas a ceste foiz; mes servis ceste chevalier qi est plus preudome d'armes de moi; et gardés[12] que vos ne faciez autre." Et il dient que cel comandement aconprir feront il bien tout lor pooir. Si s'en vient a Monseignor Tristan, et se travaillent de lui servir tant com il poent.

[6] MS. *joste.*
[7] MS. *chant.*
[8] So 1463; MS. *et tuit esbaiz.*
[9] MS. *escie.*
[10] MS. *recrerement.*
[11] MS. *estos.*
[12] MS. *a gardes.*

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Il comande qu'il desarment[13] le chevalier a l'escu vermoil; et il le font tot ensint (*v°.b*) con il leur comande. Tot mainntenant q'il li ont osté l'iaume de la teste, ot Monseignor Tristan regardé li chevalier; il reconoist qe ce est un chevalier q'il amoit de molt grant amor; poi i a des chevaliers au monde a cu il vousist plus grant bien; e se aucunz me demandoit qi est li chevaliers qu'ill amoit, je diroie sanz doute qe le[14] plus bel jostreor de tot le monde ce estoit Monseignor Hestor de Marés, li freres Monseignor Lancelot dou Lac.

Quant Monseignor Tristan le voit, il li cort le braz tendus et li dit: "Ha! sire, vos soiez li tres bien venu; or sachiez que de vostre venue su je molt joianz et molt liez." "Sire" ce dit Hestor, "je ne sai encor qi vos estez. Bien la sachiez q'i a ja tenz passé qe je ne vi chevalier que je desirasse a çavoir qe je faiz voz orendroit; e por ce vos pri je que vos me dioiz qi vos estes." "Certes," fet Monseignor Tristan, "enver vos ne me poroie celer." E lor le prent par la main destre, et le trait a une fenestre, et li dit: "Je sui Tristan di Leonois cui vos aviez tant amé com vos savés, et je vos pri qe vos ne diois ceienz mon nom ne ne me feçois conoistre, ne ci ne ailoors." "Sire" fet il, "a vostre comandemant; ja par moi ne serés conneus çaienz."

Grant est la joie, granz est la fest que li unz compaignons fait a l'autre. Pieç'a mes que ne s'entrevirent en leu ou aventurez les aportast en un chastel, mais, quant il sont venu en un chastel, il sont trop lié et trop joiant de ce q'il se sont ensint entreconeu. Quant cil de laient ont ensint desarmés Monseignor Hestor, il desarment Monseignor Tristan, et puis l'aportent l'eive por laver son col et son vis, et mantel por lui covrir q'il n'eust froit. Aprés les armes portent; autresint font il a Monseignor Hestor.

Monseignor Tristan, qi tant est dolenz q'il ne set q'il doit dire comence[15] maintenant a penser q'il est asiz de laenz Hestor, car maintenant li sovient dou grant duel q'il a au cuer. Quant il li sovient des dames que li rois Marc a conqistee, a poi q'il ne rage de duel; c'il a dolor nel demandés (*69, r°.a*). Monseignor Hestor, qi bien connoist, quant il le voit ensin penser, q'il est dolenz corrucciez senz faille, et sent bien dont cest corous li vient, bien set[16] sens doute que ce est por amor de Madame Ysolt, car il avoit ja bien oï conter coment li roiz Marc estoit venu au roiaume de Logroes, et le grant doumage q'il avoit fait, et coment il avoit conqise Madame Ysolt e l'avoit menee[17] au roiaume de Cornoaille des cellui jor q'il l'avoit[18] conqise. Por celui fait, ce cet il bien dont Monseignor Tristan savoit la verité; est il si durement dolenz autre chaison il n'i puet avoir.[19] E por ce, ne set il en quel maniere il le puisse reconforter, puiz que la perte li est

[13] MS. *comandent q'il desarme.*
[14] MS. *qe je le.*
[15] MS. *comen.*
[16] MS. *ses.*
[17] MS. *l'en avoit.*
[18] MS. *avoie.*
[19] MS. *avoit.*

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avenue. Bien set de voir que a grant poine e a grant travail recuerra sa dame, s'il la velt avoir; car li rois Marc, puis q'il la tient en sa bailie, le fera asés mielz garder q'il ne fi onques a garder; et, se li rois Marc puet tenir Tristan en Cornoaille, nul nel poroit garentir q'il nel face morir de male mort, a ce q'il ne het nule home tant com il fait Monseignor Tristan.

Monseignor Hestor vait pensant, et connoist bien certainement que por autre chose forz che por ceste n'est Monseignor Tristan coruchiez. Ne set il q'il en doit dire, forz qu'il le vait reconfortant au mielz q'il puet, e li dit: "Sire, ne vos esmaïs si durement; si bon chevalier com vos estes ne devroit mie esmaier por nulle aventure, car ele seroit[20] ja molt greveuse que vos ne porroiz mener a fin par force de chevalerie. Ja estes tel chevalier com nos savons; Des vos a fait si preudome et si puissant et si forte en toutes chosez q'i n'est ore nule si fort chose que vos encomencissiez de quoi vos n'en issiez a fine force. D'autre part, vos savez bien que vos avez tant de poissanz, premierement le roi Artu et son hostel, et puis Monseignor Lancelot dou Lac, qi tant vos aime com vos savés, et tout vostre autre lignage—que je ne sai orendroit nul si grant siengnor au monde, ce li volés faire guerre, que vos nel puissiez chacier de terre a fine force. Et quant vos si grant force avez a par vos et par autre, donc ne vos poez vos esmaier por nulle aventure dou monde. Se li rois (*r°.b*) Marc vos a rienz mesfait, et vos li avés rienz de corroiz, si m'aït Dez, vos le poés destrure et en poi de tenz, et metre autre foiz[21] in prison ensint com vos feïstez ja bien. Sire, renforcez vos; ne metés sor vos tel duel; que je vos promet q'il ne demora mie gramment, se vos un poi vos volés travailier, que vos l'avrés en vostre bailie ce don vos estes[22] si coruchiez. Confortez vos, car de prendre tol corouces sor vos com je voi que vos avés n'apartient a nul preudome, puis q'il puisse son corrous vengier si bien com vos le poez faire."

Tant vait disant Monseignor Hestor a Monseignor Tristan, et tant li met avant paroles q'il s'en vai molt reconfortant et dit a Monseignor Hestor: "Si m'aït Dex, trop m'est bel que vos trovai, que trop m'avez reconforté de vos paroles. Je estoie hui come home mort quant vos me trovastes a la fontaine; mais orendroit sui reconforté: lé grans vos paroles ont fait tel bien e tant m'ont amendé q'il m'est avis qe je ai orendroit ma perte recovree et que je ai vengié molt grant corrus. Dex me manda par bone aventure que je vos trovai, car vos m'avés reconfortés." Molt est Monseignor Tristan joians a grant mervoille; de ce que Monseignor Hestor li dit trop se vait reconfortant.

Atant es vos entr'els venir[23] Breus, et quant il voit les ii chevaliers il le pris molt par senblant, et dit bien a ssoi meissmes q'il ne puet estre que cil chevalier ne soient preudome durement; mes il prise assés plus Monseignor Tristan q'il ne fait Monseignor Hestor. Quant il est devant els

[20] MS. *aventure seroit.*
[21] MS. *metre foiz.*
[22] MS. *este.*
[23] MS. *venr.*

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venus, il lé salue, et il se drecent contre lui et li rendent son salu. "Seignors" fet il, "le vos mercis que vos doignastes venir en mon hostel, car sachiez bien que de vostre venue sui je[24] molt liez, car preudome me senbles andui; mais, por ce que je ne vos conois, encor sui je desiranz de vos conoistre. Je vos pri tant con je porroie prier chevalier qe vos diois vos noms." "Hestes" ce li dit Hestor, "de nos non savoir a cestui point nos sofrés s'il vos pleist." "Ha! seignor" ce dit Breus, "se Dex me dont bone aventures, je ne vos demant ceste chose (*v°.a*) se por amor non." "Et por cortoisie vos dirai mon non, por convenant que vos le non de cest chevalier ne me demandés hore. Sachiez de voir que je ai nom Hestor de Marés."

Quant[25] Breus entent ceste parole, por ce que Estor estoit bien l'ome dou monde q'il ait plus mortelment por moltes achaison, il mue color de grant hain q'il a; i s'i s'en vient outre q'il ne dit plus de ceste chose. Se perçoit bien Monseignor Tristan; si dit a Monseignor Hestor: "Ore ne[26] sai que sera, mes nostre hoste a molt gros cuer vers vos je sui bien aperceus par le senblant que je li vi or faire maintenant q'il oï vostre non." "Or ne vos chaut" fet Monseignor Hestor. Breus s'en vait en la chanbre, e trove laiens la damoiselle harpant q'il avoient oï de laforz; et ce estoi une damoiselle q'il tenoient laiens por lui q'il amoit asese et molt se fioit. "Sire, qi sont li chevalier qi sont laienz hebergiez?" "Damoiselle" fet il, "li un ne conoiz je mie tres bien, forz tant senz doute que je coiz por moi meismes q'il est bons chevaliers d'armes et prus; mes de l'autre sai je bien de voir que ce est Hestor de Marés que plus me fait honte et vergoigne qe chevalier qe je sache. Mes, certes, puis que ensint est[27] avenu que aventure l'aporte en mon hostel, il ne s'en partira jamés devant qe je me soie vengiés de lui a ma volonté; mais, tout avant qe je cominciasse cest fait, voldroie je volontiers savoir qi est cel preudome qi laiens est avec lui." "Et qe cuidés vos" fait elle, "q'i soit?" "Si m'aït Dex" fet il, "je ne le sai mie tres bien."

La ou Breus parloit,[28] en cel maniere a la damoiselle, atant es vos laienz une autre damoiselle qi dit: "Ha! Breus, sire, un des chevaliers que vos avés laienz hebergié vos pri qe vos li façoiz venir la damoiselle qi harpoit orendroit ceiens quant vos estiez lafors; il l'oroit trop volontiers harper, s'il vos plaisoit." "Li qels chevaliers est ce" fait Brehus, "qi ce vos dist?" "Sire" fet ele, "ce est le greignor chevalier (*v°.b*) des deus." Et bien estoit verité qe Monseignor Tristan estoit greignor chevalier que Estor, e si estoit Hestor uns des greignor chevaliers de la Table Reonde. "A celui" fait Breus, "ferai je bien sa volenté, car il me senble preudome." "Sire" ce dit la damoiselle qi l'arpe tenoit, "s'il vos plaisoit, je iroie laiens et porterai ma arpe; sachiez, si veraie s'il i a nul qi harper sache." "Bien me plaist" fet Breus.

[24] MS. *sui il.*
[25] MS. *qquant.*
[26] MS. *ore n.*
[27] MS. *este.*
[28] MS. *parloient.*

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(*L*, §*538*, *p. 377*, *n. 1.*) Atant c'en vait la damoiselle la ou li dui chevalier estoient; Breus remaint en la chambre. Quant Monseignor Tristan voit venir la damoiselle qi la harpe tenoit, il se lieve encontre li et li dit: "Damoiselle, bien soiez vos venus." "Sire" fet ele, "bone vie vos dont Dex." Atant s'asient, et Monseignor Tristan prent la harpe, et la comence a tenprer selonc le chant q'il voloit dir. Lors se torne vers Monseignor Hestor: "Puis qe ces dures novelles que vos savés furent[1] aportés, je chevauchoie un jor par la foreste de Haut, tou seul sens compaignie, tant dolenz et tant esmaiés durement que je onques ne fui plus dolens, si con je croi. E descendi adonc devant une fontaine, e començai a penser a moi meemes, et trovai adonc en pensant c'onques a nul jor dou monde n'ot autant de dolorz par amor con je ai eu. De cel grant dolor fis un lai, et cest vers vos voill je arper orendroit, et sachiez qe onques ne furent arpé se de moi non." "Ha! sire, por Deu, dites le" fait Hestor. Et il les comence adonc quant il a sa harpe atempré, e comence en cel maniere:

"D'amor vient mon chant e mon plor,
Et d'iluec prenent nasciment;
Celle fait qe orendroit plor,
E ri en tout, se Dex m'ament.
Et quant je voi apertement,
Que selle m'aime, si a son tor,
Que je sui serf, et elle est seignor,
Je la or cont mon sauvement;
Lui serf tuit enterement,
Car je n'ai autre[2] sauveor;
(*70*, *r°.a*) A lui[3] enclin, a lui aor,
D'autre seignor n'en ai paor;
A lui[3] serf si veraiment
Qu'il n'i a point[4] de fausement."

Quant il a cestui lay finé et chanté et arpé si fierement come cil qi 'l savoit faire, car il estoit bien sanz doute uns des chevaliers dou monde qi a celui tenz chantoit mielz, i rent la harpe: "Je ai fait ce que je sai." "Certes" fait celle, "de ce que vos en avez fait me tieng trop bien apaié, et dis[5] bien que ja ne m'eussiez vos dit vostre nom si conneusse je bien par la harpe qe vos estes Monseignor Tristan, car il n'est hore en cestui monde[6] nul chevalier qi de la harpe seust[7] si bien entremetre con vos savez; et de ce que j'en avoie ja oï dire par maintes foiz a plusor jens, vos eusse je bien conneu seulement par la harpe sens oïr vostre nom." "Damoiselle" fet il, "puis qe vos le dites, e je le vos ottroi."

La ou la damoiselle parloit[8] ensint a Monseignor Tristan, es vos entre les venir Breus. La damoiselle se drece maintenant, et le trait a une part,

[1] MS. *furente.*
[2] MS. *auutre.*
[3] MS. *llui.*
[4] MS. *pointit.*
[5] MS. *dit.*
[6] MS. *hore estui monde.*
[7] MS. *si seust.*
[8] MS. *parloient.*

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et li dit: "Sire, cist est Monseignor Tristan de cui vos demandiés hui." "Certes" fet il, "je le croi bien." "Sire" fet, "vos savés bien qel chevalier il est et de qel pooir; por Deu, gardés vos bien qe vos ne comandés[9] devant lui nulle chose de quoi il se coruciast[10] a vos, qe encontre lui ne porrés vos durer por q'il se corucciast." "Damoiselle" fet il, "Dex me gart que je mete ma vie en si grant aventure qe je Tristan corrucciasse, que je n'ai pas orendroit çaiens la force, et, s'en bien la force en avoie, orendroit si ne li[11] feroie je chose qi a envi li tornast[12], car me fist, encore n'a gueres, une bonté si grant qu'il me delivra de mort et me rescoust adonc de Monseignor Briobris de Gaunes, qi occire me voloit por un mesfait qe li avoie fet, et ocis m'eust sans faille—mes Monseignor Tristan me delivra par sa cortoisie, et se je, aprés celle bonté q'il me fist tout novellement, li porcacioie[13] (*r°.b*) orendroit le doumage de son cors, ce seroit bien la traïson greignor que nul chevalier peust fere; de ce me gart Dex a cestui point."

Lors s'en vient a Monseignor Tristan, et il dit: "Sire, bien soiez vos venus. Or sachiés qe puis qe je sai qe vos estes Monseignor Tristan, je ne sai nul servise que je puisse vos faire que je ne vos feïsse tant con vos seriez çaienz a ceste foiz, et bien sachiez, sire, que vos l'avés deservi." "De ce vo smerci molt, bel host" fait Monseignor Tristan. "Or sacchiez qe je vos tieng orendroit[14] a plus cortois que je ne fassoie[15] hui quant je vi qe vos enchaciez la damoiselle." "Sire, bien puet estre" ce dit Breus. "Bel ost" fet Monseignor Tristan, "je sui en vostre hostel; la vostre merci qi m'i amenast; ne encore ne sai je mie vostre nom. Je vos pri qe vos le me diois." "Sire" ce dit Breus, "ne ferai ore, et je vos pri q'il ne vos en poist. Tant vos promet je bien voirement qe je le vos dirai avant qe nos departom." "Et je m'en soufrerai atant" fait Monseignor Tristan, "puis qe je voie que vostre volonté est tele."

Atant es vos venir laiens uns des vallés Breus, qi dit: "Sire, cist seignor poent mangier quant il lor plaira, car li mangier est[16] apareilliez." "Aporte donc l'eive" fet Breus, "qe je cuidoie q'il eusen ja mangié." Maintenant sunt les tables mises, li chevalier se levent[17] et se sient; et sachiez q'il furent adonc servi si bien et si richement con c'il fussent esté en un plus riche hostel q'il n'estoient. Mes tout adés regarde Monseignor Tristan Breus, et[18] Hestor dit bien[19] a soi meismes que cest est le plus fellon chevalier q'el veïst[20] onques. Mes si en parole tout coiement, et en soriant a Monseignor Tristan, et il li respont: "Biaus sire, et a vos que chaut de sa felonie quant vos en lui ne trovés se corteisie non?" Et il respont:

[9] MS. *comande.*
[10] MS. *ccoruciast.*
[11] MS. *lli.*
[12] MS. *tornst.*
[13] MS. *porcaci oe.*
[14] MS. *je vos orendroit.*
[15] MS. *ffassoie.*
[16] MS. *este.*
[17] MS. *chevalier levrent.*
[18] So 772; MS. *Tristan et.*
[19] MS. *Hestor bien.*
[20] MS. *veistes.*

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"Sire, vos dites mielz qe je ne di, et je m'en tairai atant." Lors comencen a parler d'autre chose.

A grant solas et a grant desduit mangierent (*v°.a*) cellui soir li dui conpaignon en la maison de Breus. Hestors avoit dit tant de paroles de reconfort a Monseignor Tristan que Monseignor Tristan s'en vait mout reconfortant, et dit a soi meismes que honis est li rois Marc; s'il puet tenir as mains, ja home nel garentira q'il ne l'ocie. Grant joie meinent celui soir[21] aprés super, quant Monseignor Tristan se fu une grant piece deduit a l'arpe, et il ot harpé[22] le lay del Chievrefoill. Il dit: "Alom dormir, que tens[23] en est", et une damoiselle dit: "Sire, dormir porrés quant il vos plaira, car lé lis sont apareilliez." "Or alon" fait Monseignor Tristan. Se s'en issent adonc de la sale et s'en vienent[24] en une chanbre molt belle et molt riche ou avoit dui lis molt richement apareilliez. El plus bel des deus lis font choucier Monseignor Tristan, en l'autre lit[25] Monseignor Hestor de Marés; et dormirent celle nuit molt bien, car travaillié estoient durement, ne pieç'a mes n'avoient trové si bon hostel ne si bons lit con il firent celui soir. Et sachiez bien qe ce fu la premiere cortoisie que Breus fist onques a nul preudome; s'il fist plus celle bonté por la grant doute de Monseignor Tristan q'il ne fist por bien q'il lor vousist. Molt pensse en quel maniere il puisse retenir Hestor por metre[26] li en prison; mais il n'avoit coment il le puisse faire tant con Monseignor Tristan soit avec lui, et por ce le lais le atant a ceste foiz d'ore.

A l'endemain quant il ajorna, se lievent li dui conpaignon et demandent lor armes, et l'en lor aporte maintenant. Et quant il sont armés, il demandent conjé a Breus, et il lor done molt volentiers, mes molt est durement iriés de ce que Monseignor Hestor li eschape si qitemant; s'il le tenist en sa prison il le cuidast chierement vendre maint grant anvi q'il li avoit ja fait avant q'il isist de sez mains, mes il ne puet a cestui point; Monseignor Tristan si le garde.

Breus est avec els montés ausint con il vouxist avec elz chevauchier, (*v°.b*) et fait la porte ovrir, et quant li dui chevalier sont hors de la porte, il s'areste. "Hostes" fait Monseignor Tristan, "por quoi ne chevauchiez vos?" "Sire" fet Breus, "qe je n'ai ore volont, jo voill çaienz remanoir." "Hostes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "encor ne me deïstes vos mie vostre nom; si m'en peise, car bien sachiez que vos m'avés tant fait d'onor en vostre ostel que je sui tenus a rendre vos guererdon en tos les leus ou je troverai mais, et por ce voussise je molt volentiers savoir vostre non, s'il vos plasoit." "Monseignor Tristan" fet Breus, "quant vos volés mon nom savoir et je le vos dirai, je ai nom Breus sans Pitié; je cuit bien qe mantes fois avés oï parler de moi." Et quant il a dit ceste parole, il fait metre une bare par devant sa porte, et si que, s'il vousisent retorner, q'il ne puissent entrer dedens la porte.

[21] MS. *soit.*
[22] MS. *hrpe.*
[23] MS. *tenes.*
[24] MS. *vient.*
[25] MS. *en l'au lit.*
[26] MS. *meter.*

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Quant Monseignor Tristan entent cest parole, il comence a rire et sa:t por quoi Breus[27] avoit ce fait et en cel maniere. "Breus" fet il, "se Dex vos saut, por quoi vos enserés vos en tel mainiere encontre nos?" "Por ce" fait Breus, "qe je n'ai cure de vostre retor; car, quant je me sui parti de vos si sauvement con je voi, je me tieng a trop bien paié; trop avoi avec moi esfors tant con vos i fustes." "Coment" fait Monseignor Tristan, "me tenés[28] vos donc a vostre enemi?" "Certes, Monseignor Tristan" fet Breus, "se vos me deïssiez que vos me fuissiés bon ami si ne m'i oseroie je pas molt fiere, car je sai que li compaignon de la Table Reonde ne m'ament onques; coment porroie je cuidier que vos m'amissiez? Je ne m'i oseroie fier." "Breus" ce dit Hestor, "celui qi en soi n'a foi ne loiauté ne se puet fier en autre, por ce ne vos porriez fier en moi ne e nul autre preudome, car vos cuidiés que ciascu ait si poi de foi en luiconvos avés en vos." "Hestor, Hestor" ce dit Breus, "se Dex me dont bone aventure, quant vos estes eschanpés de ceens si qitement, bien poés seurement dir qe ce n'est pas por trop grant amor qe je ai a vos, ains (*71, r°.a*) fu por doute de Tristan que vos veés. Et s'il ne fust avec vos, vos n'eussiez[29] esté a nulle maison que la moie. Il vos a gitté de mes mains, et non mie vostre proece; et puis qe vos en estes[30] forz, gardés que vos n'i retornés mie autre fois, que, si voirement m'aït Dex, vos n'i troverés pas adonc si cortoiz Breus con vos avez ore trové. Les dex vos seront changié a ceste cortoisie que je vos ai ore faite. Me fist faire[31] la bonté de Tristan; onques, certes, ne fui cortois, ne serai jor de ma vie, se paor ne mel fait faire." Monseignor Tristan comence a sorrire quant il entent ceste parole, ausi fait Hestor. "Breus" dit Monseignor Tristan, "Hestor s'est alé[32] de vos plaignant; je m'en lou; cortoisie i ai trové trop grant." "Or ne vos chaut" fait Breus, "ceste cortoisie achatera encor ciere aucun autre, je n'avrai mie si grant paor con je avoie de vos; tuit le mien oste ne seront pais plus fort de moi." "Breus" fet Monseignor Tristan, "vos m'avés tant de cortoisie faite qe je vos comant a Nostre Seignor. Si vos promet com chevalier qe je vos feroie ausi grant cortoisie con est ceste, se je venoie en leu ou je vos conneuse." "Or sachiés de voir" fait Breus, "qe vos ne me trovés en leu ou je me faice a vos conoistre qe je puisse—ne a vos ne a conpaignon de la Table Reonde—ear il sont tuit mes enemis, por quoi je ne voill lor conpaignie, Dex m'en gart. Certes, ne la vostre meismes ne desire je pas trop." Monseignor Tristan se rit fort des paroles Breus, et Hestor dit en soriant: "Breus, Breus, puis qe nos somes ça defors, et vos estes bien a seur, vos n'avés mais garde de moi a ceste foiz se je ne di ore mie qanqe je pens; mes toutes voies vos merci je de la belle chiere qe vos m'avés faite en vostre hostel." "Ja n'en soiés a mi merciés" ce dit Breus, "qe je ne qier

[27] MS. *a rrire Breus.*
[28] MS. *tene.*
[29] MS. *neuessiez.*
[30] MS. *est.*
[31] So 772; MS. *fist i.*
[32] MS. *Hestor sale.*

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merci avoir fors que fellonie seulement." Autre parlement n'a[33] Breus fors tel con je vos ai conté.

(*L*, §*539*.) Quant il se sent (*r°.b*) mis a la voie, il cevauchent tuit celui jor par la foreste qe grans estoit et merveilleuse, et entrerent adonc au roiaume de Norgalles, qi bien estoit ricche roiaume et diletable terre, et bien garnie durement et de cités et de chaustiaus. "Monseignor Tristan" ce di Hestor, qi autre foiz avoit ja chevauché parmi le roiaume de Norgalles, "savés vos en quel païs nos soumes orendroit entré?" "Certes, nenil" fet Monseignor Tristan, "et nonporquant encor cuidoie[34] je estre au roiaume de Logres." "Non estes" fait il, "bel sire; ains somes au roiaume de Norgalles, en cel païs ou il a asés de foiz passage as chevaliers errans, et ou l'en[35] trove bien souvent joste quant joste vait querant, et chevaliers fors et ardiz, par cele foiz qe je vos doi, et bien usés de jostes et de bataille. Je vos promet qu'en cest païs troveriés vos bien chevalier por chevalier; cist est bien païs ou chevalier preudome se poent bien soventes fois esprover; je ne sai or nul païs ou je ne chevauchoie plus ardiement que en cestui, car en cestui païs trove l'en adés aventures et soir et main." "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "puis que en cest païs trouve l'en si souvent chevaliers con vos dites, je ne m'en partirai a piece mes, ains le chercherai de toutes pars se je onqes puis por esprover se li chevalier de Norgalles sont si preudomes con sont cil del roiaume de Logres." "Sire" ce li a dit Hestor, "je vos promet qe vos i troverois maint preudome et maint bon chevalier et de fier ardement." "Tout ce voill je bien" fet Monseignor Tristan, "de si preudemes trover con vos me dites sui je molt desirant."

En tels paroles chevauchent celui jor par la forest; il vont tout adés parlant des chevaliers et de aventures. Monseignor Tristan est orendroit assés a eise qu'il n'estoit devant; aloit il morant de dolor, mes orendroit li vait disant Monseignor Hestor tantes paroles de joie et de confort q'il s'en vait[36] auques reconfortant. (*v°.a*) Monseignor Hestor li a promis q'el li fera conpaignie jusqe en Cornoaille, se aventure ne les depart ou la volonté de Monseignor Tristan ne s'i acorde.

(*L*, §*540*.) Quant vint ore de none, il aprochent adonc d'une fontaine ou il troverent vi chevaliers et damoiselles qi se solacioient illuec, car mangié avoient molt devant la fontaine. Et se alcuns me demandoit qi estoient[1] li chevalier, je dirai qe li uns estoit li filz au[2] roi de Norgalles, bon chevalier e preus et vaillant et ardis durement, et estoit apellés Jeon. Tuit li autre estoient ses chevaliers, et les tenoit[3] por ses conpangnons. Il avoit fait iluec venir une gentil feme de Norgales, q'i amoit por amor et por amor de celle estoient illuec assemblee; et il menoient bel envoiseure. Li chevalier estoient venu tuit armés, si qe encor estoient il armés de

[33] MS. *a.*
[34] MS. *cuidoit.*
[35] MS. *le.*
[36] MS. *vaut.*
[1] MS. *demandoient qi estoit.*
[2] MS. *uns li filiz au.*
[3] MS. *tenoient.*

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toutes armes fors qe de lor[4] iaumes. Et maintenant q'il voient vers eaus venir les chevaliers errans, qi armé venoient tout le grant chemin de la forest, il comencent entr'els a dire: "Ci poom nos jostre trover, car veez ci venir deus chevaliers errant. Il sont dui; bien nos poom encontr'els esprover."[5]

Li filz[6] le roi fait lacier son hiaume au plus hastivement q'il meis puet, mes apelle un des compaignons en[7] celle besoigne; et quant il sont andui monté enmi le chemin, et comencerent a crier con il poent: "Seignor chevalier, a joster vos estuet par la costume au roiaume de Norgalles." "Monseignor Tristan" ce dit Hestor, "ne vos disoie je bien voir? Or sachié que vos ne troverés gramment chevalier par le roiaume de Norgalles qi de joste ne vos apellast por q'il en soit aeissiés de la soe part, et encor vos feront il tant de cortoisie qe, se joste ne vos plaist, il ne vos feront ja force." "Se Dex me dont bone aventures, il sont a loer et a priser de ceste costumie" (*v°.b*) fet Monseignor Tristan, "et cel qe sunt si chevalereus. Or que ferons? que responderem nos a cels qi de jostes nous apelent?"[8] Fet Monseignor Hestor: "La primiere joste qi au roiaume de Norgalles nos est presentee ne refuseron nos mie par mon conseill; ains ferons coment il sevient ferir de lance, et lor mosteron, se Dieu plaist, qe meillor sont li chevalier aventureus qe cil dou roiaume de Norgalles." "Vos dites" fet Monseignor Tristan; "or en prenés li un et je l'autre."

Lors n'i a delaiement nul; ains laissent cellui parlement et laissent corre lé deus chevaliers encontre les deus. Monseignor Tristan laisse corre au filz le roi de Norgalles, et le fiert si roidement en son venir q'il le fait les archons voidier e le porte a le terre; et fu auques debrisiés de celui cheoir, car felleneusement fu abatus. Hestor abate li autre.

Quant li quatre conpaignon qi demoroient[9] voient ceste aventure, il sont durement iree, por ce q'il vengieroient volentierz la honte de lor seignor s'il pooient. Corrent il a lor[10] hiaumes, et l'iles font lacier tantost, et puis montent au plus vistement q'il poent, et recomencerent lé jostes, et lor avient en tel maniere q'il furent andui abatus. Monseignor Tristan en batit l'un, et Monseignor Hestor l'autre.

Li autre ij, qi remés estoient, quant il voient ceste aventure, il en sont si durement esbaïs q'il ne sevent q'il en doient dire. Li un de ce dui chevalier estoit niez au roi de Norgalles, si joiens bachaliers qe encor n'avoit il plus xxii anz d'age, mes il estoit si preuz et si ardiz et si fors et si bien esprovés de chevalerie puis q'il fu novel chevalier, q'en tout le roiaume de Norgallez ne trovoit l'en a celui tens un chevalier de cele region qi encontre lui osast prendre nulle grant force de chevalerie. Qe vos diroie? cil estoit la flor en Norgaalle de chevalerie et de bonté, et estoit si

[4] MS. *lo.*
[5] MS. *encontrels els esprover.*
[6] MS. *filiz.*
[7] So 1463; MS. *apelle en.*
[8] MS. *de jostes.*
[9] MS. *conpaignon demoroient.*
[10] MS. *llor.*

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gioene enfant con je vos ai conté; et de sa bonté parloient l'en en la meison le roi Artu, et in (*72, r°.a*) mante[11] autre leu.

Quant il virent qe lor quatre compaignon estoient en cel maniere abatu, il montent sor lor cheval au plus astivement q'il poent. Quant ce vient as glaives brisier, li chevalier dont je vos cont se vient contre Monseignor Hestor et le fiert si enmi le pies qe, voille Monseignor Hestor ou non voille, il le fait flatir a la terre, et fu de celui coup molt navrés enmi le pis si q'il li convient adonc a sojorner plus de dui mois avant q'il peust porter armes aisiement. Et ce fu la chose por quoi la compaignie de Monseignor Hestor et de Monseignor Tristan remest adonc, et pour ce s'en ala Monseignor Tristan en Cornoaille[12] ou il moruit si cruelment[13] con nos vos conterons.

Ensint fu Monseignor Hestor navrés et abatus con je vos cont. Monseignor Tristan abati son compaignon molt cruelment, et li fist une grant plaie au coste senestre et lor brise son glaive dont il[14] avoit les trois chevaliers abatus. Quant li filz au roi de Norgalles voit qe Monseignor Tristan s'est delivrés en tel maniere de toutes lé jostes, il dit au chevalier qi avec lui estoit abatus: "Si m'aït Dex, preudome est li chevalier errant qi en tel maniere a batu iii chevaliers de nos chevaliers. Bien est chevalier esprové et bien fu fort celle joste dont li chevalier estrange fu abatus; bien est hardis et bon chevalier et de haut afaire." "Vos dites verités, sire" dient li autre chevalier. Et li chevalier sans doute qi Hestor avoit abatus estoit Ercles apellé.

Quant Hestor se voit abatus, il se relieve vistement, irés et dolent de grant maniere de ce q'il se sent navrés. Atant e vos venir Monseignor Tristan devant lui qi li amenoit[15] son cheval et li dit: "Montés, sire." Et il monte, et Monseignor Tristan voit maintenant q'il estoit navrés, si li dit: "Sire, coment vos sentés?" "Sire" fet il, "je me sen bien, la Deu merci, et neporquant je sui un poi navrés. Se je puisse, je m'en vengerai prochanement, se li chevalier qi abatu m'a ne refusse la bataille de moi." "Sire" fet Monseignor Tristan, "ne vos corruciez se li chevalier vos a batus, car tout jor avint tel aventure (*r°.b*) as chevaliers errans. Il ne seroit mie sens de conbatre puis qe vos estes navrés, mes laisiés sor moi cest fait, qe je vos vengerai se je puis. Et neporquant je vos di bien qe preudome est li chevalier estranges; je ne vi pieç'a mes un meillor fereor de lance de lui, et se vos, qe l'en tient au meillor fereor de lance qi soit en la maison le roi Artus, l'eussiés apris de lance, si en set il asés. Or laissiez sor moi cestui fait, si verés q'il en avendra. Ce sai je bien qe puis qe li chevalier nos a abatu, il ne laira mie cestui fait atant, ançois m'apellera de jostre." "Sire" ce dit Hestor, "je le croi bien."

[11] MS. *mmante.*
[12] So 1463; MS. *Hestor et de Monseignor Tristan en Cornoaille.*
[13] MS. *cuelment.*
[14] So 1463; MS. *glaive il.*
[15] MS. *qi lamoient.*

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Atant es vos venir Hercles; quant il out son poindre parfornit, il tient son glaive encor entier dont il ot Hestor abatu, et quant il s'est[16] tornés vers Monseignor Tristan, et il dit: "Sire chevalier, ore sont tuit a terre fors qe nos deus. Se Dex nos dont bone aventure faison bien." "Que volés vos" fet Monseignor Tristan, "qe nos fachons?" "Je le vos dirai" fet il, "se vos ne vos[17] sentés trop grevés de jostes qe vos avez faites, jostom tant entre moi e vos qe l'un de nos venist a terre, a cui Dex en dorra[18] l'onor si nel aït." "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "il m'est avis que ce ne me deussiez vos moi reqerre aprés ce qe je avoie troiz de vos chevaliers abatus ensint con vos peustes[19] veoir." "Vos dites bien voir" fet li chevaliers; "ne je ne vos en reqier mie s'il ne vos plaist, et se de vostre volonté ne vient et je vos en qit. Je di bien apertement qe asés avez fait fait de troiz chevaliers abatre, mes se vos plus volés faire chevalerie, faire le poez." "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "se vos ne m'en eussiez apellé, je m'en souferrai bien a tant con j'en ai fait, mes puis qe apellez m'en avez, je josterai, car je sai bien qe vos le me atornerés a cuardie se je vos en falloie. Or me faites doner un glaive, por ce que li mienz est[20] brisiez, et puis recomenceron la (*v°.a*) joste, et cui Dex en dorra l'onor si le[21] preigne." "Ce me plaist bien" ce dit li chevaliers. Lor fait aporter un glaive, et le fait doner a Monseignor Tristan.

Monseignor Tristan, qi bien voit qe de grant force est Hercles et de la jostre set molt, descent de son cheval quant il voit qe senz joste ne puet remanoir. Il regarde son cheval q'i ne faille riens, et quant il a regardé il monte et dit a Hercles: "Huimés[22] sui je apareillé de la joste faire quant je autrement ne puis partir de vos"; et ensint comencent lé jostes li dui chevalier devant la fontaine. Monseignor Tristan laisse corre au chevalier, et cil autre si a lui, et s'entrefierent de si grant force com il poent del cheval traire, et quant ce vient au jondre, si se fierent si roidement qe li glaive lor volent en piece aprés l'esscles de lances. Il s'entreintent de cors d'escus si roidement qe li plus foible convient a force aler a terre. Hercles, qi n'avoit mie si grant force con avoit Monseignor Tristan, il est si roidement encombrés q'il n'a ne force ne pooir q'il se tiegne en selle, ains vole a terre si atornés q'il n'a menbre qe[23] ne se doille, et por ce[24] est il si durement estonés q'il ne sent s'il est nuit ou jor. Et quant Monseignor Tristan voit ceste chose, il s'en vient por un glaive qe dreciez estoit a un arbre, et le prent por ce q'il ne s'en vousist mie d'iluec departir sans glaive s'il peust; et quant il en est sain issis, il dit a Monseignor Hestor: "Hestor, sire, chevauchom s'il vos plaist, car de sez chevaliers nos somes bien delivré, la Dieu merci." "Sire, voir" fet Monseignor Hestor; "Dieu merci et la vostre."

[16] MS. *seste.*
[17] MS. *ve.*
[18] MS. *endra.*
[19] MS. *peust.*
[20] MS. *estoit.*
[21] MS. *si len.*
[22] MS. *chuimes.*
[23] MS. *qil.*
[24] MS. *for ce.*

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Atant se metent a la voie q'il ne font autre demorance; e quant li filz au roi de Norgalles voit li dui chevalier s'en vont en cel maniere et q'il les ont si deconfiz, il monte et vient a Monseignor Tristan et li dit: "Sire, parlés a moi s'il vos plaist."[25] "Dites, biaus sire" (*v°.b*) fet Monseignor Tristan. "Sire" fet il, "se nos vos apellames or de joster, vos ne nos en devés mal gré savoir, car tel est le costume dou roiaume de Norgalles; mes aprés ce qe nos vos avom assaillié en cel maniere et nos connoisson apertement vostre valor et vostre proesse, nos disson ore bien qe nos vos dovons honorer tant con nos poom, si some apareillié dou faire por vos. Je vos pri, tant quant je puis prier chevalier errans et[26] si preudome con vos estes, qe vos demorés huimais avec nos. Il est e ja bien hore de vespre; se vos de nos departés qe vos ne remaignés, sachiez qe vos ne vendrés huimés en leu ou vos soiez tant honorés com vos seroiz avec nos; et meismement, chevalier qi se sunt enconttre prové doivent plus volentier remanoir ensenble qe avec autre; por ce vos pri je qe vos rimanois huimaiz avec nos." "Qi estes vos" fet Monseignor Tristan," qi de remanoir avec vos me priez?" "Sire" fet il, "je ne le vos cele mie; or sachiez qe je sui li filz au roi de Norgalles, et tuit cist chevalier sont a moi." "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "je ai conpaignon sens cui volonté je ne remaroie mie; voirement s'il veut[27] remanoir, je remandrai volentiers por ce qe si bel m'en priez et por ce qe cortoise chevalier me senblés." Lors s'en vient vers Monseignor Hestor et li dit ce dont li filz[28] au roi de Norgalles li prie, et il respont q'il ne veut[27] mie hore erbergier, ançois chevauchera avant.

Lors dit Monseignor Tristan au filz le roi de Norgalles: "Sire, nos ne remandrons ore mie, car encore n'est mie tens de herbergier, et por ce vos[29] comandons a Dieu." "Sire" ce dit li chevaliers, "quant ensint est qe vos por ma preiere ne volez remanoir, or vos pri tant con je porroie prier autre chevalier que vos me diez vostre non." "Sire" fet Monseignor Tristan, "sauve vostre grace, je nel vos dirai hore mie." "Certes" ce dit li chevaliers, "ce poise moi molt chierement; mes or me dites (*73, r°.a*) ou cuidiés vos anuit herbergier?" "Je ne sai, certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "nos herbergerom la u Dex voudra."

(*L*, §*541.*) Si s'en vait entre lui et Monseignor Hestor, qi a grant poine chevauchoit, car durement se sent navrés. Si demande a Monseignor Tristan: "Sire, fustes vos onques au roiaume de Norgalles?" "Oïl" fet Monseignor Tristan, "autre foiz i ai esté voirement; mais je ne m'i connosoie mie quant je entrai orendroit, mes or me reconois." Ensint chevauchent e quant il ont auques chivauchiez, Monseignor Hestor dit[1] a Monseignor Tristan: "Il comence a vesprer; se vos savés qel par nos poisson huimés herbergier, si en tornés." "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "je sai bien qe ça devant maint une jentil dame qe bien honore de tot son

[25] MS. *paist.*
[26] MS. *a.*
[27] MS. *veul.*
[28] MS. *fi li filz.*
[29] MS. *por vos.*
[1] MS. *didit.*

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pooir li chevalier errans. Se nos la estion venu, je sai bien q'ele nos fera onor et servise de son pooir. Alom a cel hostel ou nos serom tost, ce me semble, car nos en somes auques pres." "Sire" ce dit Hestor, "vos qi savez la voie alez avant, et je irai aprés." "Volentierz" fet Monseignor Tristan.

Lors s'en tornent a senestre fors del grant chemin, et s'en vont droit par le pié d'une montaigne. Hestor comence a regarder avant, e voit desus la montaigne une tor fort et merveilleuse et neporquant anciene hestoit durement. "Dex aït"[2] fait Monseignor Hestor, "qi puet hore maindre en cel tor qi tant est riche par senblant?" "Ce dis"[3] feit Monseignor Tristan, "nulz ne maint se ce n'est de novel, car n'a mie gramment de tens qe li[4] chevalier qi avoit[5] la tor mantenue fu ocis,[6] et al tens q'i vivoit di je bien q'il avoit e nulle terre qe je seusse mi si fellon passage con estoit cestui; car li chevaliers de la tor estoit de si tres grant force q'il ne pooit onques trover chevalier qui tant fust de haut proesse q'il ne l'ocist[7] ou q'il ne l'enprist. Quant il ne le prenoit si l'oçoit[8], et quant il prenoit il le metoit en prison ensint qe jamés ne issoit; et sachiez, Monseignor Hestor, qe a cellui tens q'i morruit avoit il bien en sa (*r°.b*) prison jusqe xv conpaignon de la Table Reonde qe tuit estoient preudome et bons chevalier, et les avoit il tous conqis par son cors, ne jamés de celle prison ne fussent delivrés, mais il sont delivré con il plot[9] a Dieu." Quant Estor entent ceste parole, il dit a Monseignor Tristan: "Sire, por Deu, comant avoit nom le chevalier que vos dites qi estoit de si grant force?" "Certes" fet Monseignor Tristan, "l'en apelloit Lucanor le Grant; il estoi bien sanz faille de la plus desmezuré force qe je onques veïsse a home." "E quant il estoit si fort[10] con vos dites" fet Hestor, "coment fu il ocis, et qi l'ocist?" "Ce ne vos dirai je ore mie" fet Monseignor Tristan, "et je vos pri q'el ne vos en poise." Et lors sa tuit bien Monseignor Hestor qe Monseignor Tristan l'avoit ocis. Si en est orendroit plus desirans de savoir q'il n'estoit devant, et por ce dit il autre fois a Monseignor Tristan: "Qi l'avoit ocis?" Monseignor Tristan respont: "Puis qe[11] je vos voi si durement desirant de savoir le, or sachiez qe je meisme l'ocis." "E quant l'ocistes vos" fet Monseignor Hestor, "or est mestier, s'il vos plaist, qe me diois en quel mainiere vos l'oceistes; si me fera grant bien l'escouter, car le chevauchier m'anuie a ce qe je sui auques navrés." "Quant il vos plaist qe se je vos die" fet Monseignor Tristan, "et je le vos dirai; or escoutés."

(*L*, §*542*.) "Bien fu verités que Lucanor le Grant fu de si merveilleuse force con je vos ai conté. Il gardoit a celui tens tout le chemin par ou nos passon orendroit, et le gardoit en tel maniere que nuls si fort chevalier n'i

[2] MS. *aie.*
[3] MS. *ce dits.*
[4] MS. *qel.*
[5] MS. *avot.*
[6] MS. *mantenue ocis.*
[7] MS. *nell ocist.*
[8] MS. *llocoit.*
[9] MS. *ploit.*
[10] MS. *de si si fort.*
[11] So 1463; Douce 189 omits *Qi l'avoit . . . . respont.*

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venoit q'il n'ocist[1] ou q'il l'en preist. Longuement garda cest chemin en tel mainiere con je vos cont, q'il venoit tout adés au desuz de toutes elz qi ça venoient avant. Et tant qu'aventure m'aporte pres de ci quant cil de cest païs morent contre lez granz malz q'il façoit. Je dis[2] a moi meemez qe l'en ne me devroit mie tenir a chevalier se je ne m'esaioie (*v°.a*) contre lui. Lors ving ceste part, et quant je fui sa venus et je comensai a demander ou je le porroie trover, li laborant meismes qi me virent ceste part venir me comencent a crier: "Sire chevalier, u alez? N'alés avant; vus alez a vostre mort." De parole q'ill me disoient je ne pris paor por moi, ainz ala avant toutes vois e trovai adonc Dynadan, qi se venoit adonc sprover. Quant je le vi je fui trop reconfortez. Si me dit: "Ça devant est li jaianz qe nos qerom, maiz, por ce qe je veing cest part avant vos, vos pri je qe vos me leissiez premierement esprover avant; s'i me conqiert, donc vos poez vos metre au fait." Je li otroiai ce q'il me demanda[3] et chevauchamez jusque a cestui; car ça il avoit un molt bel abre qe l'en apelloit l'arbre dou jaiant, por ce qe desoz cel arbre venoit li jaaiant[4] reposer plus volentierz qe en autre[5] leu. Delez cel arbrez aveit un paveillon tendu, le plus bel et le plus cointe qe je eusse veu pieç'a. Dynadan, qi aloit avant armés, quant il vint pres del paveillon, il s'escria[6]: "Lucanor le Grant, venez avant!" Quant li jaiant entendit qe Dynadan l'apelloit en cel maniere, il monta erranment sor unz grant cheval, armez de totes armez, et s'en vient vers Dynadan. E vient adonc au[7] jaiant une chose qe je tieng a grant merveille; car, quant il out brisé son glaive sor Dynadan, qi mielz se tient en selle encontre si grant cop de lance, il geta les bras avant et prist Dynadan, et le leva des archons si legierment com c'il ne le gravast riens, et le mist devant sor le col de son cheval, et le voloit vers la tor porter.

"Quant je vi li jaiant en portoit un des meillorz amis qe je eusse el monde, ne demandés se je adonc fui esbaïz. Je urtai maintenant le cheval des esperonz, je li comensai a crier: "Laissiez le chevalier! laissiez le chevalier!": et il le laissa maintenant por corre sor (*v°.b*) moi. Quant je le vi sor moi venir, si grant et si fort com il estoit, e home qi tant fesoit a duter[8], je li laisai corre maintenant, e li cuidai abatre do mon glaive, mes je ne poï, si fierement se tenoit en selle. Il brisa[9] son glaive sor moi, en cel maniere se passa outre. Quant vi qe je ne l'avoie abatu, or sachiez bien qe je ne fui pas adonc si bien a seur con devant; je mis la main a l'espee et dist qe lor alast tout en aventure. Si me ving vers le jaiant, l'espee droite encontre mont, et fist[10] adonc un des merveilleus couz qe je feïsse a mon esciant en toute ma vie, car li jaianz[11] estoit armés; si le

[1] MS. *ociste.*
[2] MS. *dit.*
[3] MS. *demande.*
[4] MS. *albre ce venoit l iaaiant.*
[5] MS. *aautre.*
[6] MS. *sescrie.*
[7] MS. *un.*
[8] MS. *fessoit a duit.*
[9] MS. *brise.*
[10] MS. *fistist.*
[11] MS. *liaanz.*

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feri si durement qe li fiz la teste voler[12] auqes loing de lui, e li corz ceī a la terre tout erranment.

"Quant je vi le grant coup que je avoie fait, il me dist tout en riant: "Tristan, Tristan, se m'aī Dex, a cestui avez vos ore[13] mostré qi Tristan est." En tel maniere con je vos ai conté fu li jaianz ociz et li chevalier qi en prison estoient delivrez."[14] "Monseignor Tristan" fet Hestor, "or m'avez fait conter ce qe je n'eusse conté ne a vos ne a autre, car, certes, chose qe je face, je ne conte mie volontierz." "Certes" fet Monseignor Hestor, "ici out une molt belle aventure; je ne voldroie en nulle[15] guise qe vos ne la m'eussiez contez."

(*L*, §*543*.) En cel maniere, parlant del jaiant qe d'autre fait ne tenoient adonc parlement, chevauchent tant q'il vienent chiez cele dame dont Monseignor Tristan avoit parlé celui soir. Tristan regarde la bleseure[16] de Monseignor Hestor, si trove q'il estoi durement blaciez, et qe remanoir li convenoit a force laienz. Demora Tristan iii jor laienz Hestor, et puis s'en part et dist qe dexormais voloit il chevauchier ver Cornoaille; asez avoit demoré au roiaume de Logres; tant i a perdu durement qe jamez cele perte ne cuide[17] recovrer se aventure ne li aide trop.

(*L*, §*544*.) Un jor avint, aprés ce que Monseignor Tristan se fu partis de (*74*, *r°.a*) Monseignor Hestor de Marés, que, quant il fu auques pres aprouché de la mer, il entra en une foreste. Il estoit travailliez durement, et sez chevauz autresint, et por ce remest il devant une fontaine e pense qe iluec dormiroit celle nuit, e l'endemain se metroit au chemin e vendroit a la mer, car pres n'estoit. Quant il fu descendus devant la fontaine, il pensa de son cheval aisier au mielz q'il puet, et le laisse aler a paistre quel part q'il velt, et demora iluec tuit la nuit. Et l'endemain se mist a la voie, et tant fist q'il vient a la mer, e trova adenc Sagremor, q'i retient a sa compaignie, et a celui dist qu'il merra en Cornoaille avec lui, car cist est cortois chevaliers e gentil home.

(*L*, §*545*.) Si entrent en une nef et tant font q'il vienent en Cornoaille, e se metent en un chastel Dynas, qi trop fu liez de la venue de Tristan. Quant la roine Ysolt set puiz qe li suens chier amiz estoit venuz in Cornoaille, elle fu liee et joieuse, nel demandez; elle fist tant qe Tristan ala a[18] li parler et q'il fu avec li.

(*L*, §*546*.) Un jor estoit Monseignor Tristan entrez en chanbrez la roine, arpoit et disoit un lai q'il avoit fait. Audrent l'entent; si le vait conter au roi Marc, et li rois Marc s'en trevaille tant puis q'il feri Tristan d'un glaive enveniné que Morgain li avoit baillié. Tristan estoit desarmés si que li rois li feri mortelmont parmi l'echeine. Quant li rois a fat celui chous, il s'en vait, ne n'ose pas Tristan atendre. Quant Tristan se sent si

[12] MS. *voles*.
[13] MS. *oren*.
[14] MS. *delvrez*.
[15] MS. *nullez*.
[16] MS. *breseure*.
[17] MS. *cuidez*.
[18] MS. *qe Tristan a*.

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feru q'il connoist bien a soi meemes q'il est feruz mortelment, il ne puet li rois Marc atendre; et por ce s'en vait d'autre part; il s'en vait a la cort aval, et monte sor le primer cheval q'il trouve, et s'en vait for de Tintoïl droitement al chastel Dynas, et chouce tot maintenant, et dit q'il est mort senz faille, et cestui cop li donra la mort sanz faille.

Quant Dynas ot ceste novelle fierement (*r°.b*) est desconfortez; et Sagremor en plore fortment con cil qi molt amoit Tristan de grant amor. Tristan s'en plaint et nuit et jor com cil qi grant dolor en dure; li mire li vienent[19] veoir, mes neiant est qe nul sache doner conseill en celle plaie; ain dien bien comunement q'il est morz. Tristan senblast q'i le mal sent; il sospire sovent de sinagroie, et enlaidist et enpire trop laidement. Si durement est enpiriez qeençoiz que un mois fust conpliz que nulz qe devant l'eust veue le reconeust si grant poine non. Il ne se puet pas remuer; il crie et braie par grant dolor ausi com home fors de sens. Sez compaignons, qi conoisent[20] la grant dolor q'il vait soufrant, plorent devant lui jor et nuit, car bien voient certainement q'il est mort; et il meismes le voit bien, si voient tuit cil d'entor lui.

Quant li rois Marc entent et ot qe Tristan se muert senz doute et q'il ne puet escaper, molt est plus liez q'il ne fu pieç'a mais; or a joie, or a leesce; car bien li est avis, se Tristan estoit mort, il ne troveroit[21] jamés home dedenz Cornoaille qi encontre lui s'osast dresier. Or a il tot ce q'il velt quant il set tot certainement que Tristan se muert. Il mande chascun jor veoir coment Tristan fait,[22] e l'en li a portés tes novelles qi bien li plaisent, car l'en li dit certainement q'il se muer, il ne puet mes longuement vivre. Molt a grant joie li rois Marc; onques ne fu si liez de chose qi li avenist, con de ce qe Tristan se muer. Audrent en tresaut tos de joie; cil dui en font joie pleniere. Mes, qi que soit liez[23] et joiant, la roine en est coruchiez de tot son cuer. Elle en plore et fait mal fin, et dit bien qu'ele[24] mora de cestui duel; e s'elle par dolor faire ne puet morir, elle meismes s'ocirra avant de sez mainz, car aprés Tristan ne voldroit[25] elle vivre, ne ne vivra un (*v°.a*) tout seul jorz. Ensint se mantient deversement entre li roi Marc e la roine, car li rois est molt liez de la mort Tristan, la roine en est tant dolent q'a poi qu'ele ne muert de duel. E, tot en soit il joianz de cele mort, si dit il bien q'il voroit volentiers Tristan avant q'il morist; et, au dereain, quant l'en li conte con angoseusement Tristan se moine, et com il del tout est changé[26] qe nul en reconuist, tant est durement enpirés, il en a pitié et ne se puet tenir[27] q'il ne die ausi con en plorant: "Certes" fet il, "ce est doumaje de la mort Tristan, qe jamés, au mien esciant, une si bone lance ne sera recovré el monde con il estoit; e, s'i ne

[19] MS. *vient.*
[20] MS. *compaigniez qi le conoisent.*
[21] MS. *trovent.*
[22] MS. *le fait.*
[23] MS. *qil que liez.*
[24] MS. *qil qele.*
[25] MS. *voldroie.*
[26] MS. *cahnge.*
[27] MS. *pitie tenir.*

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fust si desloiaument menez vers moi con il se menoit, l'en le peust prisier de totez chosez sor touz lé chevaliers que je onques veïsse."

Quant li roiz set certainement par celz qi l'aloient veoir que Tristan aproche adonc a primes, se comence il a repentir de celui fait, et dit a soi meismes q'il ne puet estre qe de cest[28] mort ne veigne grant mal encor. Or se repent molt durement, or voldroit q'il n'eust mie creu a Audret, car en Tristan, sevoit il bien, a il ocis le meillor chevalier dou monde; toz le monde le honira et blasmera, e sez meismez qi por paor de Tristan le dotoient, le doteront moinz deshomés. A ce vait pensant li rois Marc, que pitié a de son neveu ensint la char le semont. Or voldroie il q'il ne l'avoit[29] onques fait. La roine, qi tant a duel qu'ele ne desire[30] forz la mort, moine son duel e jor et nuit, e ne s'en cele por li roi,[31] e elle voldroit bien que li rois Marc l'ocist; si fineroit adonc son duel. Ele meismes s'aperçoit bien qe li rois s'en vait repentant de ce q'il a fait de Tristan. Quant lé novelles li sont dites que Tristan se trait a fin si durement q'il ne puet mes durer plus de troiz jorz ou de quatre, ele dit: "Mure quant il voudra, qe, certe, je le firai compaignie celui jor meismes; (*v°.b*) se Dex m'ament, je m'ocirai, si finerai en tel maniere mes dolors." Tels parole dit la roine quant l'en li dit que Tristan estoit a fin. Li rois 'n est asez plus coruciez q'il ne fait le semblant.

(*L*, §*547*.) Quant Tristan sent en soi meismes q'il ne puet mes durer se petit non, il dit a Dynas: "Mandez au roi Marc q'il viegne a moi; je le veroie voluntiers avant qe je murisse; je ne le sai pas si mal gré de ma mort con je fais Audré. Se m vult veoir erranment, or veigne ci estivement, qe je morrai desormés." Dynas mande erranment au roi Marc ces novelles. Quant li rois Marc intent ceste chose, il comence a plorer molt fort, et basse la teste et dit si aut que cil qi illuec estoient l'entendirent tot clerement: "Halas!" fait il, "j'ai fait mal; je ai ociz mon chiez neveu, le meillor chevalier del monde; je ai tout chevalerie honie." Li roiz ne qiert delaiment, ains monte et moine avec lui tel compaignie q'il soit bien a seur au chastel Dynans.

Quant il est au chastel venus, l'en li ovre la porte, et il entre dedenz trop dulenz et trop coruciez. Il descent, et monte en la tor ou Tristan gisoit, si enpirés de toutes chouses qu'a poines le puet li rois conoistre, et comence a plorer molt fort quant il le voit. Quant Tristan voit li rois Marc venir, il vult se liever[32] en son seiant, mais ne puet, il n'a mie tant de pooir, car trop est foiblez durement; et lorz se recouce adonc. "Oncles" fet il, "bien veignés vos; vos estes[33] venus a ma dereane fest; a ma mort estes[33] venus qe vos avés tant desirés; car Tristan verés[34] finez hui ou demain, je ne puis mais en avant corre. Tant ai corru com je puis mez; ci m'a la mort ateint. A![35] roi Marc, qi tant desirastez ma mort, vos cuidastes

[28] MS. *qe cest.*
[29] MS. *levez.*
[30] MS. *desirent.*
[31] MS. *e sen part li roi.*
[32] MS. *venir et il se lieve se vult.*
[33] MS. *est.*
[34] MS. *car Tristan vers.*
[35] MS. *au.*

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vostre preu faire de moi ocire[36]; mes ce est plus vostre doumages que vostre preu (*75, r°.a*). Si m'aït Dex, encore sera hore que vos voldriez avoir doné la moité de vostre roiaume qe vos n'aussiez Tristan mort, mes est[37] ensi avenu, il ne puet mes estre autrement." Et quant il a dite ceste parole, il comence a plorer molt fort.

Li rois, qi bien voit et conoist q'il est alez en toute guises respondre[38] ne puet mes comence a plorer molt fort. "Oncles" ce li a dit Tristan, "ne plorés pas; vostre parole, se Dex me saut, qi orendroit vient de leesce, vendra encor a cirtesce[39]; et vos perdrés bien en Tristan asez plus qe vos ne cuidés. Oncles, tant seulement feissiez or por moi et por cortoisie de vos—e ce est la dereaine reqest qe je vos faice mes—qe vos Madame Ysolt feïssiez venir devant moi, si que je la voie a ma fin, e q'ele me voie finer. Si sachiez veraiement qe je morrai hui ou demain; por ce desir je sor totes cousez que je la voie a ma mort." "Niez" fait li rois, "qe vos volez qe la roine veigne a vos, celle vendra maintenant." Et lors mande por li.

Es vos la roine venir celui jor meismes, mais bien sachiez qe elle est dolont et triste asez plus qe pieç'a mes; ne fu onques ne disira tant la mort com elle desire orendroit, por qe elle set veraiement qe Tristan ne puet escanper, e que morir li convient. Or[40] voldroit elle orendroit morir; molt li seroit dolant la mort s'elle li ne voit. Elle ne prie Dieu d'autre chose ne mes que la mort viegne tost si qu'ele muire avec Tristan.

(*L*, §*548*.) E quant Tristan voit Ysolt venir, celle q'i tant a amee,[1] et q'il desiroit tant a veoir, volentiers se dresast encontre li, mais ne puet; toutez voiez fait il tant con il puet, ce est de parler. "Dame" fait il, "bien veignez vos; vos venez, mes ce est a tart, ce m'est aviz; car vostre venue ne me puet faire socorz. E qe en diroie, chiere dame? mors est Tristan qe vos tant[2] amastez; il ne puet maiz en avant durer. Tant s'est conbatus con il puet, mes (*r°.b*) il ne puet mes en avant, e por ce li convient cheoir. E qe diroie, chiere dame? mors sui; vos le poés bien veoir."

La roine, qi tant est triste qu'ele ne puet plus plorer, sospire[3] de cuer parfont, et quant elle a pooir de parler, elle dit: "Tristan" fait elle, "biaus amis, est il donc en cel maniere que a morir vos conveigne ore?" "Dame" fet il, "oïl senz faille; il convient que Tristan muire hui ou demain, Tristan qi tant out ja pooir et force. Veés quelz braz; ma chiere dame, ce ne sont pas lé bras Tristan, qi soloient telz couz doner; ainz sont les brais d'un home mort; il n'i a mes poïr ne vigor mais. Or mas sachiez le mondes que Tristan est au declin; a fin soit tout li suen fait; cil qi tant pout et qi tant vault et qi tant fu doutés el monde gist ci mors com un escorce; toz li pooir q'i soloit avoir est faliz. Halas! com fu celui coup delerouz qi sor moi fu ferus[4]; tant en sera toz le mondes enpovriz et abaisiez."

[36] MS. *cire.*
[37] MS. *estre.*
[38] MS. *ne respont.*
[39] MS. *a critesce.*
[40] MS. *e quant morir or.*

[1] MS. *qi tant amee.*
[2] MS. *qi vos ai tant.*
[3] MS. *sespire.*
[4] MS. *fers.*
[5] MS. *mal le.*

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Tristan s'en plaint qi le mal[5] sent; tout celui jor est en tel guise q'il n'en dit ne plus ne moinss. Nuls d'els ne trait nule parole; il n'i a un seul mout dit[6]; maiz il font tout coiement duel; n'i[7] a celui qi fort ne plore. La roine, qi tant est triste qu'ele ne demande fors la mort, est toutes voies devant lui celui soir et tuit la nuit autresint. Il a laienz tel luminaire que tuit i voient molt clerz fors que Tristan, a qi est auques troblee la veue d'eelz.

(*L.* §*549.*) L'endemain, quant il ajorne et Tristan voit qe li jorz est auques clers, il s'ezforce adonc tant de parler com il puet; il dit si aut qe tuit cil qi illuec estoient l'entendiront bien: "Ha!" fait il, "qe porrai dire? cist est li mez dereanz jorz, en ceste jorne me convient finer, jamaiz autre jor ne verai, en cestu jor sera dou tout alenti Tristan qi tant pot et tant valt. Ha! sire Dex, por coi sofrez vos si tost finer sa vie?" Quant il a dit ceste parole, li duelz comença si fort par laienz, si grans et si merveleuz q'il ne poent greignor faire; (*v°.a*) il meismes plore fort com cil qi grant pitié a de soi qi bien conoist q'il est a fin venus.

A chiés de piece parole Tristan a Sagremor. Fet il: "Biaus amis, s'il vos plaist, aportés moi m'espee et mon escu, je lé voil veoir avant que l'arme se part dou cors"; et puis dit: "Halas! que plus ai dit." Sagremor, qi tant est dolenz qu'a poi qel cuer ne li faut, aporte l'escu e l'espee. Quant Tristan voit pres de lui sa spee, il dit a Segremor: "Biaus amis, trez l'espee hors dou frore; si la[8] verrai plus clerement." Il le fait ensint com il le comande. Quant Tristan voit s'espee q'il conoist a si bone q'il ne cuidoit mie que au monde eust une meillor, il sospire de cuer parfont et puis dit tout en plorant: "Ha! spee, qe ferés vos desormés? a cestui point vos departés[9] de vostre seignor. Certes, ja si bon n'avrez maiz; jamiz ne serez tant douté[10] com vos fustes dusqe ci; vos perdez ci vostre honor." Et lors se comence a plorer molt fort, puis se taste une grant piece; li duelz est si grant par laienz qe[11] l'en n'i oïst Deu tonant. Atant a chiez de piece parole Tristan a Sagremor, et il dit: "Sagremor, biaus amis, desormais comant a Deu toute chevalerie. Ormés preing je a lui[12] conjé; molt l'aime et honore, et se esse et escreva tant l'onorai con je poï, mais desormais ne sera plus honoreez par Tristan." Et lorz se taist, et recomence a chiez de piece: "Sagremor" fait il, "biaus amis, dire m'estuet, je ne puis plus cest fait celer; volez oïr merveille et tout la gregnor senz faille que vos onques senz maiz oïssiez? Las! coment la derai je? Certes, force[13] la me fait dire, ne je ne puis mais en avant. Sagremor, que diroie? volez oïr la plus[14] onteuse parole qe Tristan onques dit, maiz convient q'il die orendroit. Alaz! coment m'istra de bouche?" E lor ses taist autre

[6] MS. *die.*
[7] MS. *coiement ni.*
[8] MS. *lla.*
[9] MS. *vos departes vos.*
[10] MS. *tant tant doute.*
[11] MS. *qi.*
[12] MS. *a lai.*
[13] MS. *forc.*
[14] MS. *qe diroit la pplus.*

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foiz e puis le redit: "Sagremor, nel puis plus celer, je sui vencuz. Onques si villaine parole n'esi (*v°.b*) mes de la boche Tristan."

E quant il a dite cest[15] parole, il comence a plorer trop fort, assez plus agrement q'il ne fist a l'autre foiz; e quant il a si esforceement ploré une grant piece, il regarde Sagremor tot en plorant e puis dit[16]: Je sui vencu; je vos puis bien rendre mes armes, et je lé vos rent; et qe en diroie je? vos rent ma chevalerie et[17] touz pessez et tos hardemanz m'estuet desormez laissier, et je lez laiz, et outre mon gré, car force de mort le me fait faire. Halas! com grant doumage reçout la Table Reonde en cestui jor en la mort seulement d'on chevalier. Palamides, prus chevalier cortoise et valainz, plein de valor et plein de bien, ci remaint la vostre ame; jamiz sor Tristan ne ferrés, ne Tristan sor vos; le vostre estrif si est remez. Palamede, biaus douse amis, de Tristan torne[18] la recreue; jamais ne vos Tristan verra, ne vos lui; devers moi faudra l'estrif qe i voiez faire; la mort fait ici remanoir tot le grant estrif de nos deus. Hay! Dynadan, biaus dous amis, insi faut la vostre compaignie; or sui plus fierement gabez que gaber ne me soloiez. Vos ne serez pas a ma mort, maiz je sai bien que en farez maintez plantes; tristes en serés et dolenz quant vos orés dire que je sui mort. Ha! Monseignor Lancelot, quant vos perdrez a cestui jor bon conpaignon, et chevalier qi vos amoit hui depart[19] vostre conpaignie. La mort qi n'a pitié de moi si l'a fait departir. Ha! Sagremor, biaus dous amis, ces trois que je vos ai enci només me salués de ma part, e lor dites[20] seurement que je muir dolent et tristez de ce qe si tost faut[21] la vostre compaignie. L'espee que je tant amai, por ce que je ne puis mon cors presenter a la Table Reonde, m'i presentés, et preerez a mez conpaignon q'i facent honor a m'espee quant a moi ne la poent faire; et set[22] Dex veraiement de con grant cuer je les amai, e con je prochaçai de tout mon cuer l'onor de la Table (*76, r°.a*) Reonde en qelque leu qu'aventure[23] m'aportast. Por ce devroient il bien honorer mez armez qe je lor mant par amor; je ne puis moi lor presenter, et por ce lor present en leu de moi mon escu et mon espee; e lor diroiz qe sui tristez por amor de chevalerie plus qe[24] je muir si tost que je ne sui por moi meismez."

Qant il a dit cest parole, il comence som plor e puis dit a Sagremor: "Traiz pres de moi cel espee que je le puisse adeser"; et il trait pres, et

[15] MS. *dite est.*

[16] MS. *dit sagremor tot en plorant.*

[17] MS. *chevalerie touz et.*

[18] MS. *torre.*

[19] So 1463; MS. *quant vos a cestui jor bon conpaignon chevalier qi vos amoit hui depart.*

[20] MS. *dit.*

[21] MS. *tost fait.*

[22] MS. *et se.*

[23] MS. *qua ce aventure.*

[24] MS. *chevalerie qe.*

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la comence a baisier et le blanc et le poin, e aprés baise son escu. E puis redit: "Alas!" fait il, "con il me grieve quant je me depart de mez armez et que laisse si[25] tost chevalerie. Il m'est aviz, se Dex me saut, que par le corz d'un seul chevalier ne peust avenir au monde gregnor doumage qu'il avendra ore par moi. Loz! por quoi fine si tost." Aprés baise autre foiz l'escu et la spee, et puis dit tot en plorant: "Huimaiz vos comant je a Dieu, que je ne vos puis plus regarder; le cuer me creve de dolorz."

Et puiz redit a Sagremor: "Huimez potés prendre mes armez, je vos baille mon cuer et m'arme; e leu de moi les honorés se vos onques Tristan amastes. Quant vos serés a Kamaalot, faites lez metre en tel leu que chascun chevalier lez voit,[26] telz ne maint onques jor de sa vie quant ora de moi parler et il regarde mez armez qi por moi fera maint regarde. Pesmes e mortel[27] fu l'aventure del cop que li rois me dona;[28] li monde en est abaissiez villainemant, et toute[29] chevalerie en remandra deshonoree. Or vos ai dit ce que dire vos voloie; a Dieu soiez vos acomandé."

Quant il a dit ceste parole, il se retorna vers le roi Marc e l'encomence a regarder tot en plorant, et puis li dit: "Oncles" fait il, "se Dex vo saut, que vos estez avis de moi? Sui je ore celui Tristan qe[30] vos solés tant douter? Non, voir, celui ne sui je mie. Je sui Tristan qi par tristesce de chevalerie et del monde est mors. Desormais[31] est a seur que Tristan ne vos fera douter; jamiz de moi n'avrés paor; hui faut[32] l'estrif e la rancune[33] que entre (*r°.b*) nos a esté si longuement. Jusque ci me sui conbatus en cel maniere toutez voiez, ne onques ne venoie au desous[34]; mais de ceste fiere bataille ou je sui entrez cestui jor serai je menez a utrance. Ci ne puis je ferir coup de lance ne d'espee qui me puisse[35] faire garentir; outrés sui, enveincus[36] sui del tot, et est de si dure maniere celui a cui je mę combat que merci crier ne me fait rienz, ainz me convient morir sanz doute car merci prier[37] ne me vaut; ne ce ne poï onques veoir, a mon esciant, de chevalier ne viegne au desuz par force d'armes, si me vaut crier merci que je n'eusse merci et pitié; mes en seste mortal bataille ou je sui mis ne me vaut merci crier; a morir me convient par force que je merci ne trovai. Rois Marc, en cest canp perilleus me meïstes vos per un cop, d'un cop seulement a la mort; e quant je voi q'il ne puet estre autrement, je le vos pardoing volentiers et Dex le vos pardoing autresint."

Quant il a ensint parlé au roi Marc, il se torne vers la roine et li dit: "Dame, je me muir; venu est l'ore et le tens qe je ne puis mes aler avant. Certes, tant me sui conbatuz encontre la mort con je poï, ma chiere dame; e quant je muir, qe ferés vos? coment durerez aprés moi? Dame, coment

[25] MS. *li.*
[26] MS. *voiz.*
[27] MS. *pesmes por tel.*
[28] MS. *done.*
[29] MS. *et a toute.*
[30] MS. *qi.*
[31] MS. *del monde desormais.*
[32] MS. *fait.*
[33] MS. *rancure.*
[34] MS. *desus.*
[35] MS. *puis.*
[36] MS. *enveicus.*
[37] MS. *merci ne prier*

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porroie ce estre que Ysolt vive senz Tristan? ce sera il grant mervoillez, con del poison qi vit sanz aigue, et con del corz qi vit senz armez. Chiere dame, que ferés vos quant je muir? ne morez vus avec moi? si iron nos armes ensenble. Ha! amie belle, douce dame, que je ai plus de moi amee, feites[38] ce qe je vos reqier, que vos morrez a moi si que nos moron ensenble; por Deu gardez qe cest fait ne soit[39] autrement."

La roine, qi tant a duel qu'a poi que li cuerz ne li creve, ne set qu'ele doit[40] respondre. "Amis" fait elle, "se m'aï Dex, il n'a ore nul chose el monde que je amaz tant com de morir avec vos et con vos faire conpaignie a ceste mort, mes je[41] ne sai (*v°.a*) coment je le puisse faire; se vos le savez si le me ditez, et je le ferai erranment. Se por avoir dolor et angoise en son cuer duvroit nule dame morir, se m'aït Dex, je fusse mort plusor foiz puis que je vieng arsoir çaienz; car je ne croi pas qe nulle dame fust onqes tant dolent que je ne soie encor plus, et s'il fust a ma volonté, si m'aït Dex, je morroie orendroit." "Ha! douce dame" fet Tristan, "voldroiez vos adonc morir avec moi?" "Amiz" fet ele, "se m'aït Dex, q'unques rien tant[42] ne desirai." "Non?" fait il, "adonc sui je trop liez; donc avendra il,[43] se Dex plaist. E certes, selonc mon aviz, ce seroit vergoigne se Tristan morroit senz Ysolt qi avons esté une[44] chose et un cuer e un arme, et puis q'il est en cel mainiere, ma douce dame, que vos morir volez avec moi, il est mestiers, se Dex me saut, que nos moron andui ensemble. Or m'acollez, s'il vos plaist, car ma fin si aproche; molt je sui triste qi me sui venu au declin."

La roine plore molt fort quant elle enntent ceste parole, si fait li rois Marc; senz doute[45] il mostre bien q'il est de ceste mort dolenz outre misure. Dynas, qi pres est de Tristan, fait une fin si doloreuse qe nulz ne le veïst[46] adonc qi bien ne deïst que voirement amoit il de cuer, et si façoit il sanz doute. Sagremor ploire e tuit[47] li autre; il n'i a nul qui ne prie Dieu[48] que la mort viegne porçainement puis q'il voient Tristan morir; tuit sont[49] en dolor et en ploror. Quant Tristan voit apertement q'il est a fin venus, et il ne puet mes enn avant, il regarde tot entor soi et dit: "Seignor, je muir, je ne puis plus vivre. La mort si me tient ja au cuer qi ne me laisse vivre plus. A Dieu soiés vos tuit acomandé."

Quant il a dite ceste parole, il dit autre foiz a Ysolt: "Amie, or m'acollez si que je fin entre vos braiz; si finerai adonc a aise, ço m'est avis." Ysolt s'encline sor Tristan, et quant (*v°.b*) ele entent ceste parole, elle se baisse desus son piz. Tristan la print entre ses braiz, et quant il la tient en cel maniere desor son[50] piz, il dit si aut que tuit cil de laienz l'entendirent bien:

[38] MS. *pplus de moi amee ce.*
[39] MS. *qest fait ne soie.*
[40] MS. *doie.*
[41] MS. *re.*
[42] MS. *ttant.*
[43] MS. *avendrai il.*
[44] MS. *qi une.*
[45] MS. *sez.*
[46] MS. *qi nulz ne le veiste.*
[47] MS. *tuil.*
[48] MS. *que ne porie Dieu.*
[49] MS. *sint*
[50] MS. *deson sor.*

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"Ormés ne me chaut quant je muire, puis que je ai ma dame avec moi." E lors estreint la roine encontre son piz de tant de force com il avoit si qu'il li fait li cuer partir; et il meismez muert en cel point, si que, braz a braz, bouche a bouche, morirent[51] li dui amant; e demorent en cel maniere enbracié tant que tuit cil de laienz, qi cuidoient q'il fusen in pasmison, voient tuit clerement q'il estoient andui mort, et que recovrer n'i i a mez; se[52] morz sont andui par amor, autre reconfort il n'i a.

En tel maniere com je vos cont morut Tristan li biaus li prus[53] por les amor Ysolt. A tel dolor et a tel angoise morut Tristan con je vos ai conté par le cop que li rois Marc li dona. Lors ensint morut la roine; car li rois Marc li fist morir, e la roine de sa part murut por les amor Tristan; ensint morent li dui amant por amor. Tristan, qi a celui tenz estoit le meillor chevalier deu munde, fors Monseignor Galaas, le fils Monseignor Lancelot dou Lac,—Tristan morut por lez amor Ysolt, et Ysolt qui a celui tens[54] estoit la plus belle dame dou munde forz la roine Guenevre et la fille li rois Pellez, la mere Galeas,—morut por lez amor Tristan; ensint finerent andui.

(*L*, §*550.*) Quant li rois Marc conoss que la roine este mort, a poi q'il ne rage de duel. "Halas!" fait il, "con grant dolor, con grant doumage et con grant pert m'est avenu en cestui jor! je ai perdu quant je avoie et quant que je amoie el monde quant je ai perdu mon neveu Tristan, qi bien estoit sainz faille le florz de toz lé chevaliers dou monde. Bien puis dire seurement que ai perdu tot honor; jamais nul home del monde ne me doutra; et quant je ai perdu Ysolt qe tant amoie, bien ai perdu mon cuer et ma arme. En toutes manierez sui honis; onques au roi terrenz ne mezavient (*77, r°.a*) tant com il m'est hui mesavenu.[1] Mielz me venist se Dex me dont bone aventure que fosse del tot mort."

Grans est li duelz, grant est la[2] plainte que li rois Marc vait demenaint; si font tuit li autre[3] de laienz. Li uns plaint Tristan et li autre Ysolt; il n'i a nul qi deuel ne face; tuit cil de Tintoïl menent, si font li autre païz qui ceste novelle entendent.[4] Granz est li duel, grant est la plaint que font li grant et li pitit. "Ha! Dex" dien lé gentilhome de Cornoaille, "tant nos est il mesavenu quant nos avom perdu Tristan, qui en pooir et en honor avoit tenu Cornoaille si longuement con nos savom! Bien poom seurement dire que tuit somez morz et honi, e bien avom perdu nostre pere et tout nostre meillor ami. Or mai dovons avoir paor et doutance granz que nos ne tornon au servage d'Irande ensint con nos i fumes ja.

[51] MS. *a braz bouche morirent.*
[52] MS. *s.*
[53] MS. *cont mourat li biaus li plus.*
[54] MS. *lez amor Ysolt que a celui.*
[1] So 1463; MS. *mezavient eint com mes hui avenu.*
[2] MS. *est a.*
[3] MS. *tuit li autre li autre.*
[4] MS. *esttendent.*

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Fellon guererdon mortel a rendu li roiz Marc a Tristan de la grant bonté qu'il li fist a celui point et maint autre foiz; il deust mielz estre seignor de Cornoaille par droit que li rois Marc ne deust estre[5], car il seulz l'a defendue de maint perilz et de main hontees par son cors tant seulement. Halas! con dolerouse domage et con grant perte reçovra en Cornoaille par la mort Tristan solement! Ha! Tristan, flors[6] de chevalerie, com nos serons encor honis, avilis et vergoigné puis que l'en savra vostre mort. Sor nos vendroient[7] or cil d'Irlande q'il ne lairent e nulle guise il nus remetroient[8] en servage ou nos fumes si longuement; et ce s'il d'Irlande ne vienent[9], vienrent cil de Sensoigne por vengier celle grant vergoigne q'il reçurent en Cornoaille n'a encor mie loing tenz. Sire Tristan, asez queronz ore enemis de toutes parz puiz que la novelle iert corrue par le monde que Tristan est mort. Que diron? nos ne poom escampre que nos no soiom de vostre mort honiz. Sire Tristan, li rois Marc cuida son preu faire de vos metre a mort en cel maniere, mais (*r°.b*) il fist son doumage q'il en sera honiz; en torneron arriere el fait ou nos fumes ja."

En tel guise com je vos di plangent cil de Cornoaille la mort de Tristan; il n'i a nul qi ne soit dolenz et irez de grant maniere forz que Audret tant seulement; a celui ne poise mie de rienz; se cent q'il de Cornoaille bien le volent mal de mort, et dien que encor vendra qi vengiera la mort[10] de Tristan, il ne puet autrement estre. Li roiz Artus n'est mie mort, ne cil[11] de la Table Reonde qi amoient Tristan come c'il fust lor frere. Car li duelz est telz en Cornoaille que se li rois Marc fust mort la plant ne fust pas si grant. Tuit cil qi oïent la novelle vienent[9] au chastel Dynas, ou li cors Tristan estoit, et quant il sevent que la roine Ysolt est mort avec Tristan, il dient que ce est[12] mervoille tout la plus grant voirement que onques mais avenist[13] Tristan en nule reison. Quant li unz est finez por l'autre bien onnt mostré apertement ne fu pas a janz; tant con il seclez dura sera parlez de ceste amor; et dient li forz et li sages, ce est amor, et passe amor con de Tristan de Leonois et de la roine Ysolt de Cornoaille.

Quant li baron sont[14] asenblé la u li corz Tristan estoit dejoste li corz la roine, li rois Marc qui tant est dolenz qu'a poie q'il ne muer di dolor, fait prendre li corz andeuz et portent jusque a Tintoïl; et dit q'il les fera andeus metre ensemble por ce que tant s'entramerent en lor vie. Car li unz ne pooit senz l'autre demorer ne nuit ne jor ne nulle hore del monde; et s'il n'estoient tout jor ensenble, si estoit lor cuer et lor volonté ensenble. E por ce q'il s'entramoient tant en lor vie con je vos cont, li fist li rois Marc metre ensenble q'il fussent en lor[15] mort a aisi aausint com il furent et voloient.

[5] MS. *este.*
[6] MS. *frors.*
[7] MS. *vendroit.*
[8] MS. *remetroit.*
[9] MS. *vient.*
[10] MS. *la mor la mort.*
[11] MS. *mort cil.*
[12] MS. *este.*
[13] MS. *avestniz.*
[14] MS. *seent.*
[15] MS. *illor.*

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Quant lé deuz cors sont mis en terre a la grant yglise de Tintoïl a tel honor e autece (*v°.a*) que l'en ne peust greignor faire, li rois Marc i fist puis faire une sepulture si ricche et si merveilleuse que devant n'avoit si riche en Cornoaille, ne puis ne fu maiz forz seulement celle de Galeout, le fil a la geante qi nasqi en lontaines isles. E senz falle celle tombe de Galeoth estoit si riche et si merveilleuse que onques ne fu si riche ne ne sera. Celle tombe estoit toute d'or, e plene de plus ricche pierez precieusez del monde, come de safinz et d'esmeraudes et de diamanz et des rubinz et de jaspez et de carboncles et d'autre pieres ricches asez. E sachiez que cil Galeoth fu princez et sirez de xxviiii roiaumes, et il ama tant Monseignor Lancelot dou Lac con nulz home porroit amer autre, et je ne vos porroie contre li bien q'il li voloit, et a la fin morrut Galeoth por Lancelot. Mes nos vos laisseronz ore ceste conte, et retorneron a nostre matire.

Ci dit li contes que au pié de cele sepolture fist faire li rois Marc deus ymages, de que l'une estoit faite en senblanse de chevalier e l'autre de dame; et i avoit[16] letrez qui disoient Ysolt. Sachié que l'iglise d'u li corz furent enterré, ensint con je vos cont, estoit belle et riche et autrement apareillié de toutez richesces que aute[17] yglise apartient. Et chascunz des baronz de Cornoaille se començа a travaillier maintenant endroit soi que li dui cors i furent[18] miz por amor de Tristan. Enmi de le yglise droitement estoit la sepouture dez deuz amanz, si riche que l'en ne trovast a pax a celui point nulle plus riche au monde. Desus la tonbe, ensint com je vos ai dit, a pié de la sopolture avoit ii ymages, chascunes ausi grant con un home; l'une de ymages estoit faite on senblance de chevalier, si bel et si cointement dure qu'il estoit aviz a celui qui le (*v°.b*) regardoit que li chevaliers estoit en vie. Et il tenoit sa[19] main senestre devant son piz toute clouse ensint con il tenoit les atanchiez de son mantel, et le bras destre tenoit il[20] tendu verz le gent, et tenoit en celle main l'espee toute nue, et ce estoit cele espee meismez dont li Morcholz fu ja ocis. Au plant de l'espee avoit fait faire li roiz letres d'or enmi le piz, avoit letrez qi disoient Tristan. Li autre ymages, que fait estoit en senblance de dame, avoit letrez enmi le piz qi disoient Ysolt; et sachés que l'en ne peust pas trover a celui tenz en tou le monde deuz ymage si bien faitez que cellez ne fussent mielz.

(*L*, §*551.*) Quant Sagremor, qi trop fu dolenz de la mort Tristan, out tant demoré en Cornoaille aprez la mort de Tristan con il plot, il se parti et vient a la mer et passa[21] outre et ariva en la Grant Bretaigne. Et il portoit tot a desus l'escu Tristan covert d'un drap de soie batu a ors, et portoit a son col pendue l'espee Tristan; nulle autre espee il ne portoit. Et quant il fu arivés au roiaume de Logrez il dit que desormés se trairoit[22] il vers Chamelot al plus estivement q'il porroit.

[16] MS. *avoiz.*
[17] MS. *autre.*
[18] MS. *fient.*
[19] MS. *tenoit a sa.*
[20] MS. *les bras destre ttenoit il.*
[21] MS. *apassa.*

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(*L*, §*568*.) Un jor q'il chevauchoit par une foreste, li avint q'il encontra un chevalier armez de toutes armes, qi s'en aloit[23] droit vers la[24] mer, et venoit verz la maison li roiz Artuz. Quant Sagremor le voit venir il s'areste, et li chevalier vint jusque a lui[25] et le salue, et Sagremor li rent son salu et puis demande: "Sire chevalier, dont venez vos? fustes vos a la maison li rois Artu? savés vos novellez de celui ostel?" "Certes" ce dit li chevaliers, "ancor n'a mie deuz jorz que je fui en celui hostel, mes, par la foi que je doi a Deu, je ne vi onques celui hostel si desconforté com il estoit a celui point que je me parti. Li rois plort si tendrement com s'il veïst devant lui mort toute le monde, car en celui jor meismez li estoit venuz novellez que Palamedes estoit mort, et li rois Baudemagus mort, et Erec le filz Lach (*78, r°.a*) mort, et tant de compaignon de la Table Reonde q'i estoit merveille a oïr. Li roiz Artuz por cez novelez que l'en li avoit contez toutes freschement estoit si durement desconfortez que je ne cuit mie q'il se conforte a piece mes." "E nom Dieu" dit Sagremor, "ces novelle sont trop mauvaise por honor de chevalerie; mes encor les port je peor a la cort, par foi que je vos doi." "Sire chevalier, e nom Dieu" fet le chevalier, "donc sont ellez trop mauvaise quant illes sont peorz de cestez." "Certez" fet Sagremor, "vos dites[26] voir, mauveisez sunt ellez trop. Veez vos hore ceste escu que je port et ceste espee; or sachiez que cez furent les armes de si preudome et de si bon chevalier qe[27] por l'aute chevalerie que je savoie el chevalier je n'ai pas tant d'ardemant que je mete l'espee a mon coste, ainz le port a mon col pendue en tel guise con vos veez." "Dex aït" fait il, "qui fu cil qi tant fu bon chevalierz con vos dites?" Et Sagremor comence a plorer et puis respont tout en plorant: "Ce fu Tristan de Leonoiz qi mort est ore tout novellement, ce est bien domage a tot le monde." "Coment" dit li chevaliers, "est donc Monseignor Tristan mort?" "Oïl, certes" fet Sagremor, "mor est il veraiement. Veez ci sez armez que je port a la Table Reonde en leu de son cors, que desormais n'i puet il venir." "Ha! Dex" dit li chevaliers, "coment estrange domage! se li rois Artuz n'est dolent de sez novellez il ne sera jamaiz. Ormez est la Table Reonde apovrie durement de preudomes puis que Palamedes est mort et li bon Tristan autresint."

Aprés ceste parole demande Sagremeor au chevalier: "Or me ditez, biaus sirez, vos qi de la cort venez, Monseignor Lancelot dou Lac est il encore a cort retornez de la queste qi onques mal fu comencee, et Monseignor Hestor et Monseignor Bliobris de Gaunes sont retorné autresint?" "Oïl, mes[28] de selui lignaje a chevalier assez mort en ceste queste; si i a il tant des autres que li rois Artuz sovent foiz se claime rois[29] chatiz et deshonorez."

(*L*, §*569*.) Aprés cest parole se depart li unz chevaliers de l'autre. Li

[23] MS. *trairont.*
[24] MS. *aloient.*
[25] MS. *droit . . . . la.*
[26] MS. *llui.*
[27] MS. *dit.*
[28] MS. *qi.*
[29] MS. *autresint mes.*
[29] MS. *plainte.*

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chevaliers s'en vait en son afaire, et (*r°.b*) Sagremor chevauche tant q'il vient a cort un lundi maitin. Estoit li rois molt desconfortez des novellez que chascun jor aloit molt enpirant, et le greignor duel q'il eust adonc si estoit dou bon Palamede; celui ne pooit oblier, celui plaint il main et soir. Quant Sagremor entre laienz, por ce q'il estoit alez en Cornoaille avec Tristan, quant il le voient retorner, il cuident tout veraiement q'il aporte[30] bones novelles. Et quant li rois le voit[31] laienz entrer, por ce q'il ne l'avoit pieç'a veu, se lieve il contre lui, et li dit: "Sagremor, vos soiez bien venuz; quelez novelez aportez voz de Cornoaille?" "Certes, sire" fait Sagremor, "je ne lé aporte mie teles com je voussise, ne com il fu mistir a la Table Reonde, mais or faites assembler, s'il vos plaist, maintenant li compaignon de la Table Reonde; si vos dirai lé novellez que j'en aport." "Asenbler?" fait li rois, "certez, je nel poroie faire[32], car plus en son mort de xl en ceste queste dolorouse qi de male ore fu enprize."[33] Li rois fait monter sor[34] la tor un vallet et fait soner un mainel que l'en pooit tout clerement oïr par toute la cité; ne celui maenele ne sonoit l'en onques fort qe quant l'en voloit faire asenbler les compaignons de la Table Reonde. Monseignor Lancelot vient, corruciez et tant dolent que nul ne puet reconforter; tant a ploré[35] por amor de Palamede qe[36] merveille est q'il n'est morz de duel. Il ne plaint[37] nul se lui non par le aute chevalerie q'il avoit i lui[38] trovee.

Quant il sont laienz asemblee tuit cil qi en la cité estoient de la Table Reonde, Sagremor lor mestre l'espee et l'escu Tristan et lor dit: "Seignor, je veing de Cornoaille; novellez en aport trop peorz que je ne voussise; Tristan, li bons, li biaus, qi[39] del monde avoit toute le priz, est mort; c'est dolor et domage a toz lé preudomez dou monde. A celui jor q'il morut me prie il molt doucement que je a la Table Reonde aportasse son escu et s'espee; por ce q'il ne pooit (*v°.a*) venir,[40] ci fist il venir sez[41] armez, por ce q'illes fussent a l'autesse de la Table Reonde prezentez. Veez ci l'espee, veés ci l'escu, ce est grant dolor que si preudome est encor venuz a fin.[42]

(*L*, §*570.*) E quant il a dite ceste parole, il duel comence par laient si grant, si fors et si merveilleuse que jamais greignor n'entendiez[43]; il n'i a ne petit ne grant qi duel ne face a son pooir, et cascun vait plaignant Tristan. Ce est lor complaint, c'est lor regrat; celui plaignent il[44] deshormais; il se taisent[45] de toz les autres dont il fassoient duel devant et plaignent Tristan. Tuit por Tristan est or tot l'ivers retornés; Tristan les a mis en tristor; toz les a mors la mort Tristan. Li rois 'n est si dolenz[46]

[29] MS. *se rois.*
[30] MS. *aportent.*
[31] MS. *voient.*
[32] MS. *poroie je faire.*
[33] MS. *enplize.*
[34] MS. *son.*
[35] MS. *plorer.*
[36] MS. *qi.*
[38] MS. *llui.*
[39] MS. *qil.*
[40] MS. *pooit ve venir.*
[41] MS. *il venir il.*
[42] MS. *venuz.*
[43] MS. *nenendiez.*
[44] So 1463; MS. *ce en lor complaint cest lor regart celui plaignent et il.*
[45] MS. *traisent.*
[46] MS. *nest si a dolenz.*

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que nul ne puet reconforter; il ne prie fors que la mort, et dit q'il n'avra jamaiz joie. Monseignor Lancelot, qi tout enrage de duel, dit tot apertement que desormaiz devroit toz li mondez finer; puis que li bons Tristan est mort, toute chevalerie est morte. Ceste dolor de la mort Tristan fu mantenue un an en la maison li rois Artuz en tel maniere q'il ne fassoient se duel non. Et por Tristan seulement li Rois Artus fist un lai qi fu apelé Lai Real; Monseignor Lancelot ensint un autre, et maint autre chevalier. La roine Genevre ne fist un autresint; et chascun jor q'il faissoient li duel de Tristan estoient le lai recordé. Por cele dolor portent tuit cil de la cort robez noirez, et de la furent[47] trovees premierement.

Assez me sui ore travailliez de cestui livre metre a fin; longuement i ai entendu, et[48] longue ovre ai achevé, la Deu merci, qi le senz et le pooir me dona. Biauz diz plaisanz et delitables ai mis[49] par tot a mon pooir; et por les biauz dis qi i sont, et qe li rois Henrinz d'Engletere a bien veu de chief en chef—e voit encor soventez foiz com ci qi forment s'en delite,—m'est il aviz que, por ce q'il a asez plus trovet au livre de latin que aut li traslaiteor de cestui livre, et vont encor tret en (*v°.b*) longue françoice, m'a il reqiz et prié par soi et par autre et par sez letrez que molt chosez fallent en cez livrez q'il en convendroit a metre, ne metre ne si porroit desormaiz, que je autre foiz me travaillasse de faire un autre livrez, ou soit contenuz tout que en cez livre faut. Et je, qui[50] sa priere et sa comandement ne oseroie trespasser[51] le promet en la fin de cestui livre, come a mon signor, que, maintenant que la froidure de cestui ivre sera passee, et nos serom au comencement de la douce saison que l'en apelle la seison[52] de ver, je, qi adonc me serai aucun poi reposez aprez le grant trevail de cestui livre, et que je[53] ai demoré un an entierz, si que je ai laissiz toutez chevalerie et touz autre solaz, me retornerai sor le livre de latin et sor les autres livrez qi trait sont en françoiz. Et porverai de chief en chef, et de ce que je vedrai que faudra et qe je troverai el livre de latin, je farai un livre entier, ou je acomplerai, se Deu plaist, tout ce que Monseignor Lucez dol Grant, qui prumierement comença a traslater,[54] et maistrez Gautier Maz, qui fist le propre livre de Lancelot, Monseignor Rubert de Baron, et je meismes, qi sui apellez Helies de Borron: tout que nos n'avon mené a fin, je acomplirai la, se Dex me dont tant de vie que je puisse celui livre mener a fin. Et je endroit moi mercé molt lou Roi Henri mon seignor de ce q'il loe le mie livre et de ce q'il li done si grant priz.

Explicit la mort Monsingnor Tristan.

E. S. Murrell.

Oxford, England

[47] MS. *fu.*
[48] MS. *en.*
[49] MS. *delitable et mis.*
[50] MS. *cui.*
[51] MS. *ne seroie trespasset.*
[52] MS. *apella la senson.*
[53] MS. *qez un je.*
[54] MS. *traslatere.*

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XX

GAWAIN, GWRI, AND CUCHULINN

IN A chapter of my *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*[1] I attempted to prove that the repeated correspondence between the adventures of Cuchulinn in Irish saga and those of Gawain in Arthurian romance could be accounted for only on the hypothesis that the intermediate Welsh figure was Gwri; and that this hypothesis was the key to many things in Arthurian nomenclature. My statement of the case, though it has convinced a number of the most competent judges, suffered from the fact that the interpretation of one Welsh name was questionable,[2] and of another erroneous,[3] that it involved the inconclusive and unessential derivation of the name Cuchulinn from a hypocoristic form of Curoi,[4] and that the argument did not start from the most advantageous point of departure. In the following article I endeavor to remedy those defects.

That Gawain is a counterpart of Cuchulinn is one of the commonplaces of Arthurian scholarship, and one which should offer some clues to the channel of transmission by which so much Irish material reached the French. The stories of the Beheading Test,[5] of the Abduction of Blathnat,[6] and of the Night in Curoi's Castle,[7] which appear in many forms in Arthurian romance, retain so many

[1] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, Columbia Univ. Press. 1927, Chap. V.

[2] Gwrvan I interpreted as Little Gwri on the authority of Ivor B. John, who on p. 375 of Nutt's edition of Guest's *Mabinogion* (London, 1904) translated Gwrvan Little Man, apparently taking *-van* to be the lenated form of *man*, which means little. Prof. Gruffydd rejects altogether the interpretation of *-van* as little, but accepts Gwrvan as based on Gwri. Sir John Morris-Jones kindly writes me: "It appears to me as certain that Gaulish *Viro-mandus*=Welsh *Gwrvan* as that Gaulish *Penno-ouindos*=Welsh *penwyn*: and if that is so, the second element of Gwrvan cannot be the Welsh adj. *man* 'small'." "It appears to me as if the two old names Gwri and Gwrvan had been mixed up, or that Gwri's epithet has been applied to Gwrvan."

[3] Gwrnach the Giant I interpreted, through an inexcusable confusion, as Big Gwri. Prof. Gruffydd pointed out that *nach* has no such meaning, but agreed that Gwrnach likewise is probably developed from or confused with Gwri.

[4] It should be remembered, however, that competent Celtists agree that the name Cuchulainn was probably not the orginal form, but is an etymologized form, invented as a pretext for the Hound of Culann episode.

[5] G. L. Kittredge, *Study of Gawain and the Green Knight.*

[6] Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–17, 21–23: *Romanic Rev.*, XV, 280.

[7] Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 ff.

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minute details of the Irish sagas that one is bound to believe that there was an organic connection between the respective heroes, some reason why Gawain should regularly take the place of Cuchulinn.

But so long as it was assumed that Gwalchmai the son of Gwyar was the Welsh original of Gawain, no progress toward a solution was possible. Gwalchmai as a knight of Arthur's plays almost no part in Welsh tales uncontaminated by Continental romances.[8] Bruce, indeed, came to the logical conclusion that the name Gwalchmai was a substitution by the Welsh for French Galvain, instead of *vice versa*.[9] This was amply confirmed by the fact that the earliest form of the name Gawain, carved about 1100 on the sculpture at Modena, is Galvagin(us).[10] The series Galvagin> Galvain>Gwalchmai is vastly more plausible than the series Gwalchmai>Galvagin>Galvain. Bruce was right, then, in supposing that the name Gwalchmai does not carry us back into primitive Welsh tradition, but the contrary. The field was then left open for the theory that some other Welsh figure was an intermediate between Gawain and Cuchulinn.

Before any progress is possible in the study of the transmission of Arthurian proper names, it must be understood that we are dealing with a highly anomalous phenomenon, that regular phonetic laws do not apply, that the accepted equations between Celtic and Arthurian proper names exhibit strange deformations. Here is a list of acknowledged connections: Peredur=Perceval, Caledvwlch=Escalibour, Twrch Trwyth=Tortain, Erec=Geraint, Gauvain=Gwalchmai, Melwas=both Maheloas and Meleagant, Calogrenant=Kynon. It is obvious that these developments are amenable to no law, and those who insist on applying phonetic standards to a field where they manifestly do not operate, are the opposite of scientific in method. When theory comes into conflict with fact, they prefer theory. Often when their own equations are involved they pay as little attention to phonetic

[8] In *Kilhwch and Olwen* we read merely that Gwalchmai "never returned home without achieving the adventure of which he went in quest. He was the best of footmen and the best of knights. He was nephew to Arthur, the son of his sister, and his cousin." There is no reason to believe that this is genuine Welsh tradition, for even *Kilhwch*, dated 1075–1125, has been slightly contaminated by French influence, and we know that by 1096 Breton conteurs were telling tales of Arthur in French.

[9] J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 192.

[10] Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 6

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theory as a sensible man could desire. M. Ferdinand Lot, who informs me that phonetics is a "gardefou" in these matters, has proposed with assurance that Escalot comes from Alclud, Sorelois from Sorlinc, but he neglects to indicate what processes, phonetic or otherwise, account for the changes. M. Lot is certainly right in disregarding any strict application of phonetic law to his own equations. Perhaps someday he will concede my title to the same liberty. Be it understood: I do not deny the validity of phonetic law in its proper sphere; I merely regard it as of little effect in the transmission of proper names from one language to another. I do not dispense with tests in the equation of transmitted proper names. I merely insist that they be other tests than phonetic. There must be a demonstrated channel of transmission; there should be a detailed or sustained correspondence in nature or activities, or a correspondence in relationship to identifiable characters, or intermediate forms between the two names. I believe these tests will vindicate the theory which I have proposed for Gwri or Gwair as the intermediate personage between Gawain and Cuchulinn.

In 1897 M. Joseph Loth made a suggestion which should have had important consequences, but the time was not yet ripe.[11] He showed the possibility that the name of Gawain's father Loth was derived from the Welsh Lloch or Llwch Llawynnawc, who appears in an ancient Welsh poem and in *Kilhwch and Olwen* as a warrior of Arthur's.[12] He would have greatly strengthened the identification if he had pointed out that among Arthur's men in *Kilhwch and Olwen* there appear two Gweirs, doubtless the same figure with different epithets, sons of this same Llwch Llawynnawc,[13] whereas one of King Loth's sons is variously called Guahries, Gaeres, Gaheries, and there is also a King Lohoz in the *Vulgate Lancelot* with a son Gaher.[14] Now it is possible to carry this Llwch or Lloch, the presumptive original of Gawain's father, back to Lug, the father of Cuchulinn. For the epithet Llawynnawc appears to be a corruption, and a more original form, Llemi-

[11] *Revue Celt.*, XVI, 84 ff.

[12] J. Loth, *Mabinogion* (1913), I, 264: Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 262.

[13] J. Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 276. These Gweirs are said to be Arthur's uncles, brothers of his mother, whereas Gawain was Arthur's nephew. But this list of Arthur's warriors in *Kilhwch* is notoriously corrupt, and nephews might easily be converted into uncles.

[14] Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, III, 269 f.

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nawc, appears in the more ancient poem, the *Harryings of Annwn*.[15] Here Llwch Lleminawc[16] carries out exactly the same part in Arthur's expedition to carry off a caldron that a certain Llenlleawc of Ireland plays in a similar expedition narrated in *Kilhwch*.[17] This suggests that the original of the Llwch Lleminawc of the ancient poem may have his Irish counterpart. Can he be other than Lugh Loinnbheimionach, the great sun-god, father of Cuchulinn?[18]

The equation of Loth with Lug through Welsh Llwch is clinched by the following facts. Arthur's war with King Loth in the *Huth Merlin*[19] bears three clear points of resemblance to Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur's war with the Emperor Lucius:[20] both stories follow after the story of Arthur's war with Rience or Ritho; both Loth and Lucius have twelve subordinate kings or commanders to lead their armies; both are slain, but not by Arthur or the particular heroes of the battle, Walwainus and Balaain. Now the significant fact is that both names, Loth and Lucius, are easily derivable from Welsh Llwch, and Lucius bears the epithet Hiberus,[21] easily recognisable as Hibernus, the Irishman. All the facts, in the French and Welsh traditions of Arthur, point to the derivation of Loth from Lug. Therefore, not only is Gawain the counterpart of Cuchulinn, but also Gawain's father is identical with Cuchulinn's.

This fact should encourage us to examine more closely the son of

[15] Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 265.

[16] The two parts of the name occur in successive lines: "The shining sword of Llwch was lifted to it, And in the hand of Lleminawc it was left." The analogy of Llwch Llawynnawc, also a warrior of Arthur's, leaves little doubt that these two parts belong together.

[17] Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 335.

[18] Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f. M. Ferdinand Lot (*Romania*, LIII, 403) admits the derivation of Lleminawc from Loinnbheimionach but denies the derivation of Llwch from Lug for two unsound reasons. He says that the final consonant *g* had ceased to be pronounced. If he is talking of the period before 1000, when these stories passed from Goidels to Brythons, he is mistaken. Prof. Bergin writes me, "There can be no doubt that in Old and Middle Irish it was a spirant like the *g* in German *Tage*." The second reason for M. Lot's rejection is that Irish Lug is represented by Llew. But Lleu, according to the eminent Celtist, Prof. F. N. Robinson, is probably a cognate and not a derivative of Lug, and Llew is simply a substitute for Lleu. Cf. Sir John Morris-Jones, in *Cymmrodor*, XXVIII, 239. M. Lot's statement is both inaccurate and inconclusive.

[19] *Ibid.*, 348. *Huth Merlin*, ed. Paris, Ulrich, I, 225 ff.

[20] *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Bk. X.

[21] The Rev. Acton Griscom kindly informs me that this reading has the support of the most ancient texts.

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Llwch or Lloch, Gwair, as a possible intermediate between Gawain and Cuchulinn. Casting back, we note that Gwair's name corresponds to that of Loth's son Guahries or Gaeres. This hero shows several points of resemblance to Gawain himself. Gaheryes weds Lynete, and Gawain is the lover of Lunete.[22] Certain adventures of Gareth, whose name is a natural French development from Gaeres, parallel those of Gawain in Crestien's *Conte del Graal* and in the variant versions of the Beheading Test.[23] Gwair, then, seems to be related to Gawain through Gawain's brother Gaeres. He also seems to be related in the same way to Cuchulinn. For many of the adventures of Gareth correspond to those of his nephew, Gawain's son, Guiglain,[24] in whose name one may detect a survival of Cuchulainn's. There appears to be, then, some connection between Cuchulinn, Gwair, and Gawain.

We can make still further progress if we study the list of Arthur's warriors in *Kilhwch*, in which Llwch and his son Gwair appear. There we find a Gware Gwallt Euryn and a Gwrvan Gwallt Avwyn.[25] Two of the most eminent Welsh scholars, Prof. W. J. Gruffydd and Sir John Morris-Jones, agree that these names represent corruptions of, or substitutions for, the name of a primitive Welsh hero, Gwri Gwallt Euryn; and Prof. Gruffydd has argued that Gwri or Gware is identical with Gwair.[26] Now if we remember that M. Loth has asserted that the Welsh epithet is often more tenacious than the name,[27] most of our riddle untangles.

First, it seems clear that the epithets of Arthur's warriors, Gwallt Avwyn and Gwallt Euryn, are the sources of the Breton forms Galvagin(us) and Galvariun applied to two of Arthur's knights on the Modena sculpture. The former we have seen is the earliest record of the name Gawain, and obviously finds a much more satisfactory explanation in Gwallt Avwyn than in Gwalchmai. Gwallt Avwyn means "Hair Like Reins,"[28] and is, like

[22] Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, Bk. VII, chap. 35. Crestien de Troyes, *Ivain*, l. 2398.

[23] Cf. Lynete's treatment of Gareth in Malory with Orgeuilleuse' treatment of Gawain in Crestien's *Conte del Graal*, ed. G. Baist, ll. 6440 ff. Compare also the combination of Beheading Test and Temptation, familiar in *Gawain and the Green Knight*, in Gareth's adventure with Lyones.

[24] Cf. the romances of *Libeaus Desconus* and *Le Bel Inconnu*.

[25] J. Loth, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 277 f.

[26] *Revue Celt.*, XXXIII, 460 f.

[27] J. Loth, *op cit.*, I, 79 f.

[28] Sir John Morris-Jones writes: "Gwallt Avwyn no doubt means 'with hair like reins;'" but he suggests that it is a corruption of Gwallt Eurin.

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Gwallt Euryn, "Golden Hair," an appropriate epithet for a solar hero such as Gawain was.[29]

Secondly, in the variant Welsh forms Gware and Gwri we find the explanation for the fact that Gawain's brothers, really his other selves, include Gaeres and Guerhes or Gurrehes.

Thirdly, though we have little left of the traditions about Gwri except a much garbled version of his birth, that little does furnish one marked point of resemblance to the birth of Gawain. Both as foundlings are discovered wrapped in a rich cloth of silk.[30]

Fourthly, Gwri was recognized by Rhys forty years ago as a Welsh counterpart to Cuchulinn.[31] Gwri's epithet is "Golden Hair"; the outermost crown of Cuchulinn's hair was, "as it were, a diadem of gold, for like the shining of yellow gold was each glittering, curling, beauty-colored thread." Both Gwri and Cuchulinn were most precocious in their youth. Both, like Gawain, were put out to fosterage. The most significant point of resemblance lies in the probability that not only the birth of Gwri but also that of Cuchulinn coincided with the birth of a colt. In the Mabinogi of *Pwyll* we learn explicitly that Gwri's mother and Teyrnon's mare both gave birth the same night, and the child was substituted for the colt.[32] Likewise two colts were born at the same time as an unnamed rebirth of Lug, who died in infancy, and the divine father bade the colts be kept for his other rebirth Cuchulinn.[33] Prof. Baudis came to the eminently reasonable conclusion that this account combines two stories, according to one of which Cuchulinn was born at the same time as these two colts.[34] On these various grounds Rhys' supposition that Gwri was a Welsh counterpart of Cuchulinn seems justified.

Accordingly we may feel confident that Gwri, whose birth story connects him both with Cuchulinn and Gawain, and whose name turns up as that of Gawain's brother Guerhes, and Gwair, the son of Llwch, who corresponds to Cuchulinn the son of Lug and Gawain the son of Loth, and whose name turns up as that of Gawain's brother Guahries or Gaeres, are, as Gruffydd argued on quite different grounds, identical figures. Gwri-Gwair is the

[29] Loomis, *op. cit.*, 63.
[30] Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 110; *Historia Meriadoci*, ed. J. D. Bruce, p. 55.
[31] J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 501.
[32] Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 109 ff.
[33] *Folklore Record*, IV, 23, 26.
[34] *Folklore*, XXVII, 49.

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intermediate figure between Cuchulinn and Gawain, and the epithet Gwallt Avwyn is the only possible explanation of the name Galvagin or Gawain.

But a most important question remains: Who was the other rebirth of Lug to whom the story of the simultaneous colt-birth is directly applied? Can his identification further illuminate the problems of Welsh and Arthurian nomenclature? I believe that he can be identified with practical certainty, and that his name was Curoi. Though this theory may clash with the conception of Curoi as a gigantic and hideous herdsman which we get in *Bricriu's Feast*, yet we are told explicitly that this uncouth figure was Curoi in disguise.[35] He is elsewhere referred to as a youth,[36] and he is said to have taken arms at the same age as Cuchulinn, namely seven.[37] The evidence in Irish literature that Curoi may be identical with Cuchulinn is as follows.

1. Though Curoi is regularly called the son of Daire, we have testimony that Daire was identical with Lugaid,[38] and Lugaid, as Prof. MacNeill points out, is often a variant form of Lug.[39] It is an entirely rational explanation to suppose that, in the story of Lug's rebirth which coincides with the birth of two colts, the name Curoi is suppressed because the writer knew Curoi as the son of Daire and did not know that Daire could be equated with Lug.

2. Both Cuchulinn and Curoi are said to be fathers of Lugaidh mac na tri Con,[40]—a fact which points to the identity of Cuchulinn and Curoi as fathers of the same man.

3. In various versions of the abduction of Blathnat from the fortress of her father, Curoi accompanies Cuchulinn as a man garbed in a gray mantle, performs prodigies of slaughter, and, in another version, when overtaken at sea by the avenging Echde, Curoi slew him, and saved the Ulstermen.[41] In *Cuchulinn's Phantom Chariot* Cuchulinn alone performs feats corresponding to those of Curoi.[42] The suspicion arises that the Blathnat abduction stories are characteristic Celtic conflations of two versions of the

[35] *Bricriu's Feast*, ed. G. Henderson, Irish Texts Society, II, 129.
[36] *Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie*, IX, 194.
[37] *Bricriu's Feast*, p. 101.
[38] *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, ed. J. O'Donovan, p. 8.
[39] J. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, p. 49 f.
[40] Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 472, n. 2.
[41] *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, IX, 194; *Eriu*, II, 21.
[42] E. Hull, *Cuchulinn Saga*, pp. 282–5.

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same story, in one of which Curoi was the hero, and in the other Cuchulinn. In other words, we have here a probable example of that same phenomenon of harmonizing variants which seems to be responsible for the two rebirths of Lug which coincided with the birth of colts.

4. There is very clear evidence that Curoi and Cuchulinn share with Lug the same dual nature of sun-god and storm-god, as would be natural for rebirths of Lug. The evidence I have given in full in Chapter IV of *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, and I cannot improve on my statement of the case. But I may add an important piece of corroboration. Cuchulinn's solar characteristics are well known,—his golden hair, his heat, his *geas* not to rise later than the sun: his spear, which he casts from a mist, just as Lug casts from a mist his spear, which roars and flashes fire, seems clearly indicated as the lightning. Now this is a description of Gawain in the *Vulgate Merlin*:[43] "& il estoit si escaufes a ce quil se traioit uers eure de noune que nule riens nauoit a li duree. & samble uraiement quant il lieue lespee contremont por ferir & ele descent que ce est foudre tant descent de grant rauine. car ele bruit si comme tounoires." If it be urged that this is mere coincidence and that Gawain's lightning sword is mere hyperbole, the invention of the French author, let us note that earlier in the same romance Arthur gives Gawain his own sword Excalibur.[44] In the *Dream of Rhonabwy* the sword of Arthur is thus described:[45] "The similitude of two serpents of gold was on the sword. And when it was drawn from its scabbard, two flames of fire were seen issuing from the throats of the serpents. It was not easy for anyone to look upon it because of its terror." In Welsh tradition, then, Excalibur was a flame-shooting, fearful sword. The tradition is consistent: Gawain's sword, like Cuchulinn's spear, is a lightning weapon. Not only, therefore, do Curoi, Cuchulinn, and Lug possess the combined powers of sun and storm, but also, the descendant of Cuchulinn, Gawain.

The hints in Irish tradition that Curoi was identical with Cuchulinn and that he was the anonymous son of Lug to whom the story of the colt-birth belonged may not be completely convincing. But the case becomes much stronger when we follow it into Welsh.

[43] H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, II, 367.
[44] *Ibid.*, 253; IV, 61; VI, 338; VII, 31. Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, II, 243; III, 331.
[45] *White Book Mabinogion*, ed. G. Evans, col. 211.

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5. For the identity of Curoi with Cuchulinn would explain the name Gwri. I wrongly urged in my book that the form Curui furnished an intermediate sound between Curoi and Gwri, since Prof. Van Hamel points out that though Curui was pronounced Cooree, it is a late development.[46] But he fails to note that Curoi itself had an earlier form Curi, found on an oghamic inscription in Kerry.[47] This name is in the genitive case, Conuri, and since Prof. MacNeill has shown that these names are frequently those of divine ancestors,[48] it does not conflict with the divinity of Curoi. At any rate, Curi is an earlier form than Curoi. That *C* might easily have become *G* in Welsh is proved by the occurrence of the forms Gilvathwy and Cilvathwy in the same text of *Math*.[49] This same change would account in part for the derivation of Guiglain from Cuchulainn. The identification of Cuchulinn with Curoi would then explain the correspondence between Cuchulinn and Gwri.

6. The gigantic Curoi has a Welsh counterpart in Gwrnach Gawr, "the Giant." For Curoi has a fortress at which three Ulster heroes arrive at night; its turning only by night during Curoi's (the sun's) absence seems to identify it as the sky; and Curoi can be slain only with his own sword.[50] Gwrnach Gawr has a castle, the largest in the world, to which three Welsh heroes come at nightfall, and Gwrnach is slain by his own sword.[51] Since Gwri probably represents the name Curoi, so probably does the name Gwrnach. That the *nach* is merely a termination is shown by the next argument.

7. Most of the connections for which I have contended are clinched by the story of Gurgalain's sword.[52] This story, found in *Perlesvaus*, is a quest story just as is that of Gwrnach's sword. Gawain may not enter the Grail Castle till he has won the Sword of Gurgalain; Kilhwch may not win the hand of Olwen till he has secured the sword of Gwrnach. Of Gurgalain's castle we read

[46] *English Studies*, IX, 157.

[47] J. Rhys, *op. cit.*, 472, note 2.

[48] *Celtic Review*, X, 273.

[49] *White Book Mabinogion*, ed. G. Evans. col. 87. Within three lines of each other occur the lenated form of Ciluathwy and Giluathwy.

[50] Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 49.

[51] J. Loth, *Mabinogion*, I, 318–21.

[52] C. Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, I, 64 ff. Translated by S. Evans, *High Hist.*, Everyman ed., pp. 64 ff.

[53] Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff.

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that many knights have gone thither for the sword but have never returned, and from Gwrnach's castle no guest has returned alive. Gwrnach the Giant's head is cut off and brought back to Arthur's court. But in *Perlesvaus* the outline has been modified in accordance with a formula clearly marked in *Bricriu's Feast* and *Gawain and the Green Knight*, where the gigantic sun and storm god is split into two halves, or rather appears in two aspects.[53] In his rôle as sun-god he entertains the hero, and sends him on to combat with himself in his other rôle as storm giant. In *Bricriu's Feast* it is Yellow Son of Fair, evidently Curoi in his solar aspect, who receives the three competing heroes and sends them on with a guide to Terror Son of Great Fear, a giant with an ax, who is clearly Curoi as the storm divinity. In *Gawain and the Green Knight*, the Hospitable Host with his bright, beaver-hued beard and his face as fell as fire, who is Curoi in his solar aspect, entertains the hero, and sends him on with a guide to the Green Knight, a giant with an ax, who is likewise Curoi as the storm-god. In *Perlesvaus*, Gurgalain receives the hero, and sends him on to fight with a giant bearing an ax. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the story of Gurgalain's sword is the story of Gwrnach's sword, elaborated according to the formula found in *Bricriu's Feast*, and there applied to Curoi.

Gurgalain, then, being Gwrnach, split in two like Curoi, there can be little doubt that the names are connected as we have already had reason to believe. The name Gurgalain seems to resolve itself into Gwr(i) Gwallt Avwyn, just as we should expect of Curoi in his solar aspect. Therefore, the name Curoi passed into Welsh as Gwri, and Gwrnach is a development of Gwri.

Against this theory there are two arguments, one of little, the other of much weight. If it be urged that Curoi could not have become Gwri because his name appears as Corroi map Dayry in a certain Welsh poem, one can only smile at the naiveté of the assumption that a proper name passed from one people to another, must at all times take the same form, whatever the channel and no matter how many centuries may separate the dates of transmission. As a matter of fact, everyone admits that the name Curoi also appears written in Welsh as Cubert, conclusive proof that Corroi is not the only possible form. Nothing could be more natural than for the earlier form of Curoi, Curi, to appear in Welsh as Gwri.

The other and serious objection to the identification of the

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two is this. If Curoi is represented by so many different figures, is it not absurd that he should actually appear in combat with Cuchulinn, that he should be the golden-haired youth Gwri and the giant Gwrnach, that Gawain should play the rôle of the youthful Cuchulinn, and at the same time be the father of Guiglain, who is also Cuchulinn? Is there not something hoplessly illogical about this? Of course there is, but nothing, I believe, more illogical than is likely to arise when a divinity, whom we know as seven year old boy, as youth, as giant herdsman, as king and conqueror, begins to develop a new nickname for his younger aspect. Most of the difficulties seem soluble on the following hypothesis.

Curoi was a god in many ways analogous to Zeus. He was the sun and he was the storm. As a youthful deity he corresponded to Zeus Kouros, worshipped in Crete and Tartessos in Southern Spain. As a venerable deity he corresponded to Zeus, the father of gods and men. We are led to infer that in Southern Ireland, with which Curoi is always connected, there was a cult and a saga-cycle of Curoi.[54] In this tradition his two aspects came to be so differentiated that there developed two Curois. Most of the stories which are preserved to us as those of Cuchulinn and Curoi were originally stories of the two Curois. As such they passed into Wales, and thus we get Gwri filling the rôle of young Curoi, and Gwrnach that of old Curoi. There also sprang up a tendency in Southern Ireland to differentiate the younger by calling him Cuchulinn. This tendency introduced a complication into nomenclature, for both Curoi and Cuchulinn were now sons of Lug. Apparently when Cuchulinn became a great favorite with the Ulster story tellers and they built up a cycle of adventures about him, they solved the difficulty of the two sons of Lug by simply suppressing Curoi's connection, so that we have only traces of it in the equation of Daire, Curoi's father, with Lugaid (Lug?), and the curious colt-birth story told of Lug's anonymous son. The Welsh, however, seem to have solved the same difficulty by making Cuchulinn the grandson of Lug, and the son of Curoi and Blathnat. At any rate, Guiglain in Arthurian romance is usually the son of Gawain and Florie. We have a close parallel to this transformation of a son into a grandson through development of a double. In one Welsh genealogy we find Aballach the son of Beli: in another he has become the grandson, because a corruption of his

[54] *Ibid.*, 66. Cf. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 445.

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own name, Amalech, has supplanted him as son of Beli.[55] For much the same reason, Cuchulinn, the son of Lug, descends into French romance as Guiglain, the grandson of Loth.

The Ulster development of the Cuchulinn story as we find it in the *Tain Bo Cualnge* seems to have influenced the Welsh but little. It is the Leinster and Munster legends attached to the two Curois and in a minor degree to Cuchulinn which passed into Western Wales. In *Pwyll* Little Curoi appears as Gwri Gwallt Euryn. In *Kilhwch and Olwen* he appears among Arthur's knights as Gware Gwallt Euryn, Gwrvan Gwallt Avwyn, and Gwair the son of Llwch, while Old Curoi appears as Gwrnach the Giant. In Arthurian romance Gwri gives us Gurrehes, Gware gives Guahries, and Gwallt Avwyn gives Galvagin, all sons of Loth.

In spite of the dearth of material about Gwri and Gwair, these steps we have traced can be checked at point after point, and explain a mass of facts, of which we have cited only those which afford the most conspicuous and direct evidence. The plain fact is, that if we attempt to trace Gawain back through his father, we are led to Gwair, whom Prof. Gruffydd identified with Gwri; if we trace Gawain back through the earliest Continental form of his name, Galvagin, we are led to Gwallt Avwyn, epithet of Gwrvan, whose name both Prof. Gruffydd and Sir John Morris-Jones believe to be a substitution for Gwri or a development from Gwri; if we endeavor to find the Welsh counterparts of Gawain's brothers Guahries and Gurrehes, we are led to Arthur's warrior Gware Gwallt Euryn, recognized as identical with Gwri Gwallt Euryn; if we look at the story of Gawain's birth we find it presents one point of close correspondence to that of Gwri's birth; if we look at Gwri we find that he was recognized long since as the Welsh counterpart to Cuchulinn. To clinch the matter, Cuchulinn's father, Lug, Gweir's father, Llwch or Lloch, and Gawain's father, Loth, can be shown by many converging pieces of evidence to be identical.

The relation of Cuchulinn to Curoi is harder to grasp, especially if we conceive of the latter merely as an ugly churl. But there is ample evidence that he was a god of the same nature as Cuchulinn, and that the giant herdsman was but one of his many shapes. A number of other facts point to an original identity of Cuchulinn and Curoi, and since an earlier form of the name Curoi was Curi, there is a strong probability that the name Curi, the son of Lug,

[55] Loth, *op. cit.*, II, 336, 329.

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comes down into Welsh as Gwri or Gwair, the son of Llwch, and into Arthurian romance as Gurrehes, Guahries, or Gawain, the son of Loth. What we know of Gwri and Llwch, moreover, solves many other problems, and offers an easy explanation of the origin of Perceval and Lancelot.

Anyone who rejects this theory places himself in the following dilemma: either he must supply a theory which explains more facts, or he must adopt the position that the fewer facts a theory explains, the truer it is. If he rejects this theory on phonetic grounds, he is further under obligation to justify every accepted derivation of Arthurian proper names by citing chapter and verse from accepted authorities on phonetic law, or else to declare them invalid.

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XXI

ROSE AND CYPRESS

THE ROMANTIC tale of *Gul o Sanaubar* 'Rose and Cypress' is one of the *traductions de l'Hindoustani* which Garcin de Tassy printed in 1876.[1] In his *avertissement* the translator explains:

> j'ai réuni dans ce volume quelques-unes de mes traductions . . . . de récits . . . . publiés anciennement et depuis longtemps épuisés. . . . . Je n'ai reproduit ni les textes, ni les préfaces, ni les notes d'érudition qui accompagnaient les premières éditions de quelques-unes de ces traductions. . . . .

This explanation perhaps accounts for the rather ambiguous "Seconde Edition" of the title-page. Garcin de Tassy does not make it clear whether any learned apparatus accompanied the "first edition" of his translation of *Gul O Sanaubar*, nor, indeed, whether there ever was a first edition of it; the first edition of which he speaks may be the edition, in Urdu, of 1845,[2] an edition which I have not succeeded in getting hold of. At any rate, Garcin de Tassy clearly gives us a translation of this Urdu version of 1845.

The author of the Urdu version himself disclaims originality. He tells us,

> Je me suis décidé à reproduire en *urdû* la légende de *Gul o Sanaubar*, qu'un auteur avait écrite en persan; je l'ai fait d'après le désir du Babû Gur-charan Sen. . . . .[3]

It appears, then, that the tale came to India from Persia, and sundry proper names and comparisons in the story serve to bear out the words of the Hindu writer. I have been unable to trace the remoter history of the version; perhaps one more learned in Indo-Iranian philology may have better fortune.

The tale itself is of considerable interest to philologists of another stripe. That each may judge for himself, I give an outline of the plot.

[1] It takes up pp. 423–480 in the volume, *Allegories, Récits Poétiques et Chants Populaires*, traduits de l'Arabe, du Persan, de l'Hindoustani et du Turc, par M. [J.H.S.V.] Garcin de Tassy, Paris, 1876 (2d ed.; no 1st ed. is known to me).

[2] This edition is mentioned on p. 480 of Garcin de Tassy's volume, in the following terms: . . . . cette histoire [of *Gul o Sanaubar*] a été imprimée par le serviteur des savants Hidâyat Ali d'Islâm-abad, en 1845 de Jésus-Christ, à l'imprimerie Mazhari, par les soins du munschi Abdulhalîm Sâbib.

[3] *Ed. cit.* p. 426; the Hindu writer goes on to dedicate his version to Babû Gur-charan, whom he praises in prose and verse.

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I. Introduction

1. There was once a certain Eastern king, named Shamshad Lalposh.
2. He was so great that Darius might have been the porter of his palace.
3. He had seven sons, handsome, brave and clever.

II. Induction

4. The youngest son (later named as Thamas and described as the eldest) one day felt sad and restless.
5. He felt a craving to go on a hunting expedition.
6. He got leave from his father and started forth with a suitable following.
7. At last he came to a high mountain, and at its foot started a noble deer.
8. He was so pleased with the deer that he ordered his followers not to wound the animal, but to try to take it alive. He himself took part in the chase.
9. The deer managed to elude its hunters, and fled across a great waste.
10. The prince pursued hotly, and soon found himself alone.
11. His horse flagged, and had to be led; at last it died of heat and overstrain.
12. The prince went on to a hill, which he climbed.
13. Beyond lay an oasis, beautiful beyond compare, an earthly paradise.
14. The prince entered, and refreshed himself at a spring.
15. He saw a throne, and wondered at its presence there.
16. A man entered from the jungle. He acted like a madman, but the prince saw at once that he was a person of distinction.
17. The man saw the prince, and in wonderment asked him who he was, whence he had come, and why he had penetrated so terrible a waste.
18. The prince told the man his story, and asked to be enlightened in turn.
19. The man was reluctant to speak, but finally told his story when the prince insisted upon it.
20. The man's story ran thus. His name was Jahânguir Shah, and he had held the throne of Babylon. He had had seven noble sons. His eldest son once heard from a traveler that in Turkestan (more specifically, in the land of Shin and Mashin) there was a king named Quimus Shah, son of Timus Shah; this king had a daughter named Mihr-anguez, a matchless princess and an only child. The princess had had many suitors, but each suitor had to agree to forfeit his head if he could not answer this question: What did Gul do to Sanaubar? So far, none had answered the question, and the princess was still unmarried, while the heads of many princes adorned the walls of the king's castle. When Jahânguir's son heard this tale he fell in love with the princess,

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although he had never seen her, and in spite of his father's entreaties went off to sue for her hand. He failed to answer the question and thus forfeited his head. After him all six of his brothers, one by one, met the same fate. Thus the king lost all his sons, and in his despair he gave up his kingdom and retired to this oasis in the desert to mourn his loss.

21. When the prince heard this story he, like the others, fell in love with Mihr-anguez.

22. His followers now came up, and he returned with them to his father's palace.

23. From that time he pined for the princess, until at last his secret came out.

24. His father wished to negotiate with Quimus Shah for the hand of the princess, but the prince insisted on complying with the conditions laid down by the princess, and finally had his way.

25. The prince (here called the eldest) journeyed to the kingdom of Quimus, and made a great impression on the king, who urged him to give up his suit, and urged his daughter, the princess, to give up her peculiar method of choosing a husband. But the king's efforts were in vain, and the prince, unable to answer the princess's question, forfeited his head.

26. Prince Cahman, the second son of Shamshad, lost his life in the same way, and his brothers like him, one after the other, until only Almas, the seventh and last son, was left.

III. Quest: First Episode

27. Almas one day saw his father in tears on the throne.

28. Almas thereupon thus addressed his father: "O king, my father, the daughter of Quimus has made my brothers perish; I wish to seek her out and avenge their blood."

29. The king, who feared that he would lose his last remaining son, made every effort to keep him at home, but the prince insisted and finally got his father's permission to undertake the adventure.

30. Almas first went to the city of Mihr-anguez. In a neighboring village he found a childless old couple who took him in and treated him as their son. He made every inquiry about Mihr-anguez's secret, but in vain.

31. At last he decided to get into the garden of the royal palace, and there linger until he got hold of some clue.

32. He managed to enter the garden by swimming down a stream which flowed into it. Once in, he explored the place, and spent the night there.

33. The next morning, while walking about, he saw a throne and a damsel seated upon it; he knew at once that this damsel was Mihr-anguez.

34. Dilaram, a girl in attendance on the princess, saw Almas's reflection in the water of the stream, and fled in haste.

35. The princess, when she heard her tale, sent another girl to

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verify the matter. She too saw the reflection, and praised it in such terms that the princess herself went to look at it.

36. The princess fell in love with the reflection, and bade her nurse bring to her the original of the picture.

37. The nurse quickly found the hiding-place of the prince, and approached him.

38. The prince, being unable to escape, pretended to be a madman.

39. The nurse led the prince to the princess; the prince raved on, in her presence.

40. Mihr-anguez gave orders that the supposed madman be allowed to do as he pleased, and that his wants be supplied him; thenceforward Almas lived in the garden, in peace and security.

41. One day Dilaram hit upon Almas alone and begged him to tell her his secret; she confessed to him her love of him. But Almas was too wary to confide in her.

42. The next day she haunted his footsteps, and Mihr-anguez, noticing her devotion to the supposed madman, gave him over to her, charging her to serve him well and see to it that he lacked nothing.

43. From this time Dilaram was constantly with the prince. One day when they were alone, she renewed her plea that he tell her his secret.

44. Almas, finally convinced that she meant him well, told her that he was seeking the answer to the question: What did Gul do to Sanaubar?

45. Dilaram offered to help him if he would consent to marry her and make her his chief wife; Almas agreed to this condition, with the proviso that fulfilment be postponed until he had finished his quest.

46. Dilaram now told him that, under Mihr-anguez's throne, there was hidden a negro, who had acquainted the princess with this question and its answer. This negro was a fugitive from the city of Wakaf. Almas, then, would have to go to Wakaf to find the answer to the princess's question.

IV. Quest: Second Episode

47. Almas now left that region, to seek the road to Wakaf.

48. Meeting a dervish, he enquired the way.

49. The dervish tried to dissuade him from the journey, but in vain.

50. The dervish then told him that Wakaf lay in the Caucasus, in the midst of a territory inhabited by jinns. He spoke of three roads leading thither: he recommended the right-hand road, rather than the left-hand or the middle. At 24-hours journey from them was a minaret with an inscription; Almas must go thither and, after reading the inscription, follow its directions.

51. Almas reached the minaret, and read the inscription. This, like the dervish, recommended the right-hand road; it described

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the middle road as the most dangerous. The three roads apparently began at the minaret.

52. Almas chose the middle road and started out.

53. One day he came to a great garden, with a gate guarded by a monstrous negro. This negro was so black that he gave the whole garden a sombre look; his upper lip curled over his nostrils, and his lower lip hung down to his neck; his size may be judged by the fact that he wore, as a belt, an iron chain each ring of which was so large that an elephant could go through it. The negro used as shield a huge stone shaped like a mill-wheel; he was also armed with a heavy iron sword. He was then asleep, however, and his arms were laid aside.

54. Almas fastened his horse by the head of the sleeping negro and went into the garden.

55. He was met by a multitude of stags, who wore jeweled ornaments on their horns, embroidered cloths over their backs and figured cloths on their necks.

56. The stags made signs to Almas, urging him not to enter, but he did not understand, and made his way to a marvelous palace set in the midst of the garden.

57. He entered the palace, and saw a beautiful woman gazing at him.

58. She loved him at once, and bade her nurse lead the stranger to her.

59. The nurse led Almas to a place which seemed to him to be an earthly paradise. There he saw the nurse's mistress, seated on a throne. Her name was Latifa, and she was divinely beautiful.

60. At Latifa's demand, Almas told his story. Latifa urged him to abandon his quest and stay with her, but he insisted on achieving his quest before marrying her.

61. Latifa sought to break his resolution by entertaining him with wine, women and song. For three days she expended upon him all the resources of faery, but in vain. The prince, far from being moved by her seductive arts, asked leave to go his way, though he promised to return to her after he had achieved his quest.

62. Latifa, angered at the prince's obstinacy, touched him with her magic wand and transformed him into a stag, but she did not deprive him of his human understanding, for which Almas was thankful. She provided him with ornaments such as the other stags had, and drove him into the garden.

63. Almas wandered about in the garden for some days. One day he came to a corner of the garden where the wall was low. He leaped over the wall, but found himself still inside. He tried this seven times, but was unable to escape. The wall was evidently enchanted, and could not be overleaped.

64. Finally Almas found a window-like opening in the wall, squeezed himself through, and found himself in another garden. In it he discovered a great palace, and through one of its windows

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he saw a beautiful princess, seated on a throne. The princess, whose name was Jamila, saw the stag, admired it, and sent her nurse to catch it. Her task was easy, since Almas wished to be caught.

65. Jamila fed the stag with her own hands. Almas, after he had eaten, laid his head on Jamila's shoulder; she caressed him, and tied him to the foot of her throne with a golden cord. The stag wept meanwhile. The nurse noticed this, and called Jamila's attention to it. Jamila tried to console the stag, but he would not be comforted, and rubbed his head against her feet. She then saw that she had to do with a man, transformed into a stag by her sister, Latifa, who, as she knew, was fond of changing men into animals.

66. Jamila now tapped the stag with her magic wand and changed him back to his human form.

67. She dressed the prince in royal robes; so dressed his beauty was so great that Jamila fell in love with him.

68. At her request he told his story from beginning to end.

69. Like her sister, she urged him to give up his quest and stay with her, but he begged of her a leave of a few days, in which to accomplish his quest, promising then to return to her and submit to her wishes. He asked her to help him in his quest.

70. Jamila let him go, and agreed to help him. She gave him the following magic weapons: (1) the bow and arrows of the prophet Salih, (2) a sword called 'the scorpion of Solomon,' (3) a dagger made by the wise Taimus. The sword was so mighty that it would cleave open a mountain as easily as a cake of soap; the dagger had the property of preserving its owner from every attack.

71. Jamila now instructed Almas in his future course. He was to proceed a day's journey to a certain fountain. There a lion, 80 ells tall, king of the beasts of the jungle, would meet him. Almas must go up to him boldly, salute him respectfully, and lay before him, as a gift, some game with which he had provided himself, by hunting, beforehand. This would win for him the favor of the lion, and, through him, of all the beasts of the jungle. He was then to continue his journey until the road branched. Taking the right-hand road, he was to proceed to the castle of Khamashah, held by negroes. Here his magic weapons would stand him in good stead. From there he was to go on to the castle of the Simorg, through whose aid he would be able to cross the seven seas which still separated him from Wakaf.

72. Almas now took his leave, much to the distress of Jamila, who went with him for a little distance.

V. Quest: Third Episode

73. Almas first reached the place called safha-Zamin (i.e., surface of the earth), where there was a fountain. There he halted, and provided himself with some game. Later the lion appeared.

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The prince laid before him the game, and cut it up for him with his knife. The lion ate it up. He then deputed a lion to guard Almas, and retired into the jungle.

74. Almas mounted his horse and continued on his way. When he reached the fork of the road, he took the right-hand road, and proceeded until he came to a tall castle, the towers of which were armed with cannon. Almas approached the gate, which was as high as the heavens and as large as a mountain. Before the gate was a tree, to which Almas tied his horse. He was engaged in looking about him when some negroes appeared, saying: "Today, after so long a time, a human being has come at last; our king, Taram Tac, is very fond of human flesh; let us seize this young man and take him to the king." Ten or twelve negroes now advanced to seize Almas, who, however, drawing the sword of Solomon, killed some and put the rest to flight. Taram Tac, hearing of this, sent Chalmac, his general, with an army of negroes, to seize Almas. Almas, with the sword of Solomon and the dagger of Taimus, proved more than a match for Chalmac and his club. Finally, Taram Tac himself led the attack against Almas, with such a multitude of negroes that the prince's magic weapons did not suffice. At this moment, the lion, whom he had supplied with a meal, appeared with thousands of other lions in his train, and the negroes were put to rout. Almas slew Taram Tac with the sword of Solomon.

75. Almas and the king of the lions now entered the castle. They were met by the daughter of Taram Tac, who submitted to Almas, became a convert to Islam, and proposed that she accompany Almas wherever he went. Almas however left her behind, promising to return for her on his way back from Wakaf. In the meanwhile, he entrusted her with the rule of her father's kingdom.

VI. Quest: Fourth Episode

76. Almas now traveled on for two or three months until he reached a plain that was an earthly paradise.

77. Astonished at the sight, he sat down under a very high tree. He noticed beside the tree a marble basin, through which flowed water continually. He now remembered that Jamila had told him that these things were an indication that he was at the dwelling of the Simorg. He therefore bathed in the basin, ate of the fruit of the tree, and went to sleep while waiting for the Simorg to appear.

78. Suddenly the prince's horse began to neigh and stamp. The prince wakened and saw approaching a dragon as large as a mountain. Almas killed the dragon with two arrows from the bow of the prophet Salih and a blow of the sword of Solomon, but he fainted away at the last blow, overcome by the poison that the dragon's body exuded. He came to, after three or four hours, and bathed again in the basin to wash off the dragon's blood, with which he was covered. Looking up, he saw in the tree the nest of the Simorg, filled with young. These had witnessed the dragon

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fight. They were now crying out with hunger. Almas chopped up the dragon's body and fed the pieces to the young of the Simorg. These, their appetite appeased, became quiet, and Almas, wearied by his exertions, went to sleep beside the basin.

79. The Simorg and his mate now came up. The male, surprised at not hearing his young clamor for food, supposed that Almas had killed them. He was therefore on the point of killing Almas when his mate stopped him, suggesting that they first examine their nest. The Simorg then went to his nest, and saw his young sleeping peacefully. They woke up at his approach and told him of the dragon fight and of the food which Almas had given them.

80. When Almas woke, the Simorg approached him and asked him why he had come thither. Almas told his story, and the Simorg agreed to help him. He stipulated that Almas procure a supply of wild asses' flesh and of water. This done, the Simorg took Almas on his arm, and flew with him across the seven seas. After each crossing Almas fed the Simorg with some of the flesh and water that he had provided. In this way he crossed the seven seas in a few days, and reached the kingdom of Wakaf safely.

81. The Simorg now gave Almas some of his feathers, and told him to burn a feather whenever he had need of him, promising to come at once to his aid.

VII. Quest: Fifth Episode

82. Almas now proceeded to the capital of the kingdom of Wakaf. There he made the acquaintance of a young man named Farrukh-Fal. One day he ventured to ask him what Gul did to Sanaubar. The young man was greatly offended, and assured him he would have cut off his head had he not sworn friendship with him. Almas, though frightened at this, urged him to tell him the secret, and Farrukh-Fal promised to tell him what he knew some time. Finally, one day, he told Almas that Sanaubar was the name of the king of Wakaf, and Gul was the name of the king's wife. The king had ordered that every traveler who mentioned Gul or inquired about her should be put to death. More he did not know, and any further information could be had only from the king himself. Farrukh-Fal volunteered to bring Almas before the king, where he could pursue his inquiries.

83. Farrukh-Fal accordingly introduced Almas into the royal presence. The king received Almas favorably. Almas gave him a marvelous pearl which he had had of the Simorg. This pearl was so valuable that it was worth more than all the kingdom of Wakaf. The king was duly impressed, and asked Almas how he had got so valuable a pearl. Almas, not wishing to tell him the truth, made up a tale, according to which he, a merchant, had had many pearls of the kind, but had been plundered of them all by certain negroes. This tale impressed Sanaubar all the more. He made of Almas a close friend.

84. One day Sanaubar offered Almas any boon he might ask for.

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Almas asked to be told the story of what Gul did to Sanaubar. The king was deeply offended, and urged Almas to withdraw his request, telling him that this was a great secret, and could not be revealed. Almas, however, held the king to his promise. Sanaubar, in despair, kept silence.

85. After a feast, at which much wine had been drunk and Almas had sung and played to Sanaubar's delight, the king yielded, but only on condition that Almas submit to the loss of his life immediately upon hearing the story. Almas agreed to this condition, and Sanaubar, after one more attempt to dissuade the prince, gave way.

VIII. Story of Gul and Sanaubar

86. The king first called for his dog. The dog, wearing a jeweled collar, was brought in. The dog's attendants now spread a cloth of brocade. Next came female slaves, and a beautiful woman, with feet and hands bound and loaded with chains; a dozen blacks watched her. The slaves placed before the woman a platter on which was the head of a negro, a sight so disgusting that it turned one's stomach. Then the king gave orders that the meal be served. The royal cook then brought in all sorts of delightful dishes, and placed them on a cloth before the dog. When the animal had been well fed, the scraps were laid before the young woman, in a dirty napkin. The woman began to weep, and her tears changed to pearls. The slaves collected them and gave them to the king. After a while she began to smile, and then flowers began to fall from her mouth and were collected and brought to the king, who ordered that they be preserved carefully.

87. The king now indicated, with signs, that Almas be put to death. But Almas said: "first explain to me what I have seen, and I will submit to whatever your majesty may be pleased to command." The king finally made up his mind to give to Almas the complete explanation which he had asked for.

88. The king's story follows. He said to the prince, know that this woman, loaded with chains, is named Gul, and my name is Sanaubar. One day I had left the city to hunt, when I became very thirsty. At last I found a well, and, using my cap for a pail and my belt for a rope, I let my cap down into the well, but could not pull it up. Finally I drew up out of the well two blind women, who told me that the king of that country had blinded them and thrown them into the well. Their sight could be restored if to their eyes was applied the dung of a certain cow, who fed in a certain meadow near by, beside a certain stream. They promised to reward me if I got a supply of the dung and applied it to their eyes. This I did, and their sight was restored. They then told me that here the king of the fairies lived. He had a beautiful daughter, with whom I could have much joy. They promised to lead me to her, and to help me if I got into trouble with her parents. They then conducted me to the palace, and all was as they had said. I lived in delight with the princess for two months. Then the

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king of the fairies found out that his daughter had lost her virginity. I was seized and condemned to be burnt alive. Following the instructions of the two women of the well, I asked that I be rubbed in oil before being cast into the flames. The king assented. The two women rubbed me with an oil of such virtue that I lay in the fire seven days without the slightest hurt. This impressed the fairies, and their king decided to give his daughter to me in marriage. After the marriage I asked permission to depart, with my wife, to my own country. The king gave me permission, and sent us off in a car, which, borne through the air by Peris, brought us in a moment to Wakaf. My wife's name was Gul. She is the woman that you see here, loaded with chains. I will now tell you of her infidelity.

89. The king continued as follows. One night, he said, while I was asleep in my bed, with Gul beside me, I happened to wake up and noticed that Gul's hands and feet were as cold as ice. I asked her what the matter was, and she explained that she had got up to satisfy a natural need, and afterwards had washed herself, and this had chilled her hands and feet. I believed her. A few days later the same thing happened and she gave the same explanation. This time I was a little suspicious; I fancied that she had gone somewhere during the night. In order to verify the thing, I went to my stables, and discovered that my fleetest horses were extremely thin and weak. The backs of some were sore, and others were too stiff to move. I summoned the grooms and reproved them severely. One of them told me he would tell me a secret if I would spare his life. I promised to spare him, and he then told me that every night Gul, the queen, came to the stables, dressed in her royal robes and adorned with jewels, took one of my personal horses, rode off on it, came back toward the end of the night, left the horse in the stables and returned to the palace. I was much disturbed at this tale. I ate a light meal and went to bed. Gul too went to bed, beside me. She said, "I am very sleepy, let us go to sleep." I pretended to go to sleep, and breathed and snored like a sleeper. Soon this wicked woman, thinking that I was really asleep, left the bed, dressed, made herself beautiful and started off as if she were drunk. I followed her. When she got to the stables, she mounted a fine horse and rode off. I started to follow her on horseback, but, considering that Gul would hear the noise of the horse's hoofs, I decided to run afoot, like a messenger. I therefore ran after the horse, and this dog that you see here, with a jeweled collar, followed me. Finally, Gul came to the place where the negroes lived who are standing before you here. When she had come, and had got off her horse, she went into the negroes' house. But the negroes drove her out, and beat her till her back and shoulders were black and blue. I thought that her bones were broken, and that she was as good as dead. The whole time she made no resistance at all, she did not even sigh. On the contrary, she apologized and begged their pardon. She said to them, "Today

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the king stayed awake very late; had it not been for that, should I have waited so long to come to you and rejoice in your arms?" When I had witnessed all this, I was amazed, and said to myself, "My God, I have never struck Gul, not even with a rose; how is it that she has borne such blows, blows hard enough to break her bones?" At last the negroes made her go back into the house and played with her and diverted themselves with her. I was furiously angry; sparks leaped from my eyes. Unable to bear the sight, I entered, in the midst of this unnatural intercourse. The negroes surrounded me like black bees attacking horses. As I was very brave and very strong, I was not afraid of these wretches and set myself to fight them. When the negroes saw what I was about, they gave way and fled. I had seized the negro that you see bound hand and foot, and I intended to take him away in chains, when Gul, running up behind me, gave me such a push that I fell to the ground. Then the negro, profiting by the situation, mounted on my breast, and this woman drew a dagger from her belt and gave it to the negro to kill me with. The negro was about to cut my throat when suddenly this faithful dog leaped on him, tore him with its claws and seized him by the throat. I profited by this favorable moment, and, withdrawing myself from under the negro, I bound his arms. I bound Gul also, and brought them both to my palace. Of the four other negroes who had taken flight, I made three prisoners. The fourth made his escape, and took refuge under the throne of Mihr-anguez, daughter of king Quimus.

90. "Traveler," concluded the king, "now that I have told you the story of Gul, submit yourself to our conditions." Almas answered, "If your majesty is determined to have me die, I am ready to submit. But at the moment I do not yet know the whole story. Why did one of the negroes take refuge under the throne of Mihr-anguez, and why did this princess consent to hide him there? Explain these things to me and then put me to death, if you will." Sanaubar did not know the story of Mihr-anguez, and so could not tell it to the prince. He therefore abandoned his plan of putting Almas to death, and told him, "Traveler, I praise your knowledge and your bravery, and your cleverness in saving your life."

IX. Conclusion

91. Almas, his mission accomplished, wished to go back home. He therefore burned one of the feathers of the Simorg. At once the marvelous bird appeared, took Almas on his back, brought him across the seven seas and set him down where he had first met him. Almas now retraced his steps, returning first to the negro castle (where he found the negro king's daughter waiting or him), then to the plain where he had met the king of the lions, nd then to the palace of Jamila.

92. Almas married Jamila, according to his promise. He then proceeded with her to the city of Latifa. There he gave orders to certain warriors (who were as strong as Rustam) to bind Latifa

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and bring her before him. This they did. Almas wished to put Latifa to death, but at Jamila's intercession he spared her life. Latifa embraced Islam and restored to their human form all the stags of her garden. Almas then went on to the city of king Quimus.

93. Almas went up to the royal palace, and beat the drum at the gate; this drum served to announce the presence of a new suitor for the hand of Mihr-anguez. The porter led the prince to king Quimus, who, as usual, urged the new candidate to withdraw before it was too late. Almas insisted, and was brought before Mihr-anguez, who asked him the usual question: What did Gul do to Sanaubar? Almas replied, "Gul has been properly punished for what she did, and if you do not wish to be treated in the same way, you had better repent." Mihr-anguez, though frightened, insisted that Almas tell her the whole story. Almas agreed to do this in the presence of the king and his court. When all were assembled, Almas revealed the fact that a negro was hid under the throne of Mihr-anguez. The throne was lifted up and the negro was dragged forth. Even then, Mihr-anguez insisted that Almas tell the story of Gul and Sanaubar. Almas complied, and the negro confirmed his account. King Quimus congratulated Almas, and delivered over to him Mihr-anguez, who became his to dispose of as he chose.

94. Almas now returned to his father's house with Jamila and Mihr-anguez. He delivered Mihr-anguez, bound hand and foot, to king Shamshad, saying, "This assassin caused your sons to die; do with her as you will." The king, reflecting that his son must love the woman, since he had gone to so much trouble to get her, said to him, "This woman belongs to you; you may do with her as you like." Almas first took the negro, and tortured him in the presence of Mihr-anguez; she, fearing that she would meet the same fate, begged for mercy so cleverly and persuasively that the prince was moved to admiration. He therefore married her, and spent with her the rest of his life in perfect happiness.

A slightly different version of this story is given by Andrew Lang, in his *Brown Fairy Book*.[4] Lang entitles the story *What the Rose did to the Cypress*. In a footnote he explains that the tale was translated from two Persian MSS, in the possession of the British Museum and the India Office. He does not give the date of either MS, nor indicate the filiation of the MSS. The translation, he adds, was "adapted, with some reservations," by Annette S. Beveridge. In the *Preface* we learn that Mrs. Beveridge, the adapter, was also the translator.

The differences between the two versions are most conveniently indicated by a comparison of the numbered traits, as follows:

[4] First ed., London, 1904. My copy is an American reprint of 1925.

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1. In Lang the king's name is Saman-lal-posh.
2. Wanting.
3. Three sons not seven (in Garcin de Tsasy only three sons are given names).
4. Eldest son, named as Tahmasp.
16. The man was dressed like a faqir.
20. The name of the king of Babylon was Janangir. The kingdom of Quimus was in Turkestan, on the Chinese frontier. Quimus's daughter was named Mihr-afruz.
26. The second son's name was Qamas.
27. The king sat brooding over his two lost sons.
28. The king shed tears at Almas's words.
46. The negro was a fugitive from Waq of the Caucasus.
50. The dervish told Almas that Waq of Qaf was in the Caucasus. He recommended the middle road, which led to a certain minaret.
51. The minaret was at a fork on the dervish's middle road.
63. Almas leaped in vain eight times over the wall.
64. He escaped with the ninth leap (not through a window).
70. The dagger was that made by Timus; the man who wore it would not bend under seven camels' loads.
71. Jamila told Almas to take a cloth and rub the dust and earth from the face of the lion-king; when the lion wished to eat, Almas was to take his knife and cut pieces of the meat and set them before him. She urged Almas to take the left-hand road from thence, and thus avoid the place of the negroes. The marvelous bird was called the Simurgh.
73. The place of the fountain was called the Place of Gifts (not Surface of the Earth). Almas fed the lion-king's attendants as well as the king himself. He slept there till dawn, guarded by the lions. When he parted from the lion-king, the latter gave him a few of his hairs, and said, "When you are in any difficulty, burn one of these and I will be there."
74. Taram-Taq sent his champion Chil-maq (in battle worth 300) against Almas. Finally Taram-Taq himself led the attack, with an army of negroes. In a moment of respite from attack Almas burned a hair of the lion-king. An army of lions then came to his rescue, led by their king.
75. Almas entrusted the negro castle to the lion-king until he should return from Waq of Qaf.
82. Almas asked the fatal question of a cloth-merchant with whom he had become acquainted. The merchant introduced him to an amir named Farrukh-Fal, who in turn introduced him to the king.
83. Almas gave the king a diamond. The king's name was Sinaubar. The king showered Almas with gifts of much greater value than the diamond.
84. The king merely pressed Almas to ask for something. When Almas asked the fatal question, the king said, "If anybody else

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had said that to me I should have cut off his head instantly." Almas did not reply.

85. The feast took place some time later. Almas so pleased the king by his singing that the king said to him, "Name your wish! it is yours." Almas repeated the fatal question and the king was forced to answer it.

86. The female slaves were in attendance on the dog. The platter with the negro's head was wanting. The king ordered a hundred stripes to be laid on the woman's body. The dog was put on the carpet, the woman on the bare floor.

89. The incident of Gul's cold hands and feet occurred only once. The king went next morning to the stables, and had a groom beaten because two of his horses were thin and worn out. The groom asked where his fault lay, and said that Gul took one or the other of these horses every night and rode off. The king told the groom to be silent, and next time Gul took a horse, to saddle the other and bring it to him. That night the king followed Gul on horseback (not afoot). In the house of the negroes was a high seat, and on it lay a giant negro, the lover of Gul. The other negroes were apparently mere attendants, or retainers. The chief negro reproached Gul not only for being late but also for not wearing wedding garments (in Garcin de Tassy, Gul adorned herself richly before leaving the king). The negro beat her severely (his followers did nothing). The king attacked the chief negro but Gul tripped up her husband. Gul took the king's own knife and gave it to the negro. The king killed the negro. He killed three of the four other negroes.

90. Almas made his escape as follows. He asked and received permission to make a last ablution on the roof of the palace, before submitting himself to the executioner. When he reached the roof, he burnt one of the feathers of the Simurgh. The Simurgh at once came to him, and bore him off. When the king learned of this, he thanked heaven that his hands were clean of Almas's blood.

91. Almas married and took with him (not merely took with him as a concubine) the daughter of Taram-Taq. He then went on to the Place of Gifts, where he and his wife said farewell to the lion-king. The name of the daughter of Taram-Taq was Gul.

92. Jamila, not Latifa, restored the stags to their human forms. Latifa was not converted to Islam; she was left behind, "quite alone in her garden-house."

94. Almas returned to his father's house with Gul, Jamila, Dilaram and Mihr-afruz. His father had gone blind from overweeping. Almas restored his father's sight with an ointment which the Simurgh had given him. Of the four wives of Almas, Mihr-afruz and Jamila set up house together, and Dilaram and Gul did the same; and the prince passed the rest of his life with the four in perfect happiness.

Yet another version of our tale was printed in 1904 by J. C.

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Mardrus, in French translation, under the title *Histoire Splendide du Prince Diamant.*[5]

The word *almas*, it may be explained, means 'diamond' in Arabic. The peculiarities of the Mardrus version may be indicated by the numbered traits, as follows.

1. The king was named Schams-Schah.
2. He outdid Khrosroès-Anouschirwân in justice and Hatim-Tai in generosity (Darius is not mentioned).
3. He had one son, named Diamant (not seven sons, as in Garcin de Tassy, nor three, as in Lang).
4. Diamant was the hero of the hunt assigned to Thamas in Garcin de Tassy and to Tahmasp in Lang.
8. Diamant ordered his followers to leave it to him alone to hunt and take the stag.
11. The prince's horse tired but did not die.
14. The prince refreshed his horse as well as himself at the spring.
16. The man was seated on the throne (he did not come in from the jungle). He had a crown on his head.
20. The man did not give his name. He described himself as king of Babyl. His seven sons, one by one, fell victim to a princess named Mohra, daughter of Qâmous the son of Tammouz; Qâmous was a king in the remote countries of Sînn and Masînn. Mohra's suitors had to answer this question: What are the relations between Pomme de Pin and Cyprès?
22. Diamant's followers brought with them a fresh mount for the prince.
25. Diamant reached the palace of King Qâmous, and at the chief gate saw hanging a drum, on which these words were written: "whoever, of royal blood, wishes to see the princess Mohra, let him beat this drum." Diamant beat the drum (with a drumstick there for the purpose) and was led before the King, who took pity on him, bade him reflect three days before seeking the princess out, and dismissed him. Diamant had to leave the palace, his mission not fulfilled.
26–30. Wanting.
31. While waiting for the three days to go by Diamant wandered about the city. He finally came to the garden of the palace, and it occurred to him that if he could get into the garden he might see the princess.
33. On the day when he effected an entrance (not the next

[5] *Livre des Mille Nuits et une Nuit*, vol. XV, pp. 7–91, Paris, 1904. The translator does not explain where he got the story, nor does he give his authority for including it in the *1001 Nights*. In the illustrated edition of his work, however, (vol. VIII, Paris, 1912), we learn that he drew the tale from a Hindu MS. And his version in fact agrees more closely with Garcin de Tassy than with Lang.

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morning) he saw a carpet of silk (not a throne) and a damsel seated on it; he at once knew her for the princess.

34. The girl who first saw the prince's reflection in the water was named Branche de Corail.

42. Wanting.

43. Combined with 41.

46. The negro came from the city of Wâkâk. He was hid under the princess's bed (not under her throne).

50. The dervish said that Wâkâk was in the center of the mountain Kâf.

51. The inscription recommended none of the three roads. All three were branches of the right-hand road which the dervish had recommended, and which the prince had taken.

60–62. All the action took place on the same day.

64. The name of the princess was Gamila. She caught the stag herself (no nurse appears).

65. No nurse appears.

71. Gamila told Diamant that he was to proceed a day's journey to a certain fountain. Near the fountain was the palace of a negro king named Tâk-Tâk. This king, though a cannibal, would befriend Diamant, she said. Diamant was to stay two days with the king, who would then see to it that he was conducted to the palace of Al-Simourg, Gamila's uncle (nothing is said of the lion-king and his following).

73–74. The fountain was not named. No lions appeared. The adventure with the negro king took place at the fountain. The negroes did not prove friendly, in spite of Gamila's assurances. The name of the negro general was Mâk-Mâk. Diamant killed Tâk-Tâk with one of his magic arrows, and overthrew the negro host single-handed. The princess of the castle was named Aziza. She was not the daughter of the negro, but was the daughter of the rightful king, and the negro was a usurper who had killed her father and seized the throne. Diamant turned over to her the kingdom to which she was the rightful heiress, and promised to marry her upon his return after achieving his quest.

76. The dwelling-place of Al-Simourg was the garden of the princess Aziza.

77–78. Wanting.

79. Al-Simourg was a giant (not a bird). He had the property of inflating himself at will, until he became like a balloon; thus he was able to fly through the air with ease. Aziza led Diamant to him; they found him asleep. Aziza left the two together.

80. Diamant waited for an hour, but, as Al-Simourg still slept, grew impatient and woke him up. Al-Simourg was angry at first, but finally, recognizing the arms which his niece Gamila had given to Diamant, he put himself at the hero's service.

81. Al-Simourg gave Diamant some hairs from his beard.

82. The young man was named Farah. He told all he knew at Diamant's first enquiry.

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83. No history of the pearl was told.

84–85. In return for the gift of the pearl, the king offered to grant Diamant any boon he might ask. Diamant thereupon (after obtaining from the king a promise of immunity) told his story, and ended by asking what the relations were between Pomme de Pin and Cyprès. The king urged him to ask another boon, but Diamant insisted. The king finally agreed to grant his request, on the understanding that Diamant was to be put to death immediately upon learning what the relations were.

86. The dog had a jeweled leash. The attendants spread a carpet. The dog was put on one end of the carpet, the queen on the other end. Only the hands of the queen were bound.

89. On the night when the king followed his wife, she gave him a sleeping-potion, which he secretly spat out. When she entered the negro hut, he peeped in through a window. The negroes beat the queen (in the house; they did not drive her out). There were seven negroes in all. The king burst into the hut and killed five of the negroes. The other two tried to flee. The king caught one of them and knocked him down. He was about to bind him when the queen gave her husband a push that sent him to the ground. The negro then leapt upon the king and would have killed him had not the faithful dog intervened. The king bound the negro and the queen. He tied the negro to his horse's tail, threw the queen across the saddle, and rode back to the palace. There he cut off the negro's head and had it embalmed. The negro's body he fed to the dog. Thenceforward he punished his wife by making her look every day at the head of her dead lover. The seventh negro escaped and made his way to princess Mohra, who concealed him under her bed and made him her intimate counsellor.

91. Al-Simourg brought Diamant back to the princess Aziza; Diamant and Aziza became man and wife; Al-Simourg then took the two through the air to the palace of Gamila.

92. Al-Simourg captured and bound Latifa and brought her before Diamant for judgment. Diamant asked the opinion of all present. Al-Simourg was for putting Latifa to death, but Aziza and Gamila recommended mercy. Diamant followed his wives' advice; indeed, he made Latifa his third wife. Al-Simourg now brought Diamant and his wives to the city of the princess Mohra.

93. Al-Simourg fetched Branche de Corail from the palace, and gave her to Diamant, who immediately took her to wife. Diamant now proceeded to the palace, and beat upon the drum. He exposed the doings of Mohra, and she was delivered over to him, while the negro under her bed was impaled.

94. Al-Simourg now transported the whole party to the city of Schams-Schah, and took his leave. Diamant made Mohra his fifth wife, and they all lived happy ever after.

The version of Garcin de Tassy contains certain inconsistencies which need examination. In trait 4, the hero of the hunt is spoken

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of as the youngest son; in trait 25 he appears as the oldest son. Here the version of Lang supports trait 25 (that of Mardrus gives no evidence either way). Again, in trait 45, Almas promises to marry Dilaram, but we hear nothing of his fulfilling this promise. In the versions of Lang and Mardrus we learn that he married her. It is probable that the author of the version of Garcin de Tassy simply forgot all about Almas's promise, when he came to the concluding part of his tale. Finally, in trait 86, a negro's head is put before Gul but is left unexplained in the king's story, while, in trait 89, certain negroes (one of them bound hand and foot) are referred to as present who in fact do not appear in the scene pictured in trait 86. In the versions of Lang and Mardrus the negroes are all slain, except for the one negro who escapes to Mihr-anguez. One may conclude that trait 86 in the version of Garcin de Tassy represents an account in which the negroes are slain, whereas the references in trait 89 belong to a variant account according to which the negroes are held prisoners. The author of the version seems to have known both forms of the episode; at any rate, he presents them to us in maladroit combination. The platter with the negro's head does not appear in the version of Lang; whether this gruesome detail was one of the "reservations" which Mrs. Beveridge made, I cannot say.

A fourth version of our tale, rather different from the three versions already presented, is given by von Haxthausen in his work on Transcaucasia.[6]

This version has little to correspond to traits 1-26 of the other versions. We are told simply that "a Persian king had a daughter, who was sought in marriage on all sides, but she declared she would only wed the man who could solve a riddle which she would propose. He who did not answer it within three days was to lose his life. So many were the unsuccessful suitors, that she built a tower of their skulls, and erected a high pole beside it." The

[6] *Transcaucasia, Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian*, by Baron von Haxthausen, London 1854. A German edition of this work appeared in 1856, under the title *Transkaukasia*. The English edition was translated from the German MS. of the author by J. E. T. Our story appears in cap. XI, Armenian Legends, and is given the title *Solomon's Garden and its Mysteries*. It is very short, taking up only pp. 363–367 of the volume. The author tells us that it was told to him by a native Armenian named Peter Neu, and that it is originally a Persian tale. Professor G. L. Kittredge ([Harvard] *Stud. and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, VIII, 250 note) gives a summary of von Haxthausen's version of our tale.

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pole answers to the drum of the other versions: the candidate must climb it to gain audience with the princess. The riddle was: "What has Senober done to Gül, and what has Gül done to Senober?" The princess is not given a name. The quester is not named either; he is not a king's son, like Almas, but a "poor youth." He climbed the pole, saw the princess and learned the riddle from her (not from an attendant). He was given the usual three days to find the answer; at the end of that time he must return to answer the riddle or die. He first consults an old woman, who (like Dilaram) gives him directions. Following her advice he goes to the mountains to seek the Divs, who alone can help him. He meets three Divs in turn, two brothers and a sister. The last directs him to the garden of Solomon, where, she says, he will find what he seeks. He made his way thither and hid in the palace. There he saw a man, a dog, and a birdcage in which was kept a beautiful woman. The man ate, gave half the food to his dog, and the scraps to the woman. The youth then showed himself. The man asked him to be his guest, but the youth refused because the man had given the dog what naturally went to the woman and *vice versa*. The man warns the youth that he (the youth) must die if the thing is explained to him. He adds that he (the man) is called Gül, and the woman is named Senober. Both are servants of Solomon. The youth sees that he can learn the answer to the riddle, and insists on an explanation from the man. The man thereupon tells his story. This begins with the bare statement, "The woman whom you see in this cage loved me inexpressibly, and I her. But all at once she grew cold towarp me, and, becoming suspicious of her, I laid myself down apparently to sleep." The wife flees to her lover much as in the other versions. She rides on one of the man's two horses, here called "wind-horse." The man pursues on his other horse, here called "cloud-horse." Instead of negroes we have 24 ugly monsters. The leader was the woman's lover; he was the ugliest of the lot. He beats the woman, but she caresses him all the more. The man drugs all the monsters except the leader, who withstands the narcotic by virtue of his own magic. The man attacks the lover but he is too strong and the man would have been overcome had not his watchful dog intervened. The man stabs the lover, but the lover succeeds in escaping and flees to the daughter of the king of Persia, who keeps him in a cellar under her apartment. She loves him and has two children by him. The other monsters die from

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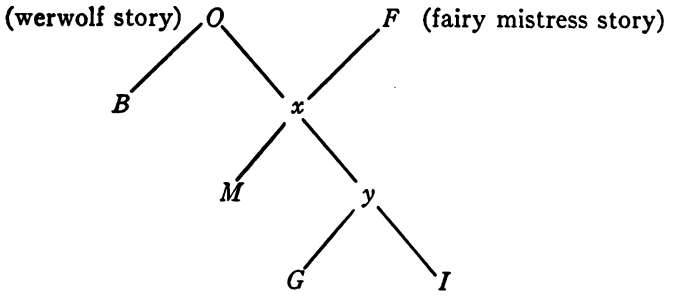
the effects of the narcotic, and the man gets his wife back. He keeps her in a cage, and feeds her with his and the dog's scraps, to punish her. The youth now knows the answer to the riddle, returns to the Persian princess, and exposes her. The king of Persia kills his daughter and her two monstrous children, and adopts the youth as his son. The monster escapes.

Let us now for a moment look at our story in the large. It is really compound: a story within a story. The frame-story is the tale of a quest. The quester finally reaches the one man who can enlighten him, and forces this man to tell his own story. The story which the man tells is a "fairy mistress" story. Its hero goes forth one day to hunt. At a well in a secret place he fishes up two women. They conduct him to a *fée*, a virgin who makes him her lover. After some trouble with the lady's father, the hero finally makes a friend of hima nd takes the *fée* home with him as his wife. Later however the *fée* goes off to another lover. The hero pursues, kills or routs the lover and brings back the *fée*.

Fairy mistress stories are frequent in Europe as well as Asia. The European tale which most closely resembles *Rose and Cypress* however is a fourteenth century Latin romance first edited by Professor Kittredge[7] and named by him *Arthur and Gorlagon* (abbreviated *G*). The editor compares two Old French poems, Marie de France's *Bisclavret* (abbreviated *B*) and the anonymous *Melion* (abbreviated *M*), together with a modern Irish folk-tale (abbreviated *I*) extant in nine variants, and concludes (1) that *G* and *I* go back to a common source *y*; (2) that *y* and *M* go back to a common source *x*; (3) that *x* was a combination of a fairy mistress story with a werwolf story; and (4) that *B* goes back to the werwolf story uncombined with a fairy mistress story. These conclusions may be represented graphically as follows:



[7] [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, VIII, 149 ff.

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To what type of fairy mistress story did *F* belong? Mr. Kittredge thinks that *F* was "of the type exemplified in ancient Irish literature by the *Wooing of Etain*. A *fée* abandons the Other World and marries a mortal. Her fairy lover or husband follows her and takes her back with him. Her mortal husband visits the other World and recovers his wife."[8] Certainly the first part of *M* (but not *GI*) is so similar to one of the episodes of the *Tochmarc Étáine* that one may well suspect direct influence from the Irish märchen, though it would be hazardous to assert that *x* as well as *M* began in this fashion. But the märchen as a whole differs markedly from *F* (if we may judge of *F* by its descendants). Thus, Étáin becomes a mortal, involuntarily enough, by undergoing a second birth: an enemy turns her into a fly; this fly falls into the goblet of the wife of a certain king Etar; Etar's wife drinks the fly down, is made pregnant thereby and gives birth to a reincarnate Étáin, who goes as the daughter of Etar. We have no evidence that *F* included anything like this. Again, the rival lover in *F* was neither a fairy nor a previous husband of the lady, so far as we can tell. In *G* he is a youthful son of a heathen king; in *M* he is a follower of the hero; in *I* he appears variously: as a wild man whom the husband has caught and made a servant of; as a cripple; as a hunchback; as a "dark tall man;" as a dark man of the wife's country who has put her under a spell; as a swineherd.[9] The magic, if it stood alone, might be supposed (hazardously enough) to point to an original fairy rival, but taken in connection with the other evidence it points simply to a repulsive rival: the story-teller, in postulating a spell, is giving an explanation for the otherwise unaccountable conduct of the woman in falling in love with so unattractive a person as the rival is. Similarly, the hunchback is represented as making himself seem beautiful by using spells. The darkness of the rival reminds us of the negro in *Rose and Cypress*. The rival as wild man, i. e., as savage or uncivilized person, is also reminiscent of the distinctly savage rival in the oriental tale. Savagery, or, at least, lack of civilization, is further implied in the heathenness of the youthful rival in *G*. When the rival appears as servant or follower of the hero, or as an underling, he corresponds again to the rival in *Rose and Cypress*, who is one of King Sanaubar's

[8] *Ed. cit.*, p. 195; cf. also p. 196 note, and pp. 260 f.

[9] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 188, note 1; see also p. 274. For a brief treatment of the loathly lover theme, see M. Bloomfield, *Trans. A. P. A.*, LIV, 167.

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subjects. The barbarous origin and the youth of the rival in *G* stamp him as inferior to the hero, son of a king though he be, and make the woman's love for him a monstrous and unnatural thing. What could be more monstrous, indeed, to the medieval mind, than the conduct of a lady who prefers a heathen lover to a Christian husband? And what could be more shocking than the conduct of a mature married woman who falls in love with a callow youth? The swineherd, wild man, dark man, hunchback and cripple of *I*, the heathen youth of *G* and the retainer of *M* go back rather to a rival like the negro of *Rose and Cypress* than to a rival like the fairy Mider of the *Tochmarc Étáine*.

Furthermore, the wife in *MGI*, unlike Étáin, is definitely and distinctly wicked. Indeed, as I have pointed out, her conduct is monstrous and unnatural. She takes a loathly lover, and treats her noble husband with the most horrible and despicable cruelty. Perversion could go no further. Just such a character is the Gul of *Rose and Cypress*, but no such characteristics are to be found in Étáin. Mr. Kittredge himself recognizes the difficulty of equating an Étáin with a woman who takes a loathly lover, but he contents himself with ascribing to modern sophistication the appearance of the loathly lover in *I*.[10] But the perverted wife belongs not only to *I* but also to *G* and *M*, and her perversion manifests itself not only in the kind of lover she chooses but also in the treatment she gives her husband. The two things go together, and belong properly in *F* rather than in *O*, since we find neither in *B*, where the wife's conduct is natural enough, however selfish and unsympathetic, while the lover is a perfectly respectable person, belonging to the husband's own social class, and markedly different from the rival lover of *x*.

In *I* the husband catches wife and rival lover together. The faithlessness of the wife is thus exposed, and the woman, in desperation, takes extreme measures against her husband: she tries to get rid of him for good by turning him into a lower animal. This episode may be divided into two parts: the exposure of the wife's falseness and the transformation of the husband. The two parts appear in combination only in *I*. In *M* the transformation appears but the exposure is wanting. In *G* both exposure and transformation appear, but not in combination. The story of the transformation is told in *G* at the beginning of the tale. The werwolf of *G* eventually finds refuge with a certain king, who

[10] Kittredge, *loc. cit.*

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becomes the beast's master. The werwolf catches his master's wife and her lover together. He attacks the lover and nearly kills him, but does not touch the woman. To be compared is the exposure in *Rose and Cypress*, where the husband catches wife and rival lover together, the faithlessness of the wife is thus exposed, and the woman, in desperation, takes extreme measures against her husband: she tries to get rid of him for good by helping the rival lover to murder him. The husband is saved by his watchful dog, who in the nick of time attacks the lover and nearly kills him, but does not touch the woman. Since the exposure appears in both *G* and *I*, we have a right to presume that it was present in *y*. That it belongs in *x* as well, in spite of its absence from *M*, will presently appear. The state of things in the *Tochmarc Étáine* is so very different from all this that no comparison is possible.

Mr. Kittredge has made it clear that the hypothetical version *x* was made by combining a fairy mistress story *F* with a werwolf story *O*. One naturally asks, what was the link or thread of connection which gave to the author of *x* the idea of making such a combination? Here the *Tochmarc Étáine* gives us no help; indeed, it is hard to see how a werwolf could possibly have been injected into that tale. In the oriental fairy mistress story *Rose and Cypress*, however, an excellent link appears, a link so obivous that no particular search is needed to discover it. I refer to the watchful dog, who at the critical moment attacks the rival lover and thus turns the tide in favor of the hero. In my opinion the fairy mistress story *F* included a watchful dog, and the clever story-teller who combined *O* and *F* made the combination by substituting the werwolf of *O* for the watchful dog of *F*. Naturally no such substitution could be made without making important changes in both tales, but important changes would be needed, however the combination was effected. It is sufficiently obvious that a watchful beast, if in fact present in each tale, might serve as a link to draw the tales together, even though in the one case the beast was a wolf, in the other a dog.

It will be worth our while to examine with some minuteness the part which the watchful beast plays in the various stories which we are studying. In the oriental tale, the dog attacks its master's rival at the time when the master catches his wife and the rival together. We have here, then, an attack and an exposure. In *B*, wife and lover are not caught together, and though the

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hero eventually learns in some way of his wife's faithlessness, he learns of it only after he has been transformed. Later still, the wolf makes two attacks, the first on the rival, the second on the wife. In *M* too the hero knows nothing of his wife's unfaithfulness until after the transformation. As wolf he attacks the rival, but not at the time of his transformation (though the rival was then present). He does not attack the wife at all. In *G* the werwolf does not attack the rival or the wife. He does attack his master's rival, however, and this attack results in an exposure of the relations between his master's wife and her lover. In *I* the beast does not attack the wife. His attack on the rival is derived (as we shall see) from the attack on the master's rival. We may formulate our tentative conclusions as follows:

1) In *O* (as in *B*) there was no exposure, though eventually the hero somehow learned of his wife's ill-faith. The wolf later made two attacks, the one on his rival, the other on his wife, both at chance encounters.

2) In *F* the dog attacked his master's rival and the master learned of the relations between his wife and the rival.

3) In *x* (a combination of *O* and *F*) the hero's transformation into a wolf took place without previous exposure of the wife's falseness. Of the two attacks in *O*, the attack on the hero's rival was kept. The attack on the hero's wife was given up. In its stead was put an episode based on *F* and made up of two parts: first an attack (the werwolf attacks his master's rival and nearly kills him, but does not touch the wife) and secondly an exposure (the master learns of the relations between his wife and her lover). There was probably some emphasis on the failure of the werwolf to attack the wife, an emphasis laid by way of reaction against the attack in *O* to replace which the episode was put in. Another episode, likewise based on *F*, was added according to which the wolf defends its master's child against a serpent.

4) In *M* (one of the two derivatives of *x*) the attack on the hero's rival was kept, but the wolf's activities in behalf of its master were left out.

5) In *y* (the other derivative of *x*) the wolf's activities in behalf of its master were kept, but the attack on the hero's rival was left out.

6) In *G* (derived from *y*) the wolf's two fights (with the serpent and with the master's rival) were combined into one.

7) In *I* (likewise derived from *y*) the part played in *y* by the master's wife was transferred to the werwolf's wife; the part played by the master's rival, to the werwolf's rival. The exposure was used to motivate the transformation.

Before considering this development further, we need to look

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into another matter. In *M* and *I*, the wife, after transforming her husband, goes back home to her father. Mr. Kittredge concludes (justly enough) that this was the course of events in *x* as well, although *G* here agrees (fortuitously) with *B*.[11] In the werwolf story, however, as exemplified in *B*, the wife stays where she is and marries her lover. The wife's return to the father, then, was presumably inspired by something in *F* (though the actual trait need not have been present in *F*). What has the *Tochmarc Étáine* to offer on the point? I can find nothing. Indeed, no return to the father could well take place in any story which agreed with the *Tochmarc Étáine* in the fundamental point of the fairy lover. The fairy lover would naturally take his mistress back to his *own* abode, not to her father's. And so he does in the *Tochmarc Étáine*. If we are dealing with a lover of low social station, however, we find nothing surprising in a different arrangement, whereby the lady provides for her lover instead of the lover providing for his lady. If the lover has nothing to offer the mistress in the way of a home, it is surely natural that the mistress should fall back on her father to help out. At any rate, this is the state of things in *M*, where the lady returns to her father and the lady's lover enters the father's service, much as today the poor man who marries an heiress enters the service of the lady's father.

Now the oriental fairy mistress story *Rose and Cypress*, though it does not include such a trait, does supply us with the materials and the situation which the author of *x* needed for this part of his plot. The father of the *fée* plays an important part in the tale. He is at first hostile to the hero, but later becomes his friend, gives to him the *fée* in marriage, and sends the wedded pair off to their home in a fairy car. He is represented as king of the fairies. As for the *fée* herself, she does not succeed in getting rid of her husband, of course; on the contrary, her husband kills the rival lover and puts his wife in chains. But the author of *x* (if he were using a story of the type of *Rose and Cypress*) obviously could make the combination with the werwolf story only by having the *fée* succeed, at this point, in getting rid of her husband for the time by transforming him into a wolf. The husband got rid of, what would the *fée* do next? She could hardly put her negro lover on the vacant throne (on the model of *B*). The low social station of her lover would make such a solution un-

[11] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, pp. 178 f.

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satisfactory to a story-teller as clever as the author of *x* seems to have been. A woman who had got rid of her husband, and had taken a repulsive lover, could hardly prosper longer in her husband's country. It would be natural enough however for her to flee to her father, who, as king of the fairies, was powerful enough to shield her against the consequences of her evil deeds, and who, as her father, would presumably be willing so to shield her. I take it, then, that the author of *x* seized upon this as the obvious and natural solution of his problem, a solution which grew out of the materials and the situation already present in his source.

The next step in combining *F* and *O* was the identification of the wolf's master in *O* with the king of the fairies in *F*. According to the werwolf story, the wolf is the victim of a hunt. The king who hunts him down, however, spares his life at the last moment (because of the extraordinary intelligence that the wolf displays) and takes the beast into his service. The king is thus first hostile, then friendly to the hero. Again, the king is the liege lord of the hero's wife and her new husband, and through this relationship eventual contact between the hero and his enemies is assured, although the actual meetings are unsatisfyingly motivated as chance encounters. Similarly, in *Rose and Cypress* the fairy king is at first hostile to the hero (he actually condemns him to death), but he is so impressed by the hero's magical powers (as he considers them) that he becomes friendly. Moreover, the fairy king is the father of the hero's faithless wife. At his court, then, if anywhere, eventual contact between husband and wife would be appropriate. If the fairy mistress story *F* belonged to the type exemplified in *Rose and Cypress*, the combiner would hardly fail to identify the fairy king of *F* with the helpful king of *O*. In the *Tochmarc Étáine*, however, Eochaid's father-in-law hardly figures in the tale, and only with great difficulty could he be interpreted as the original of the fairy king of *x*, since he is not a fairy at all! In order to find a fairy father-in-law for Eochaid it would be necessary to go back 1000 years, to Étáin's previous incarnation!

The adoption of the wife's father as the master of the werwolf involved a serious difficulty. The werwolf's object was, ultimately, to punish his wife for her monstrous treatment of him. He could effect this object only by winning to his side the woman's own father! No such difficulty is to be found in *B*, of course, where the helpful king is lord but not father of the woman. But the author of *x* was faced with this difficulty. How did he meet it? Obviously

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the tactics of the wolf of *B*, who rushed at the woman and bit off her nose, were hardly calculated to win the love of the woman's father! The author of *x* therefore gave up this attack, and substituted for it an attack of another sort, admirably calculated to win the king to the wolf's side. I refer to the episode preserved to us in *G*, according to which the wolf caught his master's wife and her lover together, and by attacking the lover saved his master's honor. This episode is based on *F*, as we have seen. In *x*, we may presume, it accomplished its purpose, viz., it gave an explanation of the fairy king's conduct in siding with the werwolf against his own daughter, and yielding up the daughter to her husband, to be punished as the husband might see fit. In *M* however, where Arthur, not the woman's father, was the wolf's master, and the woman was not yielded up to the husband or punished in any way, the attack on the master's rival had no further point or purpose and was accordingly dropped.

In version *G* the wife is yielded up to the husband and punished by him; in version *I* she is yielded up to him but not punished; in version *M* she is neither yielded up nor punished. Which represents most faithfully version *x*? Mr. Kittredge thinks that *I* here is the most primitive version, although by far the latest, and in his reconstruction of *x* he makes the finale agree essentially with that of *I*.[12] My own view is that *G* here represents most closely version *x*. Clearly in *GI* (and so in *y*) the husband takes his wife back. What does he do with her? Let us see what we find in *G*. King Gorlagon took his wife back, and kept her by him, but he kept her only to punish her: he put her away and took another wife; this wife he was always fondling and caressing when his former wife was present. The author gives us the following gruesome picture. Gorlagon sits at dinner. Opposite him sits a sad-faced woman (the former wife). Before her, in a dish, is a man's head, embalmed. Beside Gorlagon sits his new wife. Whenever Gorlagon kisses this wife, the sad-faced woman kisses the embalmed head. Each time Gorlagon smiles the sad-faced woman weeps. Compare with this the following scene at the court of King Sanaubar. The king calls for his dog and orders a meal served. A cloth is spread. At one side of it is put the dog; opposite the dog is put a woman loaded with chains. Before the woman, on a platter, is a negro's head, embalmed. All sorts of fine foods are served to the dog; the scraps which the dog leaves

[12] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 187.

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are served to the woman, in a dirty napkin. The woman first weeps, then smiles. A table of correspondences here would include nearly every item, down to the smallest details:

Arthur and Gorlagon	*Rose and Cypress*	*Arthur and Gorlagon*	*Rose and Cypress*
dinner	meal	king's smiles	woman's smiles
table	cloth	woman's tears	woman's tears
new wife	dog	dish	platter
sad-faced woman	woman in chains		
king's kisses	dog's dishes		
woman's kisses	scraps in napkin		
head	head		

The very differences here are significant. The combination of *F* and *O* had been effected by substituting the werwolf of *O* for the dog of *F*. Hence in the European story no dog was available for the king to lavish his affection on at the end of the tale, and no faithful beast could be used as a contrast to the faithless wife. The author accordingly put in a substitute: he gave to the king a new wife, who served as foil to set off the plight of the old wife, much as the dog served in the oriental tale . The king shows his love for the dog by feeding it fine dishes; but with a new wife put in place of the dog, kisses must be put in place of fine dishes if the same end is to be served. Similarly, for the scraps of *F* were put kisses of an unpalatable or even loathsome sort. The rather inappropriate smiles of the oriental woman were transferred in the Western tale to the king, and were made to serve as contrast to the tears which the woman continued to shed. The meal was kept, and since it could not be used for its original purpose (the dog being out of the picture) it was used as part of the machinery of delay and reluctance which went with the quest motif. The rival lover's head, embalmed, put on a platter, and set before the faithless wife, appears in both tales, and gives us perhaps our most striking correspondence. It was this correspondence, indeed, which led me to compare *Arthur and Gorlagon* with *Rose and Cypress* in detail.

It will have been observed that the wife's punishment appears in the version which has given up her flight to her father, and does not appear in the two versions which retain her flight to her father. This peculiarity cannot be accidental. We have seen that with the combination of *F* and *O* the helpful king of *O* became identified with the fairy king of *F*. But the wicked wife thus became the

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daughter of the very king who helped her husband to expose and punish her. The author of *x*, by working up an episode in which the wolf attacked the king's rival, sought to strengthen the ties between king and beast and so to motivate as plausibly as he could the unnatural conduct of the father in abandoning his daughter to the tender mercies of her outraged husband. But his tale evidently remained unconvincing on the point. The author of *G* solved the problem by giving up the relationship between the wife and the wolf's master. The wife, thus left without a father, could not flee to him. She is accordingly represented as holding on to her husband's domains, and as marrying her lover, who is made into a king's son in order to prevent the match from being too great a *mésalliance* on the part of the lady. The authors of *M* and *I*, on the contrary, clung to the flight and the relationship, but gave up the punishment. The wife's father could not be called unnatural in abandoning the woman to her fate if her fate included no punishment for her evil deeds. In *I* the reunion of husband and wife survives, although the punishment which naturally goes with that reunion has been eliminated. The author of *M* is more logical: the husband, unable to punish his wife, refuses to take her back. His repudiation of his wife agrees, of course, with the repudiation which we find in *G*, although it is not accompanied by any punishment. From this agreement we may conclude with some confidence that in *x* the husband put his wife away. The evidence as to the wife's fate may be summarized as follows:

(1) the husband took her back (*GI* but not *M*)
(2) he put her away (*GM* but not *I*)
(3) he punished her (*G* but not *MI*).

The texual evidence is strongest for the divorce, since divorce occurs in both branches of *x*. That the husband took the wife back can be established for *y*, but not (on textual evidence alone) for *x*, since *y* represents only one of the two branches of *x*. Critically speaking, the chances are even that this trait did or did not appear in *x*. But when we consider the resemblances between the hypothetical *F* (one of the sources of *x*) and the extant *Rose and Cypress* (in which the husband takes the wife back), we may conclude that the chances are favorable to the presence of the trait in *x* as well as *y*. I look upon it as probable, then, that in *x* the husband took his wife back but divorced her. How can

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these two traits be reconciled? They go together admirably in *G*, for in *G* the husband takes the wife back, not to live with her but to punish her. The third trait listed above, viz., the punishment of the wife, is in fact necessary if the other two traits are to go together properly. I therefore believe that the punishment of the wife appeared in *x*.

We are now ready to consider the frame in which the story is set. Version *M* is told for itself, without a frame of any kind. Versions *G* and *I* however are stories set in a frame. Let me quote Mr. Kittredge on the subject:

> In both [*G* and *I*], the werewolf tells his own story, sorely against his will, to a quester who is under bonds to learn it, and in both the revelation takes place in the presence of the faithless wife who is to blame for her husband's transformation. In *I*, the quester has been compelled by a supernatural being to discover "the cause of the one story about women"; in *G*, King Arthur has taken a great oath to find out the "ingenium mentemque feminae." Thus the frame . . . . is practically identical in *G* and *I*.[13]

Let me compare the situation in *Rose and Cypress*. In this tale, King Sanaubar tells his own story, sorely against his will, to a quester who is under bonds to learn it, and the revelation takes place in the presence of the faithless wife who is to blame for her husband's dishonor. The quester has taken a resolution to find out "what Gul did to Sanaubar," i. e. (as it turns out), "what a woman does to a man." Thus the frame is practically identical with the frames in *G* and *I*. What is more, the story within the frame corresponds most strikingly to the fairy mistress story *F* which we must postulate as one of the sources of *x*, and so of *G* and *I*. We are justified, I think, in concluding that *F*, like its analogue *Rose and Cypress* and its offshoots *G* and *I*, was a story within a frame, and that this frame has come down to us in *G* and *I*. If so, version *x* must have had the frame, and the absence of any frame-story in *M* is to be explained as due to a simple discarding of the frame by *M*'s author.

In version *M*, and in variants *K* and *J* of version *I*, we learn how the hero met the woman who afterwards betrayed him. Similarly, King Sanaubar tells how he met the woman who afterwards betrayed him. The various accounts are worth comparing. In *KJ* the hero meets the woman at the court of her father the

[13] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 167. A similar quest in Hindu story is pointed out by M. Bloomfield, *Trans. A. P. A.*, LIV, 159.

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King of Greece (i. e., King of Fairyland), marries her there and takes her home with him. Similarly, Sanaubar meets Gul at the court of her father the king of the fairies,, marries her there and takes her home with him. More specifically, Sanaubar 1) goes out hunting, 2) comes to a well, 3) where he meets two fairy women, 4) with whom he has some conversation, and 5) who conduct him to the king's palace, where he meets a fairy princess, 6) a virgin, 7) who becomes his mistress. In *M* the hero 1) goes out hunting, 2) in a wood, 3) where he meets a woman, 4) with whom he has some conversation, 5) and who turns out to be a princess, 6) a virgin, 7) who becomes his mistress. This opening differs from that of *Rose and Cypress* in that the mistress makes no use of intermediaries but acts herself. The presence of emissaries might be accounted an oriental touch; emissaries often appear in Western fairy mistress stories however. Moreover, the fairy women who bring Sanaubar to Gul are not represented as emissaries, although their function in the tale is obviously that of leading the hero to his future mistress. In *M* we are told that the hero made a vow to love only a virgin; no such vow appears in *Rose and Cypress* but the lady is represented as a virgin. In *M* the hero takes the lady home and marries her there; in *KJ* and in *Rose and Cypress* the marriage takes place in fairyland. On the whole, the opening in *M* may well go back to an episode in *x* having the general features (as outlined above) characteristic of the corresponding episode in *Rose and Cypress*. If so, we may conjecture that the author of *M* modified the episode under the influence of the *Tochmarc Étâine* or some such tale.—The difficulties of the hero with his father-in-law in *Rose and Cypress* were probably included in *F*, but in *x* they would hardly have been distinguished from the hero's difficulties with the helpful king of *O* (with whom the fairy father-in-law had been combined).

But the question may with some propriety be asked, what right have we to suppose that a story of the type of *Rose and Cypress* existed in medieval times? The extant *Rose and Cypress* has not been traced back much further than the Irish variants which make up the version *I* of Mr. Kittredge. It is true enough that a comparison of *Rose and Cypress* itself with *MGI* leads us to *postulate* a medieval tale *F* very similar to the modern *Rose and Cypress*, but our case would be greatly strengthened if we could bring forward an *extant* medieval tale of this very type. Now Mr. Kittredge himself has pointed out a medieval tale which answers our require-

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ments. He calls it *The Dog and the Lady* and looks upon it as one of the sources of G^{14}. I should describe it rather as an analogue (or even as a version) of *F*. The tale appears in two well known collections of stories: the *Forty Vezirs* and the *Gesta Romanorum*. In the former the tale reads as follows:

In the land of Persia there was a merchant, and that merchant's wealth was exceedingly great. One night a guest came to the merchant's house and lodged there. The merchant brought some food and they sat down. The guest saw in a corner a dog and a fair woman eating out of one dish; and he wondered exceedingly and asked the merchant. The merchant said, "Their plight is not spoken of." But the guest entreated and begged him to tell. Then the merchant said, "This woman is my slave-girl whom I bought with my money. I made her my wife and loved her as my life, so that all I had was in her hands. I had a black slave. Now these struck up a friendship; and as to me, I knew not of it. One day they agreed to slay me. One day the woman said to me, 'Come, I would go with thee to a certain place; there is a matter, we will see to it.' And she took me and brought me to a quiet place where they had pitched a tent. Now that slave was therein; and he came out suddenly, and they bore me down that they might kill me. I had always fed this dog, and he followed me and was come along with me, and when he saw me in this plight he ran and seized that slave from behind and pulled him and drew him off me. I too found strength and opportunity, and I made to seize the woman, but she fled off. I killed the slave, but, as my love was with the woman, I could not bring myself to kill her. For that this dog was the cause of my safety do I thus honour him; and to disgrace and abase the woman do I thus keep the two of them together and feed them."[15]

"The same story," says Mr Kittredge, "occurs in the *Gesta Romanorum* in a somewhat different shape."[16] It appears under the heading *De memoria mortis*, and reads thus:

Quidam princeps erat qui multum delectabatur venari. Accidit semel, quod cum ad venandum perrexisset, casu mercator quidam per eandem viam secutus est, vidensque principem formosum et graciosum vestimentis preciosis indutum, ait in corde suo: O domine deus; homo iste multum tibi tenetur; ecce quam formosus est et strenuus et graciosus, et omnes,

[14] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, pp. 246 ff.

[15] E. J. W. Gibb (translator), *The History of the Forty Vezirs*. The Thirty-Fourth Vezir's Story, pp. 331–332. According to Gibb, the *Forty Vezirs* can be traced back to the first half of the fifteenth century (p. viii). The individual stories presumably antedate the collection; their exact age can hardly be determined.—The collection is Turkish.

[16] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 247.

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qui sunt in ejus comitatu, honeste induti. Hiis cogitatis dixit uni ex familia principis: Dic michi, carissime, dominus vester qualis est? Qui ait: Est dominus multarum terrarum, et potens valde in auro et argento ac familia. Ait mercator: Multum tenetur ipse deo; formosus est et sapiens inter omnes, quos umquam vidi. Ille hoc audiens occulte omnia verba mercatoris domino suo narravit. Dominus vero circa horam vespertinam, cum domum rediret, mercatorem rogavit, ut secum pernoctaret. Ille hoc non audebat resistere et cum principe ad civitatem perrexit. Cum vero castrum ejus intrasset, tot divicias, tot pulchras cameras auro depictas vidit, quod valde admirabatur. Cum autem hora cenandi adesset, princeps mercatorem juxta suam dominam in mensa collocari fecit. Mercator autem cum dominam tam pulchram et tam graciosam, quasi extra se raptus fuit et ait in corde suo: O deus meus, princeps omnia, que desiderat cor suum, habet, uxorem pulchram, filios ac filias, familiam multam nimis. Cum autem sic cogitasset, delata sunt fercula ante dominam et ante eum, et ecce cibaria optima in capite unius defuncti collocata et ante dominam posita sunt et omnibus de familia in scutellis argenteis ministrabatur in aula. Mercator cum caput mortui ante eum vidisset, commota sunt omnia viscera ejus et ait in corde suo: Heu michi, timeo quod perdam caput meum in isto loco! Domina vero inquantum potuit eum confortavit. Cum vero nox adesset, ducitur in cameram honestam, ubi invenit lectum paratum. . . . . Princeps vero cum surrexisset, fecit mercatorem ad se vocari et ait: Carissime, quid tibi placet de me? At ille: Michi omnia bene placent, sed quod michi ministrabatur in capite defuncti, ultra quam credi potest abhorrui tantum quod comedere non poteram. . . . . Ait princeps: Carissime, vidisti uxorem meam nimis pulchram et caput defuncti ante eam. Racio est talis: iste enim cujus erat caput fuit quidam dux nobilis, qui uxorem meam sollicitavit et cum ea concubuit et pariter adinvicem commisceri perspexi, gladium arripui et caput ejus amputavi, unde in signum verecundie singulis diebus illud caput ante eam pono, ut ad memoriam reducat peccatum quod commisit. . . . .[17]

I have omitted here a nocturnal experience of the merchant's (with its explanation) which does not concern us, and I have not thought it needful to include the moral reflections which are added to the tale.

It will be convenient, in discussing the tales just given, to refer to them by the abbreviations *V* (for the story in the *Forty Vezirs*) and *R* (for the story in the *Gesta Romanorum*). That *V* and *R* are variants of the same story is clear enough. Both give us a story in a frame. The frame in both tells of a traveler who becomes the guest of a man of importance, sees something strange in the house, and receives from his host an explanation of the

[17] *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Oesterley, pp. 355–356.

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strange sight. The explanation in both takes the form of a story told by the host. In both the story is a personal experience of the host: his wife proves faithless to him, he kills her lover but spares her and punishes her in a gruesome manner. The punishment itself, however, differs in the two tales. In *R* the dead lover's head is set before the woman at meals; the finest food is put in this head, and the woman must eat this food or starve. The guest is the woman's table-companion and so must share the woman's food or not eat at all! Evidently this is no way to treat a guest, and this peculiarity of *R* can hardly be original. If we turn to *V* for light we find that there the woman's companion at her meal is not a guest but a dog. This is much more intelligible, for eating with a dog is obviously a punishment indeed, and the woman is present at the meal simply to be punished, of course. In *V*, on the other hand, no lover's head appears. We may conclude that in the source common to *V* and *R* the woman had to submit to *two* punishments (just as in *Rose and Cypress*): she must eat the dog's leavings and she must look at the head of her dead lover. In *V* the head was left out; in *R*, the dog. But the latter change made other changes needful. In the original the dog had defiled the food and thus made the meal a punishment. How was the food to be defiled if there was no dog to defile it? A means of defilement was at hand, obviously, in the head, and the head was therefore used as a dish in which the woman's food was placed. But the omission of the dog left the woman without a companion for her gruesome meal; the poor guest was therefore seized upon and made to serve as the woman's table-companion. The author of *R* calls the food shared by woman and guest *cibaria optima* 'the very finest food.' To be compared are the delightful dishes served to the dog (and then, in the form of scraps, to the woman) in *Rose and Cypress*. According to *V* the dog was honored by being permitted to share the wife's meal, and the wife was abased by being forced to eat food defiled by the dog. Similarly, in *R* the guest was honored by being permitted to share the wife's meal (and he was highly pleased with the honor until he saw the "dish" the food was in), and the wife was abased by being forced to eat food defiled by having been placed in a dead man's head. In *V* the defilement of the food carried with it nothing disagreeable for the woman's companion, but affected the woman only. In *R*, on the contrary, the defilement affected the companion as disagreeably as it did the woman, for obvious reasons. Yet we

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are told that the lady soothed him as far as she could, and the host clearly wished his guest well, not ill. Certainly at leavetaking the next morning the host points out to the guest the edifying nature of the latter's unpleasant experiences. He says,

> Vade ergo carissime in pace et ammodo vitam hominis cujuscumque non judices, quousque plenius tibi de veritate constiterit.[18]

We may therefore conjecture that the author of *R* substituted the guest for the dog in order to give his narrative an additional edifying touch.

The exact method of serving the meal is not altogether clear in *R*. We learn first of all that the prince put the guest in a seat next to the woman. Then *fercula* 'plates' were set before the woman and the guest. The food was now brought in. It was contained in a dead man's head; this head with its contents was set before the woman. So far the narrative has been confined to an account of the meal served to the woman and the guest. The author now, I think, turns his attention to the rest of the company. Food was brought in for them too, of course, but it was served, not in a dead man's head, but in silver platters. Only the woman and the guest, then, had to do with the food in the dead man's head. This interpretation of the passage finds its natural support in the meal of *V*, which is clearly two meals, the one for the woman and the dog, the other for the company as a whole. The chief difference between *V* and *R* here (apart from the head) lies in the fact that in *V* the loathsome meal is served in a corner, while in *R* it is served at table along with the regular meal. This difference is a natural outcome of the substitution of the guest for the dog.[19]

Other differences between *V* and *R* deserve attention. In *V* the guest urges the host to tell him the story, and at last the host tells it to him, though with great reluctance. In *R* we find nothing of the sort. And yet there is also a compulsion laid upon the host of *R*, although it is a compulsion different in kind from that which we find in *V*. The host of *R* owes it to his guest to give him some explanation of the inhospitable treatment to which he has been subjected. The host therefore takes the initative in *R*, and the guest learns the story without having to beg for it. In

[18] H. Oesterley, *ed. cit.*, p. 356, ll. 14–16.

[19] For messing by twos, see *Stud. in Philol.*, XXII, 181 f. and *Eng. Stud.*, LXI, 333 f.

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V the wife is present when the husband tells the story; in *R* nothing is said of her presence. In *V* the lover is a negro slave of the husband's; in *R* he is a *dux nobilis*. In *V* the husband overcomes and kills the lover only through the aid of a watchful dog; in *R* he overcomes and kills him without assistance. Finally, in *R* the husband catches wife and lover in the act of adultery and takes the initiative in attacking the man; in *V* the wife and lover take the initiative, the husband knowing nothing until he finds himself thrown to the ground by the guilty pair and about to be killed. As respects the husband's discovery of the guilty pair and his initiative in making the attack, *Rose and Cypress* agrees with *R*, but otherwise it agrees with *V*. In this connection it is of interest to note that the action of *V* takes place in Persia; as we have learned, *Rose and Cypress* is a Persian tale.

Mr. Kittredge has pointed out a sixteenth century version of *The Dog and the Lady* in which the dog alone, in the master's absence, discovers the wife's adultery and attacks and kills the lover (without touching the wife).[20] This gives us a parallel for the form of the episode that we find in *G*, but is hard to reconcile with the situation in *I*, where the husband catches wife and lover together. A careful examination of the text of *G*, however, enables us to reconstruct the episode as it probably stood in *F*. The significant passage in *G* reads thus:

Hijs ita gestis, regine celerius quam putabatur regis reditus nunciatur.[21]

And since the queen meets her husband with her clothes sprinkled with blood, we may be sure that originally there was no great interval between the dog's attack and his master's coming. In *F*, I think, the master arrived just after the dog attacked the lover, and so caught the guilty pair together, in a sense, though one of them was no longer active. If so, *F* here varies from the *Rose and Cypress* version of *The Dog and the Lady*. But it is well to note that the beast does not kill the lover, either in *G* or in *Rose and Cypress*. The lover therefore presumably fell into the husband's hands alive in *F*, in spite of the Tamil version.

We may be reasonably sure, then, that a version of *The Dog and the Lady* very like *Rose and Cypress* was current in medieval Europe. This version, which I have called *F*, was one of the two main sources of the author of *x*. It was itself compound: a story

[20] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 248.

[21] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 158, ll. 14–15.

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within a story. So far we have had little to say about the frame-story; let us therefore turn our attention to this for a time. The quester of *G* is driven forth upon his quest by his wife's words and actions. In *I* this is not the case; the quester brings his task upon himself; but he is able to accomplish it only through the help and advice of his wife and his wife's mother. Now in *Rose and Cypress* we find these traits together: Almas is driven forth upon his quest by the words and actions of his future wife Mihr-anguez; and he is enabled to accomplish the quest through the help and advice of his future wives Dilaram and Jamila. Of these, Jamila, who is a fairy, is much akin to the fairy mother-in-law of the quester of *I*. Again, the quest in *I* includes as one of its objects the sword of light. This is not the case in *Rose and Cypress*, but a sword (the so-called 'scorpion of Solomon') figures prominently in the story; through the virtue of this sword Almas is enabled to fight his way to his goal and thus gain audience of the man who can answer his question. Nor is this sword Almas's own; he gains it through his female helper Jamila. Compare *I*, in which the quester gains the sword through his female helper the fairy queen. In view of such correspondences, I cannot agree with Mr. Kittredge that "the greater complication of *I* in this matter (of the frame-story) is not due to the loss of material in *G*, but to the inclusion in *I* of extraneous material which was not in *y*."[22] It is true enough that the frame-story of *I* includes a quest (for the sword of light) which was not in *y*. But this quest must have been attracted into *I* by something, and that something, I think, was the sword and the female help which the quester had in *y*. Since female helpers are so characteristic of the sword-of-light quest, this quest could easily be added to a *y* which already had, in its frame-story, a sword gained through female help. It may not be otiose to point out, further, that a western story-teller was not at liberty to give his hero an indefinite number of wives; the surplus wives of the oriental tale would have to be left out, or used as mothers-in-law or the like. As I see it, then, both *G* and *I* exhibit loss of matrial which was present in *y*. No female helpers appear in *G*, and no woman inspires the quest in *I*. This latter loss was doubtless a consequence of the addition of the sword-of-light quest, which brought with it its own motivation. The loss of female help in *G*, however, left a gap: Arthur, the quester of this version, made straight for his proper goal, but we

[22] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 222 top.

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are not told how he knew what his proper goal was, nor how he was able to reach it so easily.

From the course of events in *G* and *I* one may conclude that the quester of *y* thrice urged his man to answer his question, and got an answer upon the third attempt. Similarly, in *Rose and Cypress* King Sanaubar finally yields after having been importuned thrice. This correspondence cannot be taken as important, however, since it may be fortuitous: the rule of three is too common in folk-tales to be a safe indication of kinship. More significant is another correspondence which we shall now consider. Mr. Kittredge has pointed out that *G* and *I* include an episode which he names *The Defense of the Child*. He argues further that this episode is a combination of two distinct tales, which he names respectively *The Faithful Dog* and *The Hand and the Child*. The plot of *The Faithful Dog* may be summarized as follows:[23]

A favorite animal protects its master's child from the attack of a serpent and slays the serpent. The master, returning, sees the faithful beast covered with blood, jumps to the conclusion that it has killed the child, and slays it on the spot. He now enters the chamber, to find the child safe and a serpent lying there dead. Too late he repents of his hasty deed.

The author of *y* made use of some such anecdote. His version is peculiar, however, in that the tale has a happy ending: the faithful beast is rewarded, not slain. Where did he get this peculiar version with the happy ending? Naturally we cannot be sure of his source, but just such a version occurs in *Rose and Cypress* and we therefore may suspect its presence in *F* and *x*. If our suspicions are correct, the author of *y* simply got the anecdote from his main source, viz., *x*. In *Rose and Cypress* the episode forms a part of the frame-story, and no less a person than the quester himself enacts the part of the faithful beast. Almas protects the young of the Simorg from the attack of a dragon (i.e., serpent) and slays the dragon. The Simorg, returning, sees the hero asleep beside a pool of blood and jumps to the conclusoin that Almas has killed his young. He is on the point of killing Almas when his mate stops him, suggesting that they first examine their nest. The Simorg goes to the nest and finds the young safe and sound. He now repents of his hasty resolve, and takes Almas into his keeping.

Not only in the matter of the ending but also in other ways this version is peculiar. Thus, its hero is a man, not a beast, and

[23] See Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, pp. 222 f.

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the person that the hero serves is a supernatural being in bird form, not a man; the usual situation is thus altered. Moreover, Almas, though in this instance he serves the Simorg admirably, is not in his service permanently but has come to him for a time only, to gain his help in a wholly different matter. Again, not only the Simorg but also his mate plays an active part in the story (in the more orthodox versions we may learn that the beast is a favorite with mistress as well as master, but it is highly unusual, to say the least, to find the mistress intervening in the beast's behalf). Finally, the dragon's body is eaten up by the young of the Simorg! To make up for the missing body, the young speak up and explain to their father what has happened. Are any of these peculiarities to be discovered in *GI* or to be postulated for *y*? Corresponding to the Simorg (a fairy in the form of a bird or giant) we find a fairy king; corresponding to Almas, a werwolf. Clearly the story, in this form, approaches the normal type more closely than does the version found in *Rose and Cypress*, but even so the tale is unusual enough: it is very rare indeed, if not unparalleled, to find that the master is a fairy (instead of being an ordinary human being) and the faithful beast a man under spells. One may thus say, fairly enough, that the story in version *y*, in these unusual features, viz., the supernatural character of the father and the manhood of the serpent-slayer, strongly resembles the version found in *Rose and Cypress*.

Again, the werwolf, like Almas, is with his protector only temporarily, and has come to him for help in a wholly different matter. Almas had to have the Simorg's help if he was to achieve his quest. He won the fairy's favor by saving his children from a dragon which was about to attack them. The grateful Simorg gave to the hero the help he needed. Similarly, the werwolf had to have the fairy's help if he was to regain his proper form. He won the fairy's favor by saving his child from a serpent which was attacking it. This led eventually to the werwolf's restoration to his proper form.

Another peculiar feature of the *Rose and Cypress* version is the intervention of the wife. The Simorg wishes to kill Almas, but the Simorg's wife insists that he make an investigation before taking any action, and her insistence leads to the discovery that the children are safe and sound and that Almas saved them from the dragon. We have a similar situation in *y*, but here the parts of husband and wife are interchanged: it is the wife who wishes the

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werwolf killed, and it is the husband who insists on making an investigation before taking any action. The antagonism of the master's wife to the werwolf comes out clearly in *G*, and traces of it remain in *I*, although in this version the active antagonism has been transferred to the werwolf's wife. The traces to which I refer are most noticeable in variants *K* and *J*, where the mother of the child accuses the werwolf; in variant *L* the women *all* agree that the wolf ate up the child, and the women object to the wolf's guarding the child. The machinations of the werwolf's wife against her transformed husband are peculiar to *I*, and hence in all likelihood are of secondary growth, particularly since traces of a different situation remain. Neither in *B*, in *M* nor in *G* does the werwolf's wife take any steps against her husband, once she has forced upon him a permanent wolfish state. The wolf does everything, his wife nothing. The closest approach to action on her part comes in *G*, where she once exhorts her followers to be on their guard against the wolf's attacks. Her great activity in *I*, then (and *I*, be it remembered, is by far the latest of the versions), can hardly be original.

Why is the fairy king's wife hostile to the wolf? The answer is easy. It was the author of *x* who made her so. He had included in his version an episode in which the wolf caught his master's wife and her lover together. Naturally, then, he would have to represent the wife as hostile to the wolf. As I shall soon show, it was the author of *x*, not the author of *y*, who transferred the child episode from the frame-story (where he found it in *F*) to the main story, and gave to the werwolf the part of faithful beast. When he did this, he could make use of the wife's intervention (a detail which he found in his source) only by making her intervene *against* the wolf instead of for him. Hence the interchange of the parts of husband and wife in *G* as against *Rose and Cypress*.

One more peculiarity of the *Rose and Cypress* version needs to be considered. Almas cuts up the body of the dead dragon and feeds it to the Simorg's offspring. In consequence, no dead body is available as evidence that Almas has killed the enemy, and the needful witness must be borne by the offspring themselves. Do versions *G* and *I* show any traces of this curious trait? Here we must distinguish, first of all, between the fact that the assailant's body is wanting and the explanation given for that fact. Now neither in *G* nor in *I* is the assailant's dead body available as evidence for the wolf; on the contrary, the body has vanished.

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These two versions therefore agree with *Rose and Cypress* in the matter. The explanation given for the absence of the body, however, varies with the version. The author of *G*, starting from the fact that the body is wanting, does away with the assailant altogether. We find the same method of treatment in variants *K* and *J* of version *I*. The other variants of *I* go back to a different solution of the problem: the foe was beaten off and wounded, but not killed; he dragged himself off; hence the absence of his body. All the variants which go back to this solution show contamination with *The Hand and the Child*, a story in which the foe likewise drags himself off, leaving, however, a hand behind, after an unsuccessful attack on a child. These variants therefore give us a combination of *The Faithful Dog* and *The Hand and the Child*.

Did this combination appear already in version *y*? It appears in most variants of *I*, as we have seen, but not in variants *K* and *J*, and no trace of *The Hand and the Child* is to be found in version *G*. It seems rather unlikely, then, that version *y* included *The Hand and the Child*. In versions *x* and *y* the serpent that did the attacking was probably represented as dragging himself off, after having been worsted in his encounter with the faithful werwolf. After defeating the serpent, the wolf, like Almas, probably went to sleep. The queen next came up, saw the signs of the fight, carried off the child to a secret room, and, going to her husband, accused the wolf of having devoured the child. The king insisted on an investigation, and the wolf, guided by its sense of smell, led him to the secret room. The queen had hid the key to the room, so the door had to be broken down. The child was found inside the room safe and sound. The wolf was thus (1) cleared of all suspicion of having made way with the child, and (2) credited with having found the child. The queen was put in the wrong, too, of course, but was still not suspected of having herself stolen the child away. The mystery of the child's disappearance was soon solved, however: with the exposure of the queen's affair with the steward, the whole story came out.

This reconstruction of the narrative in *x* is based, of course, on the narrative recorded in *G* and in the variants of *I*. Certain details of the reconstruction need further consideration. That in *x* a serpent did the attacking seems probable for more reasons than one. The assailant is a serpent in most versions of *The Faithful Dog*. In the *Rose and Cypress* version the assailant is a dragon (and a dragon is a kind of serpent). Moreover, in one of the variants of

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I (Curtin's first variant) a serpent does the assailing, though here we have to reckon with the possibility of a secondary development.[24] In *G* the queen claims to have *seen* the wolf devour her child, but this trait is a departure from *The Faithful Dog*, where the guilt of the beast is regularly *inferred* from the blood with which it is covered. Since this latter is the method used in both *Rose and Cypress* and *I*, we may safely infer it for *x*, and conclude that the author of *G* introduced the queen's claim to have been an eye-witness. The trait according to which the queen carried the child to a secret room, locked it in, and hid the key, is assured for *y* by the agreement of *G* and *I*. This trait seems to have been original with the author of *x*; at any rate, nothing of the sort appears in any source of his so far unearthed. Why did he invent such a trait? In *The Faithful Dog* the beast is accused or suspected of having killed its master's child. Investigation brings out two points: the discovery of the child shows that the beast did not kill it, and the discovery of the body of the true assailant shows that the beast saved the child's life. The investigation thus brings out both the negative and the positive aspect of the beast's behavior. The neatness of the solution is somewhat disturbed in the *Rose and Cypress* version, as we have seen, through the introduction of another trait: the Simorg's offspring eat up the dead body of the assailant and thus destroy the chief piece of evidence that there *was* an assailant. This very peculiarity, however, is used to make the whole story more plausible. The Simorg, returning home, notices that his young are not crying out for food as they usually do. He jumps to the conclusion that they have been killed, and when he sees Almas lying asleep beside a pool of blood his suspicion is confirmed. The silence of the young is a genuine indication that something serious has happened to them, and the father accuses the blood-bespattered suspect of having killed them. But his mate insists on an investigation, the young are found, and through them it comes out that the suspect baffled the efforts of a true assailant. The suspect is thus (1) cleared of the charge against him, and (2) credited with having rescued the offspring. The evidence for (1) is the discovery of the offspring safe and sound. The evidence for (2) is not the discovery of the body of the true assailant (for this body has vanished) but the fact that the suspect himself fed the offspring with the body of the true assailant. Similarly, in *x*, the disappearance of the child is a genuine indica-

[24] On the point see Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 233, note 5.

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tion that something serious has happened to it, and the mother accuses the blood-bespattered suspect of having devoured it. But her husband insists on an investigation, the child is found, and through the circumstances of its finding the suspect gains the credit for baffling the efforts of some plotter. The suspect is thus (1) cleared of the charge against him, and (2) credited with having rescued the child. The evidence for (1) is the discovery of the child safe and sound. The evidence for (2) is not the discovery of the body of the true assailant (for this body has vanished) but the fact that the suspect himself found the child and so rescued it from its true abductor.

We can now see how the author of *x* proceeded in altering his source, and can understand why he made the changes. In the source the attack of the serpent was of fundamental importance, while the animosity of the father against the hero of the adventure was something entirely temporary, which arose from a misunderstanding of the circumstances and was at once allayed when these circumstances were set in their true light. But the author of *x* transferred this animosity from father to mother, for reasons which I have already given. Now the animosity, once transferred, became a very different thing. The mother, who had every reason to fear the wolf (which was destined to expose her love affair with the steward), hated the beast with a hatred which no explanations could allay. We may even conjecture that the mother was in her daughter's confidence, knew that the wolf was the daughter's transformed husband, and took sides with her child as a mother would be expected to do; but this remains conjecture, since nothing is said of it in our extant material. In any case the mother's animosity was something permanent and fundamental in the tale as the author of *x* conceived it. On the other hand, the attack of the serpent lost its fundamental character, and became merely an opening which the mother seized to take action against the wolf. Its reduction in importance may be gauged from the fact that it is dispensed with altogether in version *G*, and in variants *K* and *J* of version *I*, where other devices are used to give the mother opportunity for calumniating the wolf. Where once the center of interest lay in the duel between the faithful beast and its serpentine assailant, the center of interest now lies in the duel of another sort between the faithful beast and its female calumniator, and to this new duel the old duel was severely subordinated.

The mother, then, comes upon the beast lying asleep and covered

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with blood, as the mother and father come upon Almas in *Rose and Cypress*. The change here is but slight; the husband is made to delay his appearance a little, and the wife is thus given time to set the scene as she wishes it set. The woman's plan is clever. Things look suspicious enough and bad enough for her opponent already (in the source of *x*), but she gives them an even worse look by removing the child. She takes the child to a secret room, locks the door, and hides the key. She plans to accuse the wolf of devouring the child, and hopes that her husband, in his indignation, will kill the beast. The beast once dead, she will produce the child, and the husband, though he may regret his hasty deed, will not be able to bring the dead back to life. The hiding of the child was needful, for if the child was at hand the father might discover the truth too soon, and if he did, the wolf would escape death. The woman carries out her plans, but her husband insists on investigating, and the wolf, through its sense of smell, tracks the child to the hiding-place. This trait was invented by the author of *x*, it would seem. In *Rose and Cypress* the father did the investigating alone. The author of *x* changes things here to this extent, that he represents the father's investigations as being guided by the wolf. And when the father reaches the child, he finds it asleep, just as the Simorg finds his young asleep. The activity of the wolf in seeking out the child is the counterpart to the activity of the mother in hiding the child, and these two balancing traits are the chief contributions which the author of *x* made to the episode. Taken together, they make the tale a duel between woman and beast, a duel in which the beast outwits the woman.

Apparently the author of *I* felt that the opponent proper for the wolf in this duel was his own wife rather than his master's wife. At any rate, we find, in *I*, the werwolf's wife playing not only her own part but the part of the other woman as well. She it is, not her mother, whom the werwolf catches with a lover (this lover is naturally identified with the werwolf's rival, and the master's rival thus vanishes from the tale). She it is, not her mother, who plots against the werwolf and calumniates him to his master. She it is who steals the child. In variants *K* and *J*, she even appears as mother of the child (a trait which shows how the development proceeded). The master's wife is thus reduced to a lay figure, who takes no part in the action. The scene in which the werwolf catches his wife with her lover is appro-

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priately put just before the transformation, which it serves to motivate. That this scene (which I call the exposure) originally belonged to the master's wife and her lover is shown by the attack which the newly transformed werwolf makes upon the lover (compare *G* and contrast *M*).[25]

The changes made by the author of *G* took a different turn. We have already seen that the author of *G* deleted the kinship between the werwolf's master and the werwolf's wife, and left the latter in possession of the werwolf's kingdom. The werwolf thus did not come across his wife in his master's house. His duel therefore necessarily continued to be with his master's wife in *G* (as it was in *x*). Important changes took place in the episode, nevertheless. In *x* the adventure with the child was followed by the exposure of the mother and the attack on the lover. This lover doubtless made a death-bed confession in *x* as he does in *G*, and thus the truth about the queen's plottings came out. There was accordingly, in *x*, a connection between the episode of the child and the episode of the lover, a connection to this extent at least, that it was through the lover's confession that the queen's activities against the wolf (in the child episode) were brought to light. The author of *G* made this connection organic: he combined the two episodes into one. Thus the wolf's attack on the serpent vanished from *G*, and his attack on the master's rival had to serve for both the attacks of *x*.

Let us now go back to *Rose and Cypress*. We have already seen that the story of *The Faithful Dog*, in its primary or original form, has for its hero a beast who faithfully serves a human master. In version *x*, the story appears in a secondary form: the hero, though a beast in appearance still, is represented as in truth a man under spells, and the master, though a man in ap-

[25] The account of the exposure given in variant *K* is illuminating. I quote from P. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, p. 267. The hero (who tells his own story to the quester) has just caught his wife and her lover together. He continues, "I had no further patience, but rushed on ready to strike him through with my hunting spear, but the moment my wife caught sight of me, she flung the magic rod at me, and I found myself, in the twinkling of an eye, changed to a horse. I did not lose my memory, but rushed on the villain to trample out his life. However, he had got up into a tree before I could reach him. I had neither the power nor the will to trample or strike my wife. So the guilty pair escaped for the time." Here we find the exposure, the attack on the lover in the wife's presence, and the (emphasized) failure to attack the wife, all traits characteristic of the corresponding incident in *G*, and all in marked contrast to both the transformation scene and the attack on the lover as we find these in *M*.

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pearance still, is represented as in truth a fairy. Now in *Rose and Cypress* we find what must be called a tertiary form of the tale: the hero has lost all his bestiality and appears as a man pure and simple, while the master has lost all his humanity and appears as a being supernatural both in attributes and in outward shape. It is, I think, a fair inference that in version *F* the story appeared in its secondary form (i. e., *F* here agreed with its descendants *x* and *y*), and that the tertiary form of the story, as we have it in *Rose and Cypress*, represents a later modification of the story as it stood in the common ancestor of *F* and *Rose and Cypress*.

If this inference is correct, it follows that the quester of *F* had the adventure while in the form of a lower animal. Now we learn from *Rose and Cypress* that Almas, the quester, was transformed into a stag by the witch Latifa. Usually the unfortunate who has suffered such a mishap is forthwith launched upon a lively series of adventures before he is restored to his human form. Almas however is changed from man to beast and then at once to man again. The course of events looks unoriginal. It is easy to see why we find no adventures, however. A stag is fit for nothing except to show a clean pair of heels to his enemies, and when the hero is turned into a beast which has only the one talent of running away, the sooner he is turned back into a man the better. Only then can any interesting series of adventures be expected. Again, Latifa as an enchantress belongs to the type exemplified by Circe. Her victims therefore ought to stay by her and so they do, with the sole exception of our hero. His escape shows that he is no proper victim for an enchantress of the Circe type. The transformation in *Rose and Cypress* seems to be a combination of two types, which may be called the single and the habitual respectively. In the single transformation, the hero is turned into a beast by an enchantress; after much wandering and various adventures he finally regains his proper shape. In the habitual transformation, the hero *resists* the magic of an enchantress who makes a practice of turning lovers into beasts when she tires of them; the hero is not turned into a beast, but forces the enchantress to restore to their proper shape all her former victims. The shape of a stag is appropriate enough for the victims of the habitual transformation, but quite unsuitable for the victim of the simple transformation. This victim is usually turned into another kind of animal: an ass or a dog, by preference, it would seem.

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Let us consider the hypothesis that Almas, in a more primitive form of *Rose and Cypress*, was turned into a dog by a wicked enchantress, and regained his human form only after he had achieved the defense of the Simorg's young against a serpent. What adventures did he have in the meantime? In *Rose and Cypress* we find him seeking favor with a lion-king; he propitiates him by providing him with game. Professor A. G. Brodeur refers to this trait in his valuable paper, *The Grateful Lion*.[26] Mr. Brodeur makes the interesting point that "the hero's furnishing him (the lion-king) with game seems an inverted reminiscence of the similar service rendered to Androcles, Golfier, or Yvain by their grateful lions." It is a hazardous business, however, to derive from a western tale an isolated trait (and that in "inverted" form) in an oriental story which otherwise shows no kinship with the tale in question. Mr. Brodeur makes it clear that the lion-king of *Rose and Cypress* is unrelated to the grateful lion of western story. If so, we may safely go further and say that the game which Almas supplies the lion-king with is unrelated to the game with which the grateful lion supplies Yvain. But Almas's game has its connections with western story, none the less. We know already that *Rose and Cypress* is in many respects closely akin to a group of western tales represented in our versions *M*, *G* and *I*. Now in version *G* we find the following significant incident:

. . . . Ecce erectis cornibus ceruus ei mire magnitudinis in saltu occurrit. . . . . Lupus vero huius prede capiende non inscius, saltu dato ceruo insequitur, anticipat et invadit, guttureque comprehensum ante regis obtuitus mortuum prosternit. Quo facto, rex eum reuocat, atque "Nempe seruandus es," ait, "non necandus, qui talia scis nobis exhibere obsequia." Lupumque secum ducens domum regressus est.[27]

The werwolf here wins the king's favor and protection by supplying him with game. A similar trait appears in *M*, although it has been put elsewhere in the tale and is used for another purpose.[28] Now Almas wins the lion-king's favor and protection by supplying him with game, and, in view of the close kinship between *Rose and Cypress* and *MG* in other respects, we must admit a kinship in this trait as well. This kinship points to an *F* (and to a more primitive form of *Rose and Cypress*) in which the quester,

[26] See *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 488 f.
[27] Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, p. 156, ll. 22–30.
[28] See Kittredge, *ed. cit.*, pp. 182 f.

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turned by magic into a beast (presumably a dog), wins favor and protection of a king by supplying him with game.

We are now able to reconstruct with greater assurance the quest as it appeared in version *F*. The quester of that version, like Almas, underwent a transformation into a beast. He was changed into a dog by a witch. The witch presumably treated him thus because he clung to his quest rather than accept her favors; at any rate, this was Latifa's reason for transforming Almas. The werhound, as we may now call him, fled from the witch in dismay, and took to the woods. Eventually he won the favor and protection of some king by supplying him with game. This king was a supernatural being; we cannot be sure in what shape he appeared: whether as lion, bird, giant or man. Possibly in variants of the story he appeared variously; thus we can account for the fact that both a lion and a bird appear as supernatural helpers of the quester in *Rose and Cypress*. The quester further served the king by saving his child (or children) from the attack of a serpent. The grateful king took steps which resulted in the quester's restoration to human form. Whether the witch was forced to reverse the spell, or whether a sister of the witch was resorted to, I cannot say. At any rate, the quester now found his path made easy. He was supplied with a magic sword at least, and perhaps with other magic weapons, by the witch (or her sister). By the aid of these weapons he overcame the foes that still blocked his way, and won through to his goal.

Version *F* thus included two dogs. In the frame-story the quester was in canine form a good part of his time, and in the main story a watchful dog played an important part. Now the author of *x*, in combining *O* and *F*, simplified things by giving to his werwolf all the activities of both dogs in *F*. The quester's part thus came to be heavily reduced. His transformation into a beast, his offering of game, his defense of his master's child, all these episodes were transferred from frame-story to main story, and given to the werwolf. Version *x*, then, differs from *F* not only in its remodeling of the main story but also in its shift of emphasis. In *F* the quester was the chief character in the story; in *x*, the werwolf is the chief character.

Yet another episode in the group *GMI* (and so in *x*) bears some resemblance to an incident in *Rose and Cypress*. In *x* the hero, after he had been made a wolf, took to the woods, organized a band of wolves, and led his band in raids on the region round-

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about. In *G* we find the wolf thus attacking the very stronghold of his wife and her heathen lover. The band reminds us of the band of lions that came to Almas's support in his attack on the stronghold of the negro king Taram Tac. There are important differences here, however, and any connection between *x* and *Rose and Cypress* in this particular matter must be looked on as a possibility, not a probability.

Mr. Kittredge admits into *x* the offering of game, but admits only into *y* the defense of the child. We have seen, however, that both episodes occur in *Rose and Cypress*, and we must therefore presume their presence in *F* and *x*. Of the two episodes, that of the game appears in *M*, but that of the child does not appear. This omission was to be expected. The author of *M* made great cuts in the story in at least two places. First and most important, he cut out the frame-story. Secondly, he abridged radically that part of the main story which dealt with the relations between the werwolf and its master. He took out the werwolf's offering of game, but used that episode elsewhere in the tale. The werwolf's defense of the master's child, and its attack on the master's rival, he threw away altogether. In *M*, then, this part of the story is reduced to the bare essentials: the werwolf seeks Arthur out and convinces the king that he is tame; Arthur takes him as a pet and the werwolf accompanies his master to Dublin, where, at the court of the King of Ireland (the father-in-law of the werwolf), the tale is brought to its conclusion. The author of *M* had a good reason for this cutting—a compelling reason, indeed. He had brought Arthur into the tale, arbitrarily enough, and had made him the wolf's master, in order to give his story a connection with the then popular and fashionable Arthurian cycle of romances. Now Guenevere's love affair with Lancelot did not lend itself very well to identification with the episode in *x* according to which the wolf attacked its master's rival. Nor did Guenevere bear to Arthur a child which could be defended against a serpent by the wolf. The domestic affairs of King Arthur were well known throughout Europe, and the author of *M* was wise in not tampering with them. He undoubtedly chose the better part when he omitted altogether the two episodes under consideration.

There are other things in *Rose and Cypress* that need to be studied, and I hope to take up some of these things in a second paper. But I think I have accomplished, in the main, what I set out to do. I have made it clear that the story-group *GMI*

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goes back to a combination of the werwolf story with an oriental fairy mistress story closely analogous to the extant *Rose and Cypress*. The fairy mistress story *F* must be sought, not in Ireland but in the orient.

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XXII

SUR LE *ZADIG* DE VOLTAIRE; QUELQUES INFLUENCES PROBABLES.

DE nombreuses recherches ont été faites pour retrouver les sources des romans de Voltaire, recherches fructueuses en ce qui concerne *Zadig*.[1]

L'objet de ce travail n'est nullement de remonter à des sources déjà mentionnées, mais bien d'indiquer des sources possibles, ou plutôt des rapprochements de quelque intérêt, entre le *Zadig* de Voltaire et certains ouvrages qui l'ont précédé. Dans les résumés et paralléles que nous ferons de *Zadig* et de ces oeuvres, les expressions en *italiques* seront tirées des auteurs mêmes.

1. Jamblique

Puisqu'il est reconnu que Voltaire s'est servi de quelques auteurs dans certains chapitres de *Zadig*, pourquoi n'aurait—il pas lu *Les Babyloniques* de Jamblique, écrivain grec d' origine syrienne qui vivait au IIe siècle? En fait, ce conte ressemble quelque peu aux *Babyloniques*, ouvrage aujourd'hui disparu, mais dont Photius nous a conservé un extrait dans sa célèbre *Bibliothèque*.[2] Si l'on fait abstraction de nombreuses scènes de magie dont cette oeuvre est encombrée, sa ressemblance avec *Zadig* est assez grande.

Babyloniaca, ou Les Babyloniques[3]:

Garmus, roi de Babylone, devient amoureux de la belle Sinonis qui aime Rhodanes, et la fait enchaîner. Le Roi ordonne de crucifier Rhodanes, mais ce dernier se sauve avec son amante. Deux eunnuques sont envoyés à la poursuite de Sinonis, avec ordre de la ramener à Babylone.

[1] On pourra consulter avec fruit: E. C. Fréron, *L'Année Littéraire*, 1767; G. Paris, *La Poésie du Moyen âge*, Paris, 1885; P. Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française*, Paris, 1906; S. Goulding, *Swift en France*, Paris, 1924; J. Dunlop, *The History of fiction*, London, 1845; A. F. Remy, *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*, N. Y., 1901; M. P. Conant, *The Oriental tale in England in the eighteenth century*, N. Y., Columbia Univ. Press, 1908; W. R. Price, *The Symbolism of Voltaire's novel with special reference to Zadig*, N. Y., Columbia Univ. Press, 1911; L. Frazer, "A Study in Literary Genealogy," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXI, 245–47; W. Seele, *Voltaire's Roman "Zadig," eine Quellen-forschung*, Reudnitz, 1891.

[2] *Myriabiblon sive Bibliotheca librorum quos legit et censuit Photius, patriarcha Constantinopolitanus.*

[3] Cf. S. Chardon de la Rochette, *Mélanges de critique et de philologie*, Paris, 1812, I, 34–52, 72–91. E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 388–409.

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Les messagers ne connaissent pas Sinonis, et, par une erreur d'identité, ils envoient deux autres jeunes filles successivement au roi. Sinonis est séparée de son amant qui la recherche en vain, la croit morte et veut se suicider. L'amoureux Rhodanes est finalement arrêté et ramené à Babylone pour subir le supplice de la crucifixion. Mais on apprend que Sinonis n'est pas morte, et qu'elle a trouvé un refuge en Syrie dont le roi va l'épouser. Garmus nomme Rhodanes général de son armée, mais il ordonne secrètement de le tuer s'il est victorieux et ramène Sinonis. Rhodanes triomphe, et il est probable que l'armée se révolte en sa faveur, puisqu'il devient roi de Babylone et épouse Sinonis. . . . .

Dans certains épisodes des *Babyloniques*, on mentionne un chien hyrcanien et un amoureux jaloux qui tue sa maîtresse et se suicide ensuite. Bien plus, grâce à son habileté et à ses qualités guerrières, Sorraechus, compagnon de Rhodanes, est nommé chef des Alains, troupes de barbares révoltés devenus brigands.

Le parallélisme du fond avec *Zadig* est assez frappant pour attirer l'attention.

Moabdar, roi de Babylone, est jaloux de Zadig qui aime Astarté et est aimé d'elle. Tous deux sont condamnés à mort, mais Zadig se sauve d'un côté et Astarté de l'autre. Les messagers du roi se lancent à la poursuite de la reine qu'ils ne connaissent pas, ils se trompent d'identité et envoient Missouf à Babylone. Zadig fait rechercher Astarté et se désespère parce qu'il la croit morte. La reine, tombée au pouvoir du prince d'Hyrcanie qui la veut mettre dans son harem, réussit à s'échapper, mais c'est Zadig qui, finalement la délivre. La révolution à Babylone est suivie d'une guerre étrangère où Moabdar est tué. Zadig, vainqueur dans les combats, épouse Astarté et devient roi de Babylone.

Dans les épisodes de *Zadig*, on mentionne un prince hyrcanien, et un amoureux jaloux qui bat sa maîtresse est tué. De plus, un chef de brigands, Arborgaste, traite Zadig en ami, et lui aussi devient indépendant grâce à son habileté et à ses qualités guerrières.

Voltaire avait-il lu *Les Babyloniques*? on ne saurait l'affirmer, mais il parle souvent de Photius,[4] et l'œuvre de Jamblique n'était inconnue ni au dix-huitième ni même au dix-septième siècle, témoin le roman de Gerzan qui lui emprunte un assez grand nombre d'épisodes.[5] Un érudit allemand, M. H. Rhode, insiste, du reste, sur la nécessité d' une étude approfondie de l'influence du roman érotique grec sur le roman français moderne, influence qu'il juge être très grande.[6]

[4] Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, éd. Moland, XI, Ch. 31, pp. 327–332; XXVII, 458.

[5] Cf. François de Soucy, sieur de Gerzan, *Histoire Afriquaine de Cléomède et de Sophonisbe*, Paris, 1627–1628.

[6] Rohde, *Op. cit.*, p. 405, note 1.

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2. Lucian de Samosate.[7]

Voltaire a souvent été comparé à Lucien, tant pour le style, que pour la satire et les idées. A les en croire tous deux, les religions positives ne sont que des impostures, et les prêtres des ignorants ou des charlatans. Un des contes sceptiques du satirique grec, un de ses chefs-d' oeuvre, *Le Banquet ou Les Lapithes*, parait bien avoir inspiré le chapitre du *Souper* dans *Zadig*.

Le Banquet ou Les Lapithes[8]*:*

Un certain nombre de philosophes, appartenant à des sectes différentes les unes des autres, sont conviés à un repas de noce. Chacun des philosophes prêche l'excellence de son système et attaque celui des autres, si bien que la discussion devient fort animée autour de la table. Echauffés par les mets et la boisson, les philosophes s'irritent de plus en plus et la querelle s'envenime. Une rixe cocasse éclate enfin, et la discussion se termine par des coups et par du sang.

Le Souper de Zadig[9]*:*

La religion y prend la place de la philosophie, mais la querelle n'en est has moins vive et ce n'est en somme qu'une imitation du *Banquet* de Lucien auquel Voltaire a joint un pacificateur. Il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître cette influence quand le Celte, un peu ému par des libations successives, menace de se battre avec tous ses voisins, à tel point que *la querelle s'échauffa pour lors, et Sétoc vit le moment où la table allait être ensanglantée.*

En se souvenant de l'oeuvre de Lucien, Voltaire n'a fait que suivre une tradition que Régnier et Boileau lui avaient léguée. Il s'intéressait tout particulièrement au satirique grec, ainsi que le prouve une de ses lettres au roi de Prusse, écrite trois ans après la publication de *Zadig*: "J'envoie à votre majesté ce dialogue de *Marc-Aurèle*. J'ai tâché de l'écrire, a la manière de Lucien."[10]

Les rapprochements que nous indiquons entre les oeuvres des deux auteurs syriens et de la sienne, n'auraient pas fort étonné M. de Voltaire, lui qui trouvait qu'il serait "amusant de nous faire voir s'il est vrai que nous avons pris des anciens tout ce que nous croyons avoir inventé; . . . . mais ce qui serait bien plus plaisant, ce serait de voir tous nos bons contes modernes pillés de la plus haute antiquité orientale."[11]

[7] Ecrivain grec d'origine syrienne qui vivait au II[e] siècle.

[8] L. Humbert, *Œuvres complètes de Lucien de Samosate*, Paris, 1896.

[9] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXI, 61–64.

[10] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXXVII, 384; cf. aussi XXV, 339–344, la *Conversation de Lucien, Erasme, et Rabelais dans les Champs Elysées.*

[11] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXX, 345.

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3. Cyrano de Bergerac

Dans une thèse sans originalité aucune, W. Seele s'étonne de n'avoir pu trouver rien qui puisse rappeler, même de loin, le perroquet de *Zadig*, ce qui porte à croire que ses recherches étaient bien superficielles. Les littératures se sont intéressées de tout temps au perroquet, grâce à la facilité que possède cet oiseau d'imiter la voix humaine. Au dix-septième siècle, la *Suite à l'Histoire véritable de Lucien*, par Perrot d'Ablancourt, a eu beaucoup de succès,[12] et nul n'ignore le triomphe, au siècle suivant, de *Ver-Vert*, ce charmant chef-d'oeuvre jésuitique, tout pétillant d'esprit et de malice.[13] Peut-être aussi, lors de la rédaction de *Zadig*, Voltaire se souvint-il des *Oiseaux* d'Aristophane?[14] Jusqu' à preuve du contraire, et quoiqu'il ne parle nulle part de cette oeuvre, nous penchons vers une réminiscence, involontaire probablement, de l' *Histoire des Oiseaux* de Cyrano de Bergerac.

Histoire des Oiseaux[15]*:*

Un aventurier nommé Dyrcona (anagramme de Cyrano), voyage dans l'empire du soleil, au pays des oiseaux. Ces derniers le condamnent à la mort, car ils haïssent l'homme, et le contemplent avec autant d'horreur que le feront plus tard les *Houyhnhnms* de Swift. On lui prépare un horrible supplice, mais il est sauvé grâce à l'intervention miraculeuse d'un perroquet. Dyrcona libéré, est ramené devant le roi, et l'oiseau sauveur se rappelle à lui en ces termes *Quoi! vous ne reconnaissez plus César, le perroquet de votre cousine, a l'occasion de qui vous avez tant de fois soutenu que les oiseaux raisonnent?*

Zadig[16]*:*

Dans *Zadig*, le perroquet appartient au roi et non pas à la cousine, mais lui aussi, sauve le héros d'un supplice immérité. Quand Zadig remercie l'oiseau de son intervention et émet des doutes sur la continuation de son bonheur, le perroquet lui répond si catégoriquement qu'il en est frappé. Zadig doit faire un effort sur lui-même, et en appeler à toutes les lumières du dix-huitième siècle, pour se souvenir qu'un perroquet ne pouvait ni raisonner ni être prophète.

[12] *Description de la république des oiseaux*, Collection des *Voyages Imaginaires*, Amsterdam, 1787, XIII, 56–83.

[13] J. B. L. Gresset, *Ver-Vert*, poème en quatre chants. La Haye, 1734.

[14] Comédie du satirique grec représentée en l'an 415 avant J-C. Voltaire n'avait du reste aucune sympathie pour Aristophane, voir ses Œuvres, t. 2, p. 14; t. 17, p. 469; t. 32, p. 350.

[15] Cyrano de Bergerac, Collection des *Voyages Imaginaires*, XIII, 353–461.

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Les *Voyages* de Cyrano de Bergerac ont exercé une influence profonde sur quelques esprits au dix-huitième siècle, sur celui de Swift en particulier; il n'y aurait donc pas lieu de s'étonner que Voltaire ait subi leur influence, même à son insu.

4. Jonathan Swift

Les rapports de Swift et de l'auteur de *Zadig* sont trop connus pour y insister, et nous savons tous que Swift fut le *Jonathan* de Voltaire durant l'exil de ce dernier en Angleterre.[17] Voltaire a été beaucoup influencé par le misanthrope anglais et son admiration pour lui ne s'est jamais démentie.[18] Les emprunts faits par Voltaire ont été signalés, mais de nombreux rapprochements, surtout en ce qui concerne *Zadig*, n'ont pas reçu toute l'attention désirable.

Les Voyages de Gulliver[19]:	*Zadig:*
(a) Dans la querelle religieuse entre les Gros et les Petits-Boutiens, le livre sacré des Lilliputiens dit que *tous les vrais croyants casseront leurs oeufs au bout convenable.* Un personnage ajoute: *or, á mon humble avis, c'est a la conscience d'un chacun ou du grand magistrat qu'appartient de déterminer quel est le bout convenable.*	Dans la querelle entre les Mages noirs et les Mages blancs, quand on ne peut décider de quel côté se tourner pour les prières, Zadig, en sa qualité de ministre, ordonne *qu'on se tourna comme on voudrait*[20]; ainsi que Swift, Voltaire se décide donc pour la tolérance.
(b) Pour l'attribution des emplois, les Lilliputiens font plus de cas de la vertu que de grandes capacités. *Les fautes commises par un honnête homme ignorant ne seront jamais fatales au bien public, tandis qu'un homme habile porté au mal peut multiplier et défendre ses méfaits.*[21]	Quand Zadig fait choisir au roi Nabussan le meilleur danseur pour l'élever à la position de receveur général, il lui dit: *Je ne vous réponds pas qu'il sera le plus habile, mais je vous assure que ce sera indubitablement le plus honnête homme.*[22]

Mention de Cyrano de Bergerac est faite dans les Œuvres de Voltaire, II, 28; VII, 536; XXVIII, 155.

[16] Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, t. 21, ch. 4, p. 43, et ch. 6, p. 46.

[17] Cf. G. Desnoireterres, *Voltaire et la société au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1871, I, 320.

[18] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXI, 174.

[19] "Voyage a Lilliput," ch. 4, *Gulliver's Travels*, Carisbrooke Library XI; ed. H. Morley, Lond. 1890, p. 76.

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(c) La querelle religieuse à *Lilliput* divise tous les esprits, et profitant du mécontentement général, l'empereur de *Blefuscu* envahit souvent le pays. Gulliver capture la flotte ennemie et termine heureusement la guerre.[23] La jalousie du trésorier et du grand-amiral met Gulliver en danger de mort. Un ami le prévient et il se sauve à *Blefuscu*.[24]

La jalousie de Moabdar met les jours de Zadig en danger, la reine le prévient et son ami Cador lui fournit les moyens de se sauver.[25] A *Serendib*, le roi Nabussan viole une loi religieuse en épousant une femme aux yeux bleus, d'où mécontentment général dans la nation. Grâce aux conseils de Zadig, le roi termine heureusement la guerre contre les ennemis qui envahissent le pays. L'inimitié et la jalousie des grands le rendent suspect et il doit se sauver.[26]

(d) L'empereur de *Blefuscu* offre à Gulliver sa gracieuse protection s'il accepte de le servir. Ce dernier le croit sincère, mais il décide" *de ne plus se fier ni aux princes ni aux ministres*.[27]

L'amitié du roi Nabussan fait trembler Zadig, et se souvenant de Moabdar, il se demande avec angoisse: *je plais au roi, ne serai-je pas perdu?*[28]

(e) Après l'aventure mémorable du singe, le roi de *Brobdingnac* se moque de Gulliver. Blessé dans son orgueil, ce dernier prend une pose hautaine et répond avec fierté. L'indignation de Gulliver produisit *un énorme éclat de rire*, et il s'aperçoit *que c'est le comble du ridicule pour un homme, de prétendre se faire valoir parmi ceux dont la position est hors de toute comparaison avec lui*.[29]

La hauteur, la fierté, et l'indignation de la reine Astarté, tombée au pouvoir du prince d'Hyrcanie, ne lui attire qu'un rire méprisant. Il la traite en demoiselle suivante, et la veut mettre en son harem comme on met *un perroquet dans sa ménagerie*.[30]

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[20] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXI, 49.
[21] "Voyage à Lilliput," ch. 6, *ed. cit.*, pp. 86–87.
[22] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXI, 67.
[23] "Voyage à Lilliput," ch. 4.
[24] *Ibid.*, ch. 6.
[25] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXI, 53–54.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.
[27] "Voyage à Lilliput," ch. 8.
[28] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, t. 21, p. 67.
[29] J. Swift, *Op. cit.*, *Voyage à Brobdingnac*, ch. 5, p. 153.
[30] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, t. 21, p. 80.

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(f) A l'académie de *Laputa*, Gulliver entre dans une salle qui, du mur au plafond, était tapissée de toiles d'araignées. Le professeur se lamente de l'erreur de l'humanité *en élevant les vers á soie, alors qu'il y a un si grand nombre d'animaux domestiques qui les surpassent infiniment.*[31]

Lorsque Zadig, devenu quelque peu misanthrope, se retire à la campagne, il s'adonne à l'étude des sciences de la nature. Les spéculations scientifiques ne lui disent rien qui vaille, cependant, et *il n'imagine point de faire de la soie avec des toiles d'araignée.*[32]

S'il en était besoin, d'autres rapprochements confirmeraient l' influence des *Voyages* de Swift sur l'esprit de Voltaire. A *Laputa*, par exemple, la classe dirigeante croit, à l'astrologie judiciaire, et c'est pourquoi tout va si mal;[33] le *Voyage chez les Houyhnhnms* n'est qu'un appel constant à la nature et à la raison,[34] suivi, naturellement, d'une attaque contre la justice et la bêtise des hommes. Il est bien inutile de faire remarquer que ce sont ces points qui font l'intérêt même de *Zadig*, si l'on veut bien faire abstraction de ses attaques contre le clergé et la philosophie de l'Eglise.

5. Abbé J. Terrasson

On ne peut qu'attirer l'attention sur le *Séthos* de l'abbé Terrasson,[35] dans lequel deux caractères de reines semblent rappeler un passage de *Zadig*.

Séthos[36]*:*

Osoroth, roi de Memphis, caractère plutôt indécis, rend son peuple heureux grâce aux conseils de la bonne reine Nephté. Avant la mort de cette dernière, il prend Daluca pour maîtresse, et l'épouse ensuite. Daluca est une femme mé-

Zadig:

Moabdar, roi de Babylone, administre sagement son royaume tant qu'il reste l'époux d'Astarté. Il prend Missouf pour maîtresse et, sans savoir si la reine est morte, il l'épouse. Missouf est méchante et capricieuse, son administration

[31] J. Swift, *Op. cit.*, *Voyage à Laputa*, ch. 5, p. 213. Swift s'est inspiré de la *Dissertation sur l'Araignée*, Paris, 1710, oeuvre de Bon de Saint-Hilaire, traduite en toute les langues, et qui fit l'objet d'un rapport favorable à l'Académie des sciences par le célèbre Réaumur. Il est probable que Voltaire ne s'en fut pas souvenu sans le sarcasme de Swift.

[32] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, t. 21, p. 37.

[33] J. Swift, *Op. cit.*, *Voyage à Laputa*, ch. 2, p. 196.

[34] *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*, Cf.: *Voyage chez les Houyhnhnms*, ch. 6, p. 284; ch. 8, p. 306; ch. 9, p. 312; ch. 10, p. 320.

[35] *Séthos* ne nous étant connu que par une analyse très succincte et quelques extraits.

[36] J. Terrasson, *Séthos*, Paris, 1731.

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chante et capricieuse; son administration, contrastant avec celle de la feue reine, corrompt les moeurs de la cour et le mécontentement est général. Les actes de Daluca amènent des troubles dans le pays, et les peuples voisins déclarent la guerre à Osoroth. fait du gouvernement une véritable pétaudière, le peuple est mécontent. Une révolution éclate à Babylone, les nations voisines envahissent le pays, Moabdar est tué.[37]

Peu intéressé tout d'abord à la lecture de *Séthos*, Voltaire change bientôt d'avis à propos du caractère de la reine Nephté. En fait, il considère que dans le portrait de la reine d'Egypte. Terrasson a surpassé, non seulement le *Télémaque*, mais bien encore les oraisons funèbres de Bossuet.[38] Une telle admiration peut fort bien l'avoir influencé pour les personnages d' Astarté et de Missouf.

6. S. Berington, ou Berkeley

Gaudentio di Lucca, voyage imaginaire à tendance philosophique, attribué à S. Berington, mais que M. Mornet signale être l'oeuvre de Berkeley, rappelle quelques endroits, et non des moindres, de *Zadig*. Est-ce à dire que Voltaire s'en soit inspiré? On n'oserait, certes, l' affirmer, cependant, un rapprochement s'impose. Nous n'avons pu trouver mention de *Gaudence de Luques*, ou de ses auteurs supposés dans l'oeuvre de Voltaire, mais deux traductions françaises de cet ouvrage parurent en 1746.

Gaudence de Luques[39]:

Gaudence de Luques fait le commerce dans le Levant, mais pris par un corsaire à son premier voyage, il est exposé en vente publique au Grand-Caire. Un marchand l'achète, parce qu'il désirait *un Homme de Lettres, qui fut en état de lui rendre compte des Arts, des Sciences, des Loix, des Coutumes des Chrétiens*, et que Gaudence s'entendait à la *Navigation, la Géographie, l'Astronomie, et plusieurs autres sciences*.[40]

Le marchand (en réalité, prince d'un pays inconnu du centre de l'A frique), traite Gaudence en ami tandis qu'ils traversent les déserts à dos de dromadaires, traversée aussi dangereuse que pénible. Le prince-

[37] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, t. 21, pp. 79–80.

[38] Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, t. 23, pp. 349–51.

[39] *Gaudentio di Lucca*, . . . faithfully translated from the Italian by E. T. Gent, London, 1737. (En réalité, c'est l'oeuvre originale de S. Berington. Voir Cf. *British Museum Catalogue*, XXXVII, 164.) Le texte employé ici, est le suivant: *Mémoires de Gaudence de Luques*, Amsterdam et à Leipzig, MDCCLIV.

[40] *Gaudence de Luques, Op. cit.*, 1re partie, p. 49.

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marchand adore le soleil et les astres, et ce culte idolâtre révolte Gaudence. Il lui dit: *que cette belle Planéte . . . . avoit été elle-même créée par un Dieu tout-puissant . . . . le Soleil ne faisant que se mouvoir par ses ordres, comme un être inanimé, incapable d'entendre nos prières.*[41] Gaudence, veut bien se joindre à son maître, mais *pour rendre de sincères actions de grâce au Dieu tout-puissant, de ce qu'il avoit créé le Soleil.*[42] Le marchand est déjà ébranlé. Gaudence continue ses attaques, et lui représente *qu'il étoit ridicule de penser que le Soleil fut l'auteur de cette harmonie, et de cette féconde variété qui régne dans toute la Nature. Le Soleil . . . . est un ininstrument dans la main de Dieu. . . . .*[43] Le prince-marchand devient chrétien.

Zadig.

Vendu comme esclave sur la place publique en Egypte, Zadig est acheté par le marchand Sétoc. La traversée du désert à dos de chameaux est pénible, et Zadig devient cher à son maître parce qu'il est intelligent et a une grande connaissance des sciences. Sétoc adore le soleil, la lune et les étoiles, Zadig s'en étonne, lui en démontre le ridicule, et le marchand, convaincu, adore l'être suprême.[44]

Nous n'avons pas cru devoir rappeler les sources et influences, probables ou non, déja signalées en ce qui concerne *Zadig*. Notre but est simplement d'attirer l'attention sur des rapprochements qui ne sont peut-être que des réminiscences de lectures ou même de simples coincidences, à l'exception des *Voyages de Gulliver* dont l'influence nous parait avoir été sous-estimée. Quelques-uns d' entre eux, cependant, pourront servir à mieux faire comprendre l'esprit et la méthode de travail de Voltaire.

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[41] *Ibid.*, 2e partie, pp. 33–34.
[42] *Ibid.*, 2e partie, p. 34.
[43] *Ibid.*, 4e partie, p. 30.
[44] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, cf. XXI, 57–58; et pp. 49–60.

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XXIII

BONALD AND BALZAC

BALZAC has summed up his literary theories in the foreword to the first collected edition of the *Comédie humaine*, written in July 1842, almost thirteen years after he had begun his gigantic task. Critics are divided in their opinion of this document, some considering it an important manifesto of Balzac's doctrine, others regarding it as simply an afterthought intended to give an appearance of unity to a confused mass of ideas.[1]

It is noteworthy, in support of the latter contention, that L. G. A. de Bonald died in 1840 and that Balzac presented himself in 1841 as a candidate for Bonald's seat in the Academy, "estimant être son disciple et bâtir *la Comédie humaine* sur les principes de la *Législation primitive* et de la *Théorie du pouvoir*."[2]

Balzac was steeped in Bonald's teachings at this period and reflects much of his philosiphy in the *Avant-Propos* at the expense of talking nonsense. Thus he says that his work must have a triple form: "les hommes, les femmes et les choses, c'est-à-dire les personnes et la représentation qu'ils [*sic*] donnent de leur pensée; enfin l'homme et la vie."[3] Why the work should have a *triple* form he does not say, but it recalls nothing so much as Bonald's *système ternaire*—power, minister and subject.[4]

Balzac quotes Bonald as the source for the statement that a writer is a teacher of men,[5] but he fails to acknowledge the authorship of the following paragraph, which might have been written by Bonald himself:

> L'homme n'est ni bon ni méchant, il naît avec des instincts et des aptitudes; la société, loin de le dépraver, comme l'a prétendu Rousseau, le perfectionne, le rend meilleur; mais l'intérêt développe aussi ses penchants mauvais. Le christianisme, et surtout le catholicisme, étant, comme je l'ai dit dans *le Médecin de campagne*, un système complet de répression

[1] Cf. Paul Bourget, *Études et Portraits*, Paris, 1905–1906, III, 55; E. Poitou, "M. de Balzac," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1856, VI, 720.

[2] A. de Bersaucourt, "Balzac et sa *Revue parisienne*," *Mercure de France*, LXXII, 50, p. 62.

[3] *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1869–1876, I, 4.

[4] Bonald, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1864, I, *passim*, e.g., *Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif de la société*, XIX, 106; *Théorie du pouvoir*, part I, xi, 213.

[5] *Avant-Propos*, p. 6. We have been unable to find this quotation in Bonald, but there is a similar one in *O.C.*, III, 1115–1116 (*Des Jeunes Écrivains*).

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des tendances dépravées de l'homme. est le plus grand élément d'ordre social.[6]

Hear Bonald:

L'homme naît *perfectible*, et a tout à recevoir de la société de ses semblables. . . . .[7] L'homme social est incontestablement devenu plus parfait, et l'on ne doit considérer l'homme que dans la société. . . . .[8] La société intellectuelle ou religieuse a pour objet la conservation de l'homme social par la répression de ses volontés dépravées. . . . .[9]

Balzac would have religious education, the union of Church and State (Catholicism and the monarchy) and, as a concomitant, suppression of popular government. The family, not the individual, is the unit of society:

L'enseignement ou, mieux, l'éducation par des corps religieux est donc le grand principe d'existence pour les peuples, le seul moyen de diminuer la somme du mal et d'augmenter la somme du bien dans toute société. . . . . L'unique religion possible est le christianisme. . . . . Le christianisme a créé les peuples modernes, il les conservera. . . . . Le catholicisme et la royauté sont deux principes jumeaux. . . . . J'écris à la lueur de deux vérités éternelles: la religion, la monarchie, deux nécessités que les événements contemporains proclament. . . . . L'élection, étendue à tout, nous donne le gouvernement par les masses, le seul qui ne soit pas responsable, et où la tyrannie est sans bornes, car elle s'appelle *la loi*. Aussi regardé-je la famille, et non l'individu, comme le véritable élément social. Sous ce rapport, au risque d'être considéré comme un esprit rétrograde, je me range du côté de Bossuet et de Bonald. . . . .[10]

Balzac acknowledges his indebtedness for the last of these ideas alone—the family as the social unit—but they are *all* to be found in Bonald's works with the same reasoning:

La société religieuse se joint à la société politique pour réprimer les volontés dépravées de l'homme ou ses passions. . . . . La volonté dépravée de l'homme est plus flexible dans l'enfance, parce qu'à cet âge il n'a pas contracté d'habitudes, et qu'il reçoit plus facilement toutes les impressions qu'on veut lui donner. Nécessité d'une éducation religieuse. . . . .[11] La religion chrétienne est . . . . une société monarchique. . . . . C'est cette identité parfaite de principes et de constitution, entre la monarchie

[6] *Avant-Propos*, p. 7.
[7] *Principe constitutif de la société*, I, 40.
[8] *Théorie du pouvoir*, col. 704.
[9] *Ibid.*, col. 176.
[10] *Avant-Propos*, pp. 7–8.
[11] *Théorie du pouvoir*, col. 176.

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religieuse et la monarchie politique, qui a fait la perfection et la véritable force, la force de conservation ou de restauration des États catholiques. . . . .[12] La société religieuse sera l'âme, la société politique sera le corps. . . . .[13] Le peuple n'a jamais été et . . . . il ne peut jamais être *souverain*: car où seraient les *sujets* quand le peuple est souverain? . . . .[14] La tyrannie n'est aujourd'hui à craindre que de la part d'une assemblée. . . . .[15] Le genre humain a commencé par une famille, et la preuve en est sensible, puisqu'il continue par des familles; et que, si on pouvait le supposer réduit à une famille, il suffirait d'une famille pour le recommencer. . . . .[16] En effet, l'élément de la société politique constituée est la famille propriétaire. . . . .[17]

We have already noticed that Balzac distinguishes between Catholicism and other forms of Christianity. After discussing morality in literature, he declares that the women in Walter Scott's novels seem unreal because, being Protestants, they lack the warmth and passion of Catholic women with their doctrine of repentance for sins:

Obligé de se conformer aux idées d'un pays essentiellement hypocrite, Walter Scott a été faux, relativement à l'humanité, dans la peinture de la femme, parce que ses modèles étaient des schismatiques. La femme protestante n'a pas d'idéal. Elle peut être chaste, pure, vertueuse, mais son amour sans expansion sera toujours calme et rangé comme un devoir accompli. . . . . Dans le protestantisme, il n'y a plus rien de possible pour la femme après la faute; tandis que, dans l'Église catholique, l'espoir du pardon la rend sublime. Aussi n'existe-t-il qu'une seule femme pour l'écrivain protestant, tandis que l'écrivain catholique trouve une femme nouvelle dans chaque nouvelle situation.[18]

This statement seems astounding, but it does not sound so original when we have read Bonald, who connects the coldness of the English temperament with the Reformation and the resultant rise of popular government:

L'événement qui, au XVIe siècle, divisa la société religieuse, porta le même désordre dans la société politique, et établit à la fois la religion presbytérienne et le gouvernement populaire. . . . .[19] L'Anglais est devenu

[13] *Principe constitutif*, XIX, 106.
[14] *Théorie du pouvoir*, col. 710.
[15] *Ibid.*, preface, I, 132.
[16] *Principe constitutif*, XI, 71.
[17] *Ibid.*, I, 39.
[18] *Théorie du pouvoir*, II, 558.
[19] *Avant-Propos*, pp. 10–11.
[20] *Principe constitutif*, XX, 107.

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moins *aimant*, depuis que sa religion et son gouvernement sont moins amour.[20]

Balzac states that he is not a sensationalist nor a materialist, as some people have supposed from his methods, and adds: "Je ne partage point la croyance à un progrès indefini, quant aux sociétés; je crois aux progrès de l'homme sur lui-même."[21] We have already seen that Bonald considers the individual perfectible, but he does not believe in the ultimate perfection of society through the doctrines of the sensationalists: "Comment les progrès de l'homme, dans les sciences naturelles, rendraient-ils la société plus parfaite, puisqu'ils ne rendent pas l'homme meilleur?"[22]

Balzac's disavowal of sensationalism is obviously a superficial borrowing from Bonald. It is a contradiction of his statement that he has studied humanity as the scientist studies animality.[23] Seven years before, he had allowed Davin to quote him as saying that "l'homme n'était en effet qu'une machine mobilisée par le jeu des sentiments au jeune âge, par l'intérêt et la passion dans l'âge mûr. . . . ."[24]

That Balzac is greatly indebted to Bonald for many of his ideas around 1840 is apparent from a study of his other writings at that time: literary criticism, prefaces and correspondence.[25]

In his review of Sainte-Beuve's *Port-Royal* (Aug. 10, 1840), Balzac repeats Bonald's views on the necessity of Catholicism and the monarchy.[26]

In his "Études sur M. Beyle (Frédéric Stendhal)," which appeared in the *Revue parisienne* of Sept. 25, 1840, Balzac divides contemporary literature into three apparently arbitrary classes: *la littérature des idées*, *la littérature des images* and *l'éclectisme littéraire*. To the first school belong Stendhal, Musset, Mérimée, Léon Gozlan, Béranger, Delavigne, Gustave Planche, Madame de

[20] *Théorie du pouvoir*, II, 675. To Bonald Catholicism and love are synonymous.

[21] *Avant-Propos*, p. 11.

[22] *Théorie du pouvoir*, col. 727.

[23] *Avant-Propos*, pp. 2–3.

[24] Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, *Hist. des oeuvres de H. de Balzac*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1888, p. 51.

[25] Bourget and Salomon point out the parallelism between certain ideas of Bonald and those of Balzac in novels, all of which were published in 1841 and at subsequent dates: *Ursule Mirouet* (1841), *Mémoires de deux jeunes mariées* (1841) and *L'Envers de l'histoire contemporaine* (1842–1848), *Bonald*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1905, pp. 47, 84, 267, 273.

[26] Balzac, *Œuvres complètes*, XXIII, 641.

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Girardin, Alphonse Karr, Charles Nodier and Henry Monnier. The second group is headed by Victor Hugo and had as its initiators Chateaubriand and Ballanche; it numbers among its followers Sénancour, Auguste Barbier, Théophile Gautier, Sainte-Beuve and de Vigny (through his poetry rather than his prose). The first group are "classicists", the second romanticists.

Balzac puts himself in the third division, which demands

une représentation du monde comme il est: les images et les idées, l'idée dans l'image ou l'image dans l'idée, le mouvement et la rêverie. . . . . Je ne crois pas la peinture de la société moderne possible par le procédé sévère de la littérature du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle. L'introduction de l'élément dramatique, de l'image, du tableau, de la description, du dialogue me paraît indispensable dans la littérature moderne.

Walter Scott is the leader of the eclectic school, to which belong, with Balzac, Madame de Staël, Cooper and George Sand.[27]

As puzzling as some of Balzac's classifications may be, we wonder still more at his terminology. Why *images*, *ideas* and *electicism*?

Again Bonald supplies the answer:

L'homme est esprit et corps; le style, *expression de l'homme*, sera donc idées et images; idées, qui sont l'expression d'objets intellectuels; images, qui sont la représentation ou la *figure* d'objets sensibles et corporels. Un bon style consiste dans un heureux mélange de ces deux objets de nos pensées.[28]

This concerns style alone, but, taken in conjunction with another passage from Bonald, it helps to explain much of Balzac's literary philosophy:

La manière dont le poëte fait agir et parler les *personnages* de son poëme, ou les êtres qu'il *personnifie*, s'appelle les *moeurs*. Dans ce sens, il y a les *moeurs* des animaux, les *moeurs* des plantes, les *moeurs* des hommes, les *moeurs* même des dieux, si le poëte les met en scène. Il y a les *moeurs* de l'âge et les *moeurs* du sexe. . . . . Ce sont là les moeurs de l'individu: mais la société a aussi les siennes, et comme elle est domestique ou publique, les moeurs seront privées ou publiques. . . . . A cette distinction générale de *moeurs* poétiques en moeurs privées et en moeurs publiques correspond une distinction générale des ouvrages d'esprit en deux genres: l'un, le genre familier, et en quelque sorte domestique, pastoral, géorgique, élégiaque, érotique, bachique, comique, qui chante les occupations, les plaisirs, les peines de l'homme privé, et représente les

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 688 ff.

[28] *Œuvres complètes*, III, *Du Style et de la littérature*, 976–977.

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scènes de la vie privée; l'autre, le genre héroïque, tragique, lyrique, épique, qui célèbre les grands personnages et les grands événements de la société publique, religieuse ou politique. Ces deux genres se confondent quelquefois dans un genre mixte ou plutôt bâtard, qui forme la comédie héroïque et la tragédie bourgeoise ou *drame*, qui montrent tantôt des hommes publics occupés d'affections privées, et tantôt des hommes privés livrés à d'éclatantes passions.[29]

To the first *genre* Balzac chose to apply Bonald's own term of *images*, to the second (classical) *idées*, but, in naming his own group, he chose the designation of *éclectisme*. Bonald's *comédie héroïque* closely resembles the *Comédie humaine* of the *Avant-Propos*, while "les scènes de la vie privée" have a very familiar ring.

In February 1841 Balzac wrote in the preface to *Le Curé de village*: "*Le Curé de village* devait être une œuvre supérieure à l'autre (*Le Médecin de campagne*), et comme plan, et comme idées, et comme images, et comme exécution: la religion n'est-elle pas plus grande que la philanthropie? elle est divine, l'autre est purement humaine."[30] Notice the insistence upon *idées* et *images*.

If the *Médecin de campagne* had happened to be philosophical rather than philanthropical in character, this would be an excellent paraphase for Bonald's statement: "La philosophie .... cherche un équilibre impossible entre l'intérêt et la passion; au lieu que la religion prend hors de l'homme, et dans Dieu même, le moyen de contenir l'homme."[31]

As for Balzac's correspondence at this period, we find two references to Bonald which are extremely important from different points of view. The first explains the apparently wide divergence between Balzac's religious theory and practice:

> *Politiquement*, je suis de la religion catholique; je suis du côté de Bossuet et de Bonald, et ne dévierai jamais. *Devant Dieu*, je suis de la religion de Saint-Jean, de l'église mystique, la seule qui ait conservé la vraie doctrine. Ceci est le fond de mon coeur. On saura, dans quelque temps, combien l'oeuvre que j'ai entreprise est profondément catholique et monarchique.[32]

The second reference, dated August 7, 1844, places in juxtaposition the names of the great naturalist, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, and of Bonald, the enemy of natural history.[33] Balzac writes to

[29] *Ibid.*, *Du Mérite de la lit. ancienne et moderne*, col. 969.
[30] *Œuvres complètes*, XXII, 547.
[31] Bonald, *Théorie du pouvoir*, col. 708.
[32] *Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 48 (July 1842).
[33] Faguet, *Politiques et moralistes du XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1891, I, 96.

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Madame Hanska: "Vos lectures sur Bonald me font assez plaisir; c'est un grand penseur, à qui le style a manqué, comme à Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, un géant tardif qui n'a pas su écrire."[34]

This thoroughly typical readiness of Balzac to combine unhesitatingly in his mind and in his work the apparently irreconcilable doctrines of religion and science has been happily described by Paul Bourget.[35]

The philosophy of the *Avant-Propos* is Bonald's and there is nothing in Balzac's writings anterior to 1840 to indicate that he had more than a smattering of these ideas before that date. Bonald's *Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif de la société*, from which we have quoted liberally in connection with Balzac's *Avant-Propos*, was not published until 1830, a year after the *Comédie humaine* was begun.

The titles, *Études de moeurs* and *Scènes de la vie privée*, may have been suggested by a reading of Bonald at an early date, but we know that the complete conception of the *Comédie humaine* was not formed until 1838[36] and was first realized in 1842. It was a gradual evolution, not a sudden and complete inspiration, as Balzac would have us believe,[37] and we are forced to the conclusion that Bonald was used to give an intellectual tone to a heterogeneous mass, parts of which were distinctly popular.

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[34] *Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 416.

[35] *Nouvelles Pages de critique et de doctrine*, Paris, 1922, I, 57–58.

[36] See my article, "Dating Balzac's Adoption of the Title of 'La Comédie humaine'," *Mod. L. Notes*, XLII, 525–526.

[37] *Avant-Propos*, pp. 1 ff.

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XXIV

CHARLOTTE SMITH, PRE-ROMANTIC NOVELIST

TIME and the critics have dealt but scurvily with Charlotte Smith, since she has been completely forgotten, being neither as bad as the Minerva Press nor as striking as Ann Radcliffe. The relative position these two novelists held in the years before the publication of *Udolpho* has been exactly reversed,[1] and this is perhaps an injustice since no little of Ann Radcliffe's success was due to the help and example of her rival.[2]

The modern critics are wont to dismiss the sentimental adventure novel that flourished in the 1780's and 90's with a disdainful smile and the epithet of "cheap" sentimentality,[3] but their knowledge of this literaure is often inexact as is often seen in their having to argue a German influence or, what is just as faulty, to make *Otranto* the sole parent of this body of narratives.[4] As readers of newspapers and best sellers we are certainly familiar with modern "cheap" sentimentality, but this term no longer signifies that eighteenth-century philosophy of the heart, which, as bookish and as open to the charge of insincerity as it was, fostered conceptions and developed characterizations that were in essence thoroughly romantic. Through this "sensibility" Byron is akin to Rousseau; from it came the German *Schicksals-tragödie* and an

[1] A typical contemporary evaluation is found in *Literary Memoirs of Living Authors*, London, 1798, vol. II, p. 268. "Considered as a novel writer only, though the powers of pleasing are very great, Mrs. Smith has a few superiors among her country women; considered as a poet only, the number of these will be found exceedingly small; but, if considered as to her union of both these characters, we know of no lady who has superior pretensions."

[2] Georges Meyer, *Revue Germanique*, V, 1909, p. 509 ff. voices the usually accepted opinion that *The Monk* was the only contemporary novel to influence Mrs. Radcliffe.

[3] This seems to be the attitude of F. E. Pierce, *Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation*, New Haven, 1918, p. 20. Ibid. p. 35, "What the late eighteenth century welcomed in her [Radcliffe] and the mature nineteenth rejected, appear to have been chiefly her subterranean Gothic machinery and her half Ossianic, half Richardsonian sentimentality." It would be more accurate perhaps to substitute "French" for "Ossianic."

[4] Michael Sadleir, *The Northanger Novels*, *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1927, finds himself compelled to look for a German source for the sentimental type. "Both hero and heroine [of Mrs. Roche's *Clermont*] are children of sorrow (this feature, inherited from *Werter's Leiden*, persists like the Hapsburgh nose through the family of Gothic romance) and their mutual sympathy had its origin in a common melancholy."

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impulse toward the "*roman-personnel*": it provided the atmosphere for the Gothic, turned the attention to landscape, and was a political and ethical doctrine. Because of it all of the women novelists at the turn of the century, save Hannah More and Clara Reeve, were in sympathy with the Revolution.[5]

The critics of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Critical Review* and other periodicals of the day exactly understood the anti-classical nature of sensibility, and a large portion of the bitterness with which they greeted the "female" novel was due to their antagonism to "feeling" and their championing of reason. They usually paraded under the banner of morality, but their real cause was literary and political conservatism. Thus they passed by the tearful sentimental hero Saint-Preux to attack Julie's domestic arrangements. In the same spirit Mrs. Barbauld[6] criticized Charlotte Smith's translation of *Manon Lescaut*, and her *Desmond*. These cries of supposedly offended decency, supplemented by articles pointing out the danger to the young girl in novel reading did not check the rising enthusiasm for the novelistic champions of the heart against the head.[7]

The sentimental hero is born with a finer and more responsive organ of feeling, and because of this he is different from his fellows, and curiously enough, proud of it. He is an aristocrat no matter what "the author of his days" may be, and the sign of his rank is melancholy, a consequence no doubt of his having retained only the romanesque and emotional aspects of religion, for

[5] The political features of Mrs. Smith's *Desmond*, 1792, *The Banished Man*, 1794, and *The Young Philosopher*, 1798, have been overstressed. They are first of all adventure novels. They will not be described in this article, since this has been done by Allene Gregory, *The French Revolution and the English Novel*, New York, 1915; G. Adolph Frisch, *Der Revolutionäre Roman in England: seine beeinflussung durch Rousseau*, Pforzheim, 1914; Lilly Bascho, *Englische Schriftstellerin in ihren beziehungen zur französischen Revolution*, *Anglia*, XLI, 1917, p. 185. In the last one reads that in *Desmond* the author tried to combine the technique of Richardson and Fielding. There is nothing of Fielding here: the model of *Desmond* is that gloomy and tearful *Sidney Bidulph*, 1761, that made Dr. Johnson weep—an imitation of *Clarissa Harlowe*.

[6] Preface to *Old Manor House* (*British Novelists*, 1810, vol. XXXVI).

[7] Among the advocates of sensibility was Sir Egerton Brydges. In his *Imaginary Biography*, 1834, vol. II, p. 96, he defends *Desmond*. "Yet this Mrs. Smith is the writer whose works have been deemed immoral! Immoral? by whom? By people who read with pleasure of fashionable intrigues, and wade with pleasure through all the base and stupid ordure of a circulating library! Who delight with the filthy amours of *Tom Jones* and *Peregrine Pickle;* who are enraptured with stories of ghosts and ruffians, and rapes and murders."

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he rejects its ascetic and positive doctrines.[8] Corresponding to his unique character is his unique fate; he is born to love and to suffer, this last no doubt in the way of a counterbalance to his superior capability of enjoying the fatal passion which is the chief affair of his life. In fact, emotion and imagination have full sway; reason is practically non-functioning, and this puts a great emphasis on passivity, the quality that Henry Mackenzie, author of the *Man of Feeling*, "discovered" in Hamlet who for a while was bracketed along with the hesitant and passive Saint-Preux.[9]

It hardly seems necessary to add here that sensibility was not as R. Brimley Johnson believes[10] the exclusive privilege of ladies, yet in the English novel the sentimental heroine was given the most attention, naturally enough after Richardson and in consequence of the feministic viewpoint of the writers. Because in England women wrote most of the novels, Saint-Preux, Werther and René had no worthy counterparts in England until Byron.

It is to the line of sentimental novels that began with Richardson and then became more romanesque and adventure-like because of the influence of Prevost that Charlotte Smith belongs. In her early poems which she dedicated to William Hayley, disciple of Cowper, after warning us in the preface that her sonnets will find readers only "among the few, who to sensibility of heart join simplicity of taste" we find that she continually strikes the note of melancholy.[11] The poetess is a "poor wearied pilgrim in this toiling scene" who because of her keener sensibility and superior talent must bear the pain of a festering thorn in her breast.[12] Not even the beauty of the South Downs can "teach a

[8] The religious-sentimental convent in *The Italian*, vol. III, p. 118, is a curious late expression of this. The abbess's religion "was neither gloomy nor bigotted: it was the sentiment of a grateful heart offering itself up to a Deity who delights in the happiness of his creatures; and she conformed to the customs of the Roman church without supposing a faith in all of them to be necessary to salvation." Here Ellena "worships" by yielding "alone and unobserved .... to the melancholy which she endeavored to suppress in society ....."

[9] See A. C. Bradley, *Shakspearean Tragedy*, 1922, p. 92. "How significant is the fact .... that it was only when the slowly rising sun of Romance began to flush the sky that the wonder, beauty, and pathos of the most marvellous of Shakespeare's creations began to be visible!"

[10] *The Women Novelists*, London, 1918, p. 18.

[11] *Elegiac Sonnets and Other Essays*, Chichester, 1784.

[12] Her admirer, Egerton Brydges, *Imaginary Biography*, 1834, vol. II, p. 101. writes, "Sorrow was her constant companion; and she sang with a thorn at her

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breaking heart to throb no more." Three of the sonnets are supposed to be written by Werther, "passion's helpless slave" who, "scorning reason's mild and sober light pursues the path that leads but to the Grave."

Certainly some of this is pose. Later the author had a better right to such a dark view when life actually visited her with more misfortunes than befell the lot of many a heroine of fiction. She was left motherless in early girlhood and was delivered over to the care of an aunt who tried to give her a fashionable education, with the result that she read novels and wrote verse instead of following a sane educational plan. At sixteen she was married to the son of a wealthy West Indian merchant and introduced to the "dissipation of London." She separated from her husband after bearing him twelve children. Most of her married life had been a Gypsy-like wandering from place to place: Southgate, Lys Farm, a gloomy ruin of a chateau in Normandy, Woodlading and the King's Bench itself, where Mr. Smith's "affairs" brought him. It seems that most of the Smith family's troubles came from the husband's inability to act as executor of his grandfather's estate. A less likely story ascribes the endless commerce with chicaning lawyers that was Mrs. Smith's lot to her attempting to realize claims founded on her relation to the Sidneys, Earls of Leicester.[13] The fact that she continually attacked lawyers as the dishonest agents of her father-in-law's trustees, who refused to contribute as she wished to the rearing of her family, seems to disprove this. There were still other tribulations: a favorite daughter made an unfortunate marriage with the worthless Chevalier de Faville, an

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bosom, which forced out strains of melody expressive of the most affecting sensations, interwoven with the rich hues of an inspired fancy."

[13] See the obituary notice, *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXVI, p. 1073, which I have quoted for this. Mrs. Smith was at one time a contributor to this periodical. At the time of her death a daughter, probably the novelist Maria Lavinia, was said to have been collecting her correspondence with the idea of writing her mother's biography, but nothing seems to have come of this. In a footnote to one of Andrew Caldwell's letters to Bishop Percy (*Nichol's Illustrations of Lit.* vol. VIII, p. 35) one reads that Mrs. Smith's "embarrassments arose from the wild and ruinous projects of her husband, and other absurdities. Upon her expressing a wish to a gentleman that he [her husband] could be engaged in some rational pursuit, he suggested that his enthusiasm might be most safely directed to Religion. "Oh," said she, "for Heaven's sake, do not put it into his head to take to Religion, for if he does, he'll instantly set about building a cathedral." J.M."

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emigrê, and three of her sons met various ill fortunes in the army and navy.[14]

More amazing perhaps than this string of misfortunes, is Mrs. Smith's willingness to touch upon her private griefs in her writings. That a Lady Vane should try to vindicate herself in a novel is curious, but for a respectable gentlewoman, and above all a novelist—for only the most brazen of these dared sign her name to her novel—to air her domestic trials was very unusual indeed, and is only to be accounted for by the sentimentalist's itch for self-revelation, and the influence of the new feminism. Doubtless our author often thought of herself as a romantic heroine in what was then called an "interesting" situation, and this is seemingly corroborated by her constant recurrence to the theme of a badly married wife helped by a thoughtful *sensible* lover. We admire her pluck in attacking the pettifoggers, but pity her indiscretion in publically ridiculing her husband. While he always cut a ridiculous figure in a novel, she drew quite flattering pictures of herself as a contrast.

Yet she did not let sentimental pathos completely veil reality; a strain of the matter-of-fact shows itself now and again. This was the side of her that took pleasure in Fanny Burney's social satire, urged her to emulation, and caused her to attempt a comedy of the Goldsmith-Sheridan type.[15]

The Old Manor House (1793), while not without romantic elements, is the best expression of this more matter-of-fact vein. The heroine is an orphan—a genuine orphan who neither turns out to be of noble extraction nor an heiress, the dour old Mrs. Rayland is almost worthy of Jane Austen, and there is more than a hint of real English flavor in the setting. In other novels when the official robes of the high priestess of sensibility slip away, she

[14] *Marchmont*, 1796, deals principally with the difficulties a young man of family encounters in making his way owing to the thoughless extravagance of a father. *The Banished Man*, 1794, is partly founded upon her daughter's affair with Faville, in the novel, D'Alonville. The author pictures herself here as Mrs. Denzil. In *Emmeline* her husband is the extravagant Mr. Stafford, and she the long-suffering benevolent wife.

[15] *What is She?*, 1799. In this the author satirizes the Minerva Press, the *Schauerroman*, and sham sensibility. As an example of the last she has Sir Caustic Oldstyle say, "There again, her feelings—her sensibility—what! I suppose she sighs over the distresses of a novel—wipes her eyes while a ghost in an opera comes out of his tomb to accompany the orchestra; but is shocked too much at real misery to suffer its approach."

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strikes chords quite out of harmony with the usual strain. For example, Geraldine is made to say of Lovelace: "that character does not exist now; there is no modern man of fashion who would take a hundredth part of the trouble that Richardson makes Lovelace take, to obtain Helen herself, if she were to return to earth."[16] Or Ethelinde refuses to marry her faithful but poverty-stricken lover because such a union would only bring "poor brats into the world."

Akin to this realism is the satire modelled after that in *Evelina* and *Cecilia;* yet she manages to keep this element subordinate. Social satire of a kind is one of the natural developments of sensibility, since it is founded on the idea of contrast in capabilities of "feeling": callous heart and cold reason clash with the high-strung susceptibility of the aristocrats of emotion. Thus Anna Howe's lampooning of Solmes and the Harlowes may be considered a precedent for Burney's Brangtons, the immediate model for Mrs. Smith's *nouveau riche* Ludfords,[17] the Woodfords,[18] the Misses Crofts[19] and the like. But the lawyers, insists our author, come from real life.[20] Fanny Burney's novels themselves are not free from sentimentality, as is clear from characters like Macartney and Belfield, and situations like that of Cecilia's losing her way in London.

While satire allies the Smith novel with neo-classical tendencies, the exotic and poetic landscapes are romantic, and here we find our author an innovator, for while Frances Brooke (1745–1789)[21] introduced American scenery and Rousseauian countrysides, and Walpole, Clara Reeve and Sophia Lee[22] tenebrous castles, grottos and subterranean passages with other romantic accessories, she was the first in England to give an appreciable attention to romantic landscape description.

[16] *Desmond*, vol. II, p. 214. This novel contains her most notable political caricatures: the lordling Newminister who idolizes his hound Bichey, the stingy hypocritical bishop, and the bragging General Wallingford.

[17] *Ethelinde.*

[18] *Old Manor House.*

[19] *Emmeline.*

[20] Yet she knew the lawyers in *Cecilia.*

[21] Translator of Mme. Riccoboni's *Lady Catesby's Letters*, 1760, and author of *Julia Mandeville*, 1763; *Emily Montague; The History of Miss West; The Excursion;* and *Charles Mandeville.*

[22] Miss Lee's *Recess* with its Gothic ruin, the Abbey Saint-Vincent, hermit's grotto, underground passages and graveyard—a synthesis of romantic properties—an imitation of *Cleveland*, influenced both Mrs. Smith and Ann Radcliffe.

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She was acquainted with the descriptions of Gessner, Rousseau, Marmontel, Florian and Mme. de Genlis,[23] and like the first of these was fond of the pastoral, the exotic, the sublime; like the last she fostered a taste for the tenebrous as well. Her characters feel a strange sympathy with the chill and hollow night wind as it groans in the leafless trees, the cemeteries and the corridors of deserted chateaux, or when it whips the waves to fury and piles high lightning-illumined clouds. "Such was the gloomy temper of my soul, that I was pleased only with horrors," declares Mrs. Vyvian, who haunted the catacombs of an ancient convent.[24] In an old chapel on the Isle of Skye "the ground sounded hollow beneath their feet, and a mournful echo ran around the damp walls. The moon, darting for a moment through the ruined stone-work of the dismantled window showed them a broken table that had once been an altar, on which some pieces of Gothic ornaments of the chapel were scattered. . . . ."[25] There is an air of terror, gloom and sublimity thrown over her old castles, tombstones of the past and symbols of feudal oppression which she preferably locates in Spain, France or Italy. She attempted the sublime and beautiful in her mountain scenery of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and landscapes of Italy, Languedoc, America and the Hebrides. In *Desmond* and *Celestina* we see the France of Rousseau; there are happy peasants dancing beneath a smiling sky and surrounded by romantic scenery. The play of color and shade on a mountain side is noted, and even the names of the exotic flora indicated. "The landscapes of Mrs. Radcliffe are far from equal in accuracy and truth to those of her contemporary Mrs. Charlotte Smith, whose sketches are so very graphical, that an artist would find little difficulty in painting from them," wrote Walter Scott.[26] Yet she is not always accurate, for she moved the Louisiana of *Manon Lescaut* north to the St. Lawrence,[27] but if she went slightly amiss in her exotic scenery, she made up for it in her English landscapes, which are as accurate as they are poetic.

[23] The landscapes in *Adèle et Théodore* and the settings of D'Arnaud's *théâtre noir* were especially influential.

[24] *Montalbert*, vol. II, p. 74.

[25] *Celestina*, vol. III, p. 50.

[26] *Lives of the Novelists*, ed., 1826, vol. I, p. 228.

[27] *Old Manor House*, vol. II, p. 150. The spring is described as coming with miraculous rapidity, savannahs are filled with cattle, and tropical vegetation abounds.

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Charlotte Smith wrote three successful novels before Ann Radcliffe fixed the public eye with her first long narrative in 1791. The translation of *Manon Lescaut*, which was followed by a collection of tales from the *Causes Célèbres*[28] (this last is clear evidence of the decline in which the literature of sentiment was beginning to sink in consequence of its inevitable search for still stronger stimuli), preceded her first original narrative, *Emmeline, or the Orphan of the Castle* (1788). There is a distant resemblance here to *Cecilia*, but the tone and conception is different, since the chief purpose is to follow the pathetic trials of a *sensible* heroine delivered over to the persecution of an insistent and impetuous lover,[29] and heir to the calamities incident to an unprotected existence in an unfeeling and adventurous world. For example, the apology for Adelina, the victim of "unrestrained sensibility" and mother of an illegitimate child, so distasteful to the reviewer,[30] is certainly not in the Burney vein. *Emmeline* is notable for two things: the innovation of the romantic description of the Isle of Wight, and the fact that its method and plan is that employed in the later novels of Mrs. Smith and the most successful ones of Ann Radcliffe.[31]

The second novel, *Ethelinde*,[32] like its predecessor, utilized the *Dean of Killerine*.[33] The question put there, "What response should be made to the love of a virtuous and *sensible* man who had married the wrong woman" is asked here twice. Lady Newenden hates Westmoreland scenery, the ruinous condition of her husband's country seat, Grasmere Abbey,—a great cold place that struck her as damp as a family vault—and languishes for London and Bath. What more could be said to confirm us in the

[28] She called this *The Romance of Real Life*, 1787, and selected from Guyon de Piteval and Richter tales that "might lead us to form awful ideas of the force and danger of the human passions."

[29] This lover is more like Linch in the *Dean of Killerine* than like Floyer of *Cecilia*.

[30] *Analytical Review*, July, 1788, p. 327. The writer bewails the influence of such a novel on young women, disapproves especially of Adeline and child, but praises the romantic landscapes.

[31] Of course, the old castle, that necessary article, is found here.

[32] *Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake*, 1789. It ran several editions, was translated into French, and drew favorable comment from the press: e.g. *Analytical Review*, Dec., 1789, p. 484.

[33] Fanny Burney was fond of this novel. See *Early Diary*, vol. I, p. 4. The situation of Monckton and wife (*Cecilia*), not unlike this in *Ethelinde*, is one among several that Burney took from Prevost.

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certainty of her depravity? We are not surprised when she absconds with the licentious lord who had formerly been so troublesome to Ethelinde. To repay Newenden's benevolence to her wild brother and her weak father, Ethelinde cares for his children. Her lover, the poor recluse of the lake, gone to India to make his fortune, is reported dead. Should Ethelinde marry Newenden who is now a widower? She works herself into a passion trying to make a decision; amid the terrible accompaniment of thunder she imagines her father's ghost visits her with a consoling message. Her lover does return, and with him a rich uncle like Warner in *Sidney Bidulph*, and the poor Newenden is forced to add the virtue of renunciation to his already lengthy list.[34]

There is more romantic landscape than in *Emmeline*. Metastasio is quoted in the description of the lake[35] which is quite as noteworthy as that of the sea off Dorset,[36] the castle in the storm, and the family graveyard with its cypress, mouldering walls and wind "murmuring hollow among the ruinous buildings." The atmospheric preparation for the appearance of the ghost is exactly like that which became famous as "Radcliffian" and which really is as old as *Cleveland*, if not older, and illustrates the usual combining of states of high sentimental tension with the melodramatic terror of ghosts. Consequently the novel of terror is also a novel of sensibility as written by the female novelists of this period.[37]

Celestina,[38] the last of the Smith novels that need be described

[34] Victorine, rescued from a convent in Spain where evil priests had caused her to be sent, turns out to be the rich uncle's natural daughter. She is a forestudy of Celestina.

[35] Qui se spiega la notte il fosco velo
Nel mare emulo al cielo, etc., etc.

[36] *Ethelinde*, vol. V, p. 38.

[37] Edith Birkhead, *Sentiment and Sensibility in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, (Essays and Studies by Members of the Eng. Assn.) Oxford, vol. XI, p. 92 ff. seems to make the mistake of regarding the tale of terror as distinctly different from the pathetic sentimental narrative. Nevertheless the article cited here is the best account of the English sentimental novel to date. The author appears to think that Prevost's best novel *Manon Lescaut* should have had the most imitators, and consequently underestimates Prevost's influence, since it was *Cleveland* and the *Dean of Killerine* that were imitated the most often. She has little to say about Charlotte Smith.

[38] *Celestina, a Novel*, 1791, A second edition was issued the same year. Mme. de Rome translated it in 1795 as *Celestina, ou la Victime des Préjugés*. The *Décade Philosophique* in an article that put the novel over history and Richardson and

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here, since it is the last to appear before Ann Radcliffe's first success, *The Romance of the Forest*, is still more romantic than its predecessors. One part consists of a description of the Pyrenees, quite in the spirit of the Rocks of Meillerie, a graphic picture of the old castle of Rochemorte, and the Gothic story that explains the origin of the heroine.

The love-sick Willoughby, medicining his sick soul with the sublimities of the Pyrenees, happens on the castle of Rochemorte, late the seat of a proud, ferocious and superstitious old baron who had cast his own son into the Bastille. Willoughby meets this son, lately liberated. He is a typical hero of sensibility:

> . . . . his face, pale, sallow, and emaciated as it was, was marked with such a peculiar expression, that all the adventures of his life seemed to be written there. When he spoke, his dark eyes were full of fire and vivacity, yet at times they were wild; and at others, heavy and glazed—his brows were a little contracted, and hollowness about his temples and cheeks, and the strong muscles of his whole face, seemed to bear the harsh impressions of the hand of adversity.

This is De Bellegarde, who had run away from Rochemorte to the wars. Hearing that his sister is persecuted by a priest, a favorite of the baron, De Bellegarde returns secretly with an English friend Ormond. They manage to talk with the sister, Genevieve, who is accompanied by her friend Jacqueline. All four are mutually smitten with love, are secretly married, and to avoid the suspicious priests and populace, live in a ruined wing of the castle. A monk betrays them, and the furious baron puts his son in prison, Jacqueline in a convent, and takes Genevieve's baby from her. The evil priest now gains complete control, marries his sister to the old baron, and turns Rochemorte into a licentious palace. Finally De Bellegarde is released to fight in America, where he finds the dying Ormond. When the baron dies, De Bellegarde returns, hoping to take his wife from the convent. Celestina is Genevieve's child: she had been taken from a convent by the charitable Mrs. Willoughby.

This tale of cruelty and priestly lust with its setting in the Romance lands was exactly to the taste of the "tender-hearted" readers of the time. The other part of the story is nearly as romantic. Willoughby is prevented from marrying Celestina by the

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Fielding over the French novelists, *Celestina* was praised highly. Cited by J. Merlant, *Le Roman Personnel*, Paris, 1905, p. 88.

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scheming Lady Castlenorth, who tells him such a union would be incest. He wanders disconsolately through France and Spain, while Celestina follows friends to the romantic Isle of Skye, where "images of horror, the wild and dreary scenes" are agreeable to her soul. A Des Grieux-like lover follows her even here, but is forced to be satisfied with Celestina's cousin when Willoughby returns, having proven Lady Castlenorth a liar.

Celestina is typical of the sentimental adventure novel of the time, and in point of influence is perhaps the most important of Mrs. Smith's tales. *The Romance of the Forest* would never have taken the form it did had not *Celestina* been written. The greater part of Mrs. Smith's work was written after this novel, but no entirely new elements were added, and often she fell below her standard of achievment.[39] Here we must content ourselves with mentioning *Montalbert* (1795) which shows that borrowing can work two ways since it took from *Udolpho* and gave to *The Italian*. The heroine is the illegitimate fruit of a *sensible* love affair, and a cruel grandfather is given all the blame; she has as mother-in-law the heartless Italian zealot Mme. Belcastro.[40] There are two ghost-haunted ruins, and these with the melodrama of the Messina earthquake and a midnight escape through subterranean vaults, indicate a shift to more sensational material, yet Walsingham, the wandering victim of a malign fate, a development of Sir Edward Newenden (*Ethelinde*), Montague Thorold (*Celestina*) and Du Pont (*Udolpho*) proves that sentimental themes are not neglected. After saving Rosalie and falling in love with her, it costs him a mighty struggle to give her up to her husband. Yet he does this and sends the following verse to Rosalie:

> Mon coeur n'a plus rien sur la terre,
> Je ne peux plus aimer, je ne peux mourir,
> Pure et sainte amitié, doux chaine de la vie,
> Je t'immolai l'amour; mais qu'il m'en coute.

[39] A list of her later work follows: *Desmond*, 1792; *Darcy*, 1796 (or earlier); *Old Manor House*, 1793; *Wanderings of Warwick*, 1794; *Banished Man*, 1794; *Montalbert*, 1795; *Marchmont*, 1796; *Young Philosopher*, 1798; *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, 1798–1801 (a series of tales like Sophia and Harriet Lee's *Canterbury Tales*, 1797-1801). Some of the titles are: *Palsgrave Abbey*, *Corisande de Beauvilliers*, *The Caledonian Bandit*. There were nine editions of her sonnets by 1800; the *Romance of Real Life* was reprinted at Aberdeen in 1847. *What is She?* is of 1799, and *Beachy Head and Other Poems* was published 1807. She also wrote occasional pieces, juvenile works like her *Rural Walks in Dialogues*, and translated Kotzebue's *Zaida*.

[40] The model for Vivaldi's mother in the *Italian*.

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> Rends du moins le repos a mon âme flétrie:
> Je remplis mon destin, je suis né pour souffrir,
> Mon coeur n'a plus rien sur la terre.

These lines make it clear that sensibility is largely egoism parading behind a mask of melancholy gravity.

A certain restraint that usually stopped her short of sheer melodrama, a style in its happiest moments clear, rapid and readable, although sometimes too poetic or slightly affected, and a facility in construction raises Charlotte Smith much above the average novelist of her day. Her greatest innovation was description, since Sophia Lee, Clara Reeve and other English imitators of Prevost and D'Arnaud had already introduced French sensibility. With Mrs. Smith the pictorial, whether macabre, exotic or pastoral, became an important element in the novel. Her influence was immediate,[41] and is most noteworthy in the work of Ann Radcliffe.

This writer could have obtained neither her romantic landscape nor the pattern of a long sentimental adventure novel from *Otranto*. Consequently it is necessary to look elsewhere, to the *Recess* of her Bath schoolmistress,[42] and to Charlotte Smith, for her models. In these one meets the same general conception and plan, the same treatment of the supernatural, and often the same situations, themes and characters. The sensibility of the Radcliffian heroine is manifested by the intensity of her passion, by the love of nature and retirement, and by her almost pathological craving for experiencing fear. The emphasizing of the last element and the building of an elaborate technique for it, is the chief difference between Mrs. Radcliffe and her predecessors. She borrowed ideas and situations from Mrs. Smith, but the chief indebtedness is on the score of description. While Gilpin's essays gave encouragement, and Mrs. Piozzi and Swinburne were levied upon, the precedent for introducing such material in the novel was given by Mrs. Smith, whose *Celestina*, praised highly for its descriptions of Languedoc and Gascony, was published just before[43] the *Romance of the Forest*, the first Radcliffian work to make much of landscape description and to be of the usual three-volume length.

[41] Helen Maria Williams and Mary Robinson were among her imitators.

[42] She probably attended Sophia Lee's school at Bath. See Jerome Murch, *Mrs. Barbauld and her Contemporaries*, London, 1877, p. 136. *The Recess*, 1783–6, and D'Arnaud's *Comminge* both influenced Radcliffe.

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In fact, this novel is full of reminiscences of *Emmeline*, *Ethelinde* and *Celestina*, and attention later given to the machinery of the pseudo-supernatural is paid here to states of "extreme susceptibility." The unrequited lover Louis La Motte is another Montague Thorold,[44] Switzerland plays the same rôle as the Isle of Skye in *Celestina*, while the primary situation is not unlike *Emmeline*.

Furthermore, borrowings in the later novels indicate Radcliffe's habitual recourse to the narratives of her rival. Montoni's marriage with Emily's aunt is not unlike Roker's marriage of Leonard,[45] the ghosts of Bangy castle prove to be the smugglers of the *Old Manor House*, while the recovery of Ludovico reminds one of the banditti scene in *Desmond*. Schedoni of the *Italian* is undoubtedly Lewis' *Monk*, but is also like D'Aucheterre of *Celestina*, one of the descendants of the evil priest in *Cleveland*.

My purpose in balancing Ann Radcliffe's account book is not the rehabilitation of Charlotte Smith, for her works are dead, and justly so. Rather it is an attempt to describe the sentimental adventure narrative as it was before the German *Schauerroman* made itself felt in England and converted a novel already open to satire into one richly deserving Jane Austen's ridicule.

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[43] *Celestina* must have appeared early in 1791 since it was reviewed in the August *Analytical Review* the same year. The *Romance of the Forest* must have been later, for it was first mentioned in the April *Critical Review* of the following year (vol. IV, p. 458). That Mrs. Radcliffe was almost unknown in 1792 is indicated by the footnote to this article: the writer thinks the novel is by "a certain Miss or Mrs. Ratcliff."

[44] Thorold is the servile lover in *Celestina*.

[45] Roker is the vile lawyer in the *Old Manor House*. Bangy is the Villeroi chateau in *Udolpho*.

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XXV

THE STAGE ADVENTURES OF SOME GOTHIC NOVELS

THE characteristic drama of the first years of the nineteenth century was, as everyone knows, absurdly romantic and sentimental. Incited by the extravagant Kotzebue and charmed into emulation by the new *mélodrame* from France, the first specimen of which reached England in 1802, the English playwrights supplied the stage with a variety of plots involving robber barons, victims of the Inquisition, captive maidens and sentimental villains. Frequently they seasoned these delicacies with supernatural horrors and garnished them with vaulted halls, sepulchral chambers, and dungeons.

Much in this episode of dramatic history can be designated by the word "Gothic", and when one bears in mind that by 1800 the Gothic novels were in high favor with the reading public, it will be seen that native as well as foreign influences may have operated to produce it. Furthermore, many of these Gothic novels had reached the stage. But an examination of these dramatized versions discloses the curious fact that their authors seem to have taken pains to minimize the horrors of their originals rather than to utilize them for dramatic effect. Nor were they content even with this. They frequently perverted the terrors into comedy, by the way of concession to a public which was not yet willing to suffer a romanticized theater. An account of these adaptations, and of certain other plays in the same manner, makes an addition to the story of the Gothic novel and provides a commentary on literary and dramatic taste in the years just previous to the romantic revival.

The first dramatization of a "tale of terror" was an adaptation of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, entitled *The Count of Narbonne*, which appeared in 1781 (C. G. Nov. 17). The author was Robert Jephson. The project flattered Walpole; had not Bishop Warburton said the plan of the *Castle* was regularly a drama? He wrote to Jephson:

> You, Sir, have realized his idea (i.e., Warburton's). . . . . One cannot be quite ashamed of one's follies, if genius condescends to adopt and put them to sensible use (Jan. 27, 1780).

Both author and adaptor, however, were aware that they were dealing with dangerous material. The horrors must be eliminated or the audience would mutiny. So Jephson pruned with vigor and Walpole complimented him on having made a coherent story "without the marvellous, though so much depended on that part." No

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vestige remained of the famous sword, the mysterious vizored knight, the gigantic leg, the plumed helmet, the picture that walks from its frame, or the skeleton wrapped in a hermit's cowl. The climax of the story when the castle is rent by a thunderclap and the form of Alfonso "dilated to an immense magnitude" appears in the center of the ruins, was not hinted in the play. Even the rolls of thunder and the groans were much reduced.

One speech, obviously betraying Shakespearean influence, serves to indicate the limits of Jephson's Gothicism:

Countess And are not prodigies then mighty reasons?
The owl mistakes his season, in broad day
Screaming his hideous omens; spectres glide,
Gibbering and pointing as we pass along;
While the deep earth's unorganized caves
Send forth wild sounds and clamours terrible;
These towers shake round us, though the untroubled air
Stagnates to lethargy:—our children perish,
And new disasters blacken every hour.
Blood shed unrighteously, blood unappeas'd,
Though we are guiltless, cries, I fear, for vengeance.

The effect of these alterations was to reduce the play to a romantic tragedy about a wicked Count who tries to put away his wife that he may marry his dead son's fiancée, and of the sufferings of his daughter who loves a mysterious stranger, later discovered to be the rightful possessor of the Count's estate. In its final form there is surely nothing that could have disturbed a common-sense audience. But Walpole was still uneasy and provided for the opening night a propitiatory epilogue in which the rude strength of the Gothic age is commended:

That author well deserves our warmest praise . . . .
Who, 'midst the placid murmurings of Ton
Rolls the rough tide of Gothick force along;
And when true worth seems withering at the root,
Turns the rich soil whence towering virtues shoot.

This precaution, however, was scarcely needed, for, as Walpole wrote Jephson after the first performance:

There was not the slightest symptom of disapprobation to any part, and the plaudit was great and long when given out again for Monday. . . . . The prologue was exceedingly liked and for effect, no play ever produced more tears.

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The *Count of Narbonne* continued popular in the repertory and was acted as late as 1807.[1]

The next dramatic excursion into Gothic territory was made, curiously enough, by Harlequin. During a considerable part of the eighteenth century the pantomime had furnished a debased kind of entertainment to a large section of the theater public. Even great managers like Fielding, Garrick, and Sheridan found it necessary to make certain concessions to this universally popular amusement. The pantomimists, to the annoyance of their competitors, were constantly on the look-out for novelties; consequently their productions are useful as indications of contemporary taste in many matters. One is not surprised to learn, therefore, that Gothicism was assisted onto the stage by Miles Peter Andrews' pantomime, the *Enchanted Castle* (1785). The preface to the edition of 1786 is instructive in its implications:

> The Novelty attempted to be dramatized To-night, takes its Rise from the Writings of Miss Aikin, and the Hon. Horace Walpole. The Castle of Otranto, and the fragment of Sir Bertrand, form the Basis of an Endeavour to bring upon the Stage somewhat of the Effects which may be produced by Midnight Horror, or Agency supernatural.[2] What may be the Result of this Experiment, To-night must determine, for hitherto the Experiment has not been made.
>
> The Ghost of Hamlet and the Witches of Macbeth do not militate against the Assertion. Their Appearance, though out of Nature, was simple and not combined. The Clank of Chains, the Whistling of hollow Winds, the Clapping of Doors, Gigantic Forms, and visionary Gleams of Light, attended not their Effects upon the Stage. The firm Mind certainly may laugh at all this; but if ever, on a late Winter Evening, at a well-told Story of an Apparition, the Company have found themselves unusually attentive, and sometimes unwittingly looked back;—if they have felt no Wish to part;—if imperceptibly they have sat more closely together, and heard the Summons to Rest and Separation, the retiring to a lone Chamber

[1] James Boaden, himself an adaptor of Gothic tales, commented significantly in later years on Jephson's tragedy. One needs to remember the drama of the romantic years between. "The supernatural was rather hinted than shown: the author seemed conscious that the stage, at all events, was cold to the wonders of the Gothic muse; that the scenic castle could no longer be haunted by the midnight spectre, nor be overclouded by a mysterious and avenging fatality." *Life of Kemble* (1825), I, 277.

[2] *Sir Bertrand* is not included in the *Works of Anne Letitia Barbauld*, edited by Miss Lucy Aiken in 1825, but Walpole thought it was hers and so, evidently, did Andrews. This bit of evidence may be added to arguments adduced by Birkhead, *Tale of Terror*, pp. 28–29.

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with Reluctance, not to say Disquietude;—if all this has happen'd, then are we right in thinking there is somewhat of Enthusiasm or Superstition in these Matters, which Reason smiles at, but cannot prevail over.

Exactly what the terrors of the *Enchanted Castle* were is difficult to say, since only the libretto remains. The story concerns a necromancer who keeps a virgin (Columbine) in a trance to get her into his power. The benevolent Genius of the Wood effects her release by his magic sword and restores her to her lover (Harlequin). The cast calls for "sprites, phantoms, and giants" who are, one supposes, the terrors promised by the author. To judge from the scanty text, the amusing matter mixed in "to counteract the Gloom" predominated in the production.[3]

Andrew MacDonald ventured to introduce into his *Vimonda* (Haymarket, Sept. 5, 1787) a few Gothic embellishments. No more pathetic piece ever reached the stage. It recounts the woes of Vimonda, whose father has supposedly been murdered. One presently discovers that the man who attempted the deed was a kinsman who seeks marriage with her and is trying to throw his guilt on the man she loves. The spirit of her father, which has been seen haunting the vicinity of the action, suddenly comes to life—for it is no ghost at all but the man himself. An unnecessary last act riots in poisonings, confessions, reversals, and reconciliations. The first scene of the play takes place near a tomb and a "Tower, decorated with

[3] One specimen of this "amusing matter" I cannot refrain from quoting. Scene ten is the "far distant town" of Boston.

AMERICAN BALLAD

Boston is a Yankee town, so is Philadelphia,
You shall have a sugar-dram, and I'll have one myselfy.
Yankee doodle, doodle doo, yankee doodle dandy.
High doodle, doodle doo, yankee doodle dandy.

Our Jemima's lost her mare, and knows not where to find her;
She'll come trotting by, I'll swear, and bring her tail behind her.
Yankee doodle, etc.

Jenny Locket lost her pocket, Lukey Sweetlips found it.
Devil a thing was in the pocket, but the border round it.
Yankee doodle, etc.

First I Bought a porridge pot, then I bought a ladle,
Then my wife was brought to bed, and now I work the cradle.

Boston is a silly town, and if I'd my desire,
First I'd knock the Rulers down, and then I'd kick the Crier.

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Arms and Sepulchral Figures", where the ghost resides. At various times he escapes from his habitation and frightens the household. The audience is never permitted to see him, though a bell is tolled at intervals through the play to indicate that he is prowling about back-stage. The feebleness of MacDonald's Gothicism saved his play from disaster but not from contemptuous critisism. He had claimed for it originality of plot "raised by Fancy's power, in some silent solitary hour". The notice in the *Monthly Review* (1788, p. 75) squinting at the ghost and other extravagancies, concludes with firmness:

> We allow the Author the merit of invention; but it must be the merit of inventing improbabilities. He shocks belief, and appears to have entirely neglected that rule for dramatic composition,
>
> Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris.

James Cobb seems to have been the first to surmise that if an audience would not show a proper alarm at stage ghosts and horrors, they might be induced to laugh at them. His discovery, as later instances will prove, influenced considerably the course of Gothicism on the stage. The denouement of his opera, the *Haunted Tower* (D. L. Nov. 24, 1789), is accomplished by means of burlesque terrors. The Baron of Oakland has usurped the estate of Lord William; he also schemes to marry his son to the lady whom the rightful baron loves. Sir William arrives in disguise, resolved to oust the villain. A rumour has been spread that the Old Baron's ghost haunts the castle tower. The usurper, who is a great coward, credits this rumour and is thrown into a fright by strange voices, which echo his words when he is in the haunted tower. After he has been sufficiently wrought upon to make him an easy prey to deception, the supposed ghost is introduced.

> A trumpet is heard at a distance. Lord William throws open the doors and walks with great solemnity in his father's armour. The trumpet is heard until he is quite off.[4]

Of course the audience knows this is merely a masquerade but the villain is properly frightened and yields without a show of defiance. All ends with a merry Finale and Sestetto of the principals. The public rewarded Cobb for his shrewdness in anticipating their

[4] Genest believes Mrs. Cowley alludes spitefully to the success of this scene in the preface to the *Town before You*: "In a popular piece a great actor, holding a sword in his left hand, and making awkward passes with it, charms the audience, and brings down such applause as the bewitching dialogue of Farquhar pants for in vain."

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preferences by demanding in two seasons more than eighty performances of the opera.

Mrs. Ann Radcliffe's second novel, *A Sicilian Romance*, made her a person of importance in the literary world. One is not surprised, therefore, to find the *Sicilian Romance* as well as her previous novel, *A Romance of the Forest*, transferred to the stage in the same season, the one on May 28, 1794 (C. G.), the other, under the title *Fontainville Forest*, on March 25 (C. G.).

James Boaden, in adapting the *Romance of the Forest* for the stage, discarded the romantic story of Adeline and Theodore which Mrs. Radcliffe had adorned with all the sentimental beauties at her command, and rejected all but a very few of the terrors. Adeline is permitted to discover the mouldering MS penned by her father before his awful death in the abbey; the thunder-machine roars in Act IV, and "through the distant windows one of the Turrets is seen to fall, struck by Lightning". Boaden, encouraged no doubt by the increased interest in Gothic horrors, had the temerity, also, to introduce into Act III—very timidly to be sure—the ghost of the murdered Marquis.

The stage-treatment of this diffident and unassuming ghost illumines the state of public taste which was responsible for the curiously perverted stage-versions of the terrors already mentioned and for others yet to be discussed. In the first place, although Boaden devoted forty lines to the scene in which the apparition appeared, the management cut the scene to a scant fifteen lines. The phantom is first heard within the wings. The stage-direction orders it, at its entrance, to be "faintly visible and vanish soon into a dark part of the chamber". The speech allowed the ghost consists of only six words. It is clear that author and producers were by no means certain that their ghost, even thus apologetically offered, would be tolerated. The Epilogue, spoken by Mrs. Pope, who as Adeline had conversed with the shy spirit, thus comments on the venture:

> Before this awful crisis of our play,
> Our vent'rous bard has often heard me say—
> Think you our friends one modern ghost will see,
> Unless, indeed of Hamlet's pedigree:
> Know you not, Shakespeare's petrifying power
> Commands alone the horror-giving hour?

The author, she says, justifies his spectre by the precedent of Shakespeare and declares he will die before he will "give up the ghost". Kemble, Harris, and Boaden had conferred anxiously over

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this doubtful scene, on which, they agreed, the fate of the play depended. Kemble recommended a new costume, less cumbersome than the traditional armor worn by Hamlet the King, and Follett was selected for the part. But he, as it happened, though possessing the desired presence, was dear to the audience for his skill at eating carrots in the pantomime. Were he to speak the line,"Perish Here!" the play would certainly not survive the first night. So Follett was instructed to mime the part while Thompson spoke the words in the wings. An additional precaution was provided by a gauze curtain stretched before the scene.

When the great moment arrived, the care of the sponsors of the play was rewarded. Kemble says:

> The whisper of the house as he [Follet] was about to enter, the breathless silence while he floated along like a shadow, proved to me that I had achieved the great desideratum.[5]

After the curtain fell, the applause was renewed again and again. Yet Kemble saw fit to revive the play only once (Jan. 8, 1796) and this time in a considerably shortened form. Genest's comment probably reflects the opinion of those in the audience who did not applaud the ghost: "The last scene of the third act is rendered contemptible by the introduction of a Phantom."

Henry Siddons, who prepared the stage version of *A Sicilian Romance*, did not share Boaden's fondness for experiments in the horrific. He preferred to resort to Cobb's expedient of making his terrors grotesque—a proved means of insuring success. A short synopsis of the play will provide the necessary context. Ferrand, Marquis of Otranto, has put away his first wife and is laboring with his conscience for courage to kill her that he may marry the beautiful Alinda who is already in his power.[6] With the aid of her lover she escapes and takes refuge in a monastery where the prior promises to shelter her from the villainy of Ferrand. He gains admittance, however, in the disguise of a friar. As he is about to carry off his victim, he is confronted by what appears to him at

[5] Boaden, *Life of Kemble* (1825), II, 119.

[6] The alterations from the novel are of necessity many. Mrs. Radcliffe plagues her heroine with the attentions of a wicked Duke. Siddons eliminates him and makes Ferrand assume the double rôle of the Marquis Mazzini who has repudiated and imprisoned his wife, and of the Duke whose suit he encourages. As usual in her novels, the characters are constantly on the move, and the number of crumbling monasteries which they inhabit in the course of the romance is astounding. The drama is confined to the precincts of the castle and the monastery.

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first to be an apparition, but is in reality a badly scared servant to whom Gothic burial chambers are far from congenial. Previous to the entrance of Ferrand, the fright of Martin the servant at finding himself in so terrible a place has afforded amusement to the audience:

> Odds flesh! of all the frights I ever experienced, nothing was ever so bad as this—od—od—od! how my teeth chatter! Every whisper of wind and every crack of this damn'd rotten old mansion, makes me feel as if I had an icicle in my belly—I'm afraid to look around for fear of saluting a tall skeleton; and my great-grandfather's ghost in his jack boots seems bobbing among the pillars and grinning every moment. . . . . 'Sdeath! what do I see in yonder aisle—a light! a Figure all snow! Oh, dear, as pale as death! Oh, Lord! its eyes are like two large steeples! Good Saint James. (He kneels to pray in an agony of fear.)

The ghost he thinks he sees is only the piteous Alinda pursued hither by the villain. Ferrand, in turn, is frightened and diverted from his evil scheme by the ghastly appearance of Martin, who rises "pale and in white" from behind a tomb.[7]

The sub-title of Siddons' opera reads: *The Apparition of the Cliffs*. The phantom here alluded to is supposed to walk on the rocks at one in the morning. Gerbin, the Porter, wearing a suit of armor "put on in a ludicrous manner" staggers on half intoxicated in the fourth scene of Act I to prove his indifference to this ghostly visitation. He is delivering a mock-invocation to the "Spirit of this dread abyss" when Count Ferrand "muffled in a red cloak, with a dark lanthorn in one hand . . . . stalks along the back part of the rock, unlocks and enters the tower (in which a blue light is burning)." Gerbin is frightened into a fit and runs off calling frantically for his cronies. This comic interlude is derived from one of the horror-laden episodes in the novel.[8]

A third Gothic drama inspired by Mrs. Radcliffe's romances is Miles Peter Andrews' opera, the *Mysteries of the Castle* (C. G.

[7] Mrs. Radcliffe by events in her twelfth chapter provides opportunity for this scene of mingled terror and buffoonery, but Siddons is alone responsible for it.

[8] In the novel the servants of the Marquis have been aroused by the apparition in the south pavilion of the castle. Their master finally goes thither with them to prove that they are vainly superstitious. The novelist makes no attempt to mitigate the suspense she has created, and the reader is left quite in the dark until the denouement reveals the story of the incarceration of the Marquise. Mrs. Radcliffe always lays her ghosts before the last chapter is done, but she never laughs at her horrors as these dramatists do in their scenes of terror.

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Jan. 1, 1795),[9] to which her *Mysteries of Udolpho* contributed to some extent, although the actual borrowing extends no farther than the villain Montoni. One incident has been obtained from the *Sicilian Romance*. The prologue foretells the kind of drama one may expect—a cup of "various beverage;"

> Music, pantomime and graver scenes,
> Perhaps a dash of terror intervenes.

The plot concerns Julia, unwilling wife to Montoni, who has given out false news of her death and plans wantonly to kill her for refusing him conjugal rights. From this danger she is saved by the intervention of her faithful lover, Carlos, and by his follower, Hilario, who circumvent her foolish, unfeeling father as he is about to force her back into the arms of her wicked husband.

The "dash of terror" intervenes at the time of Julia's escape from the castle. Inspired no doubt by Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries*, Andrews prescribes a subterranean passage, a tolling bell, a Gothic turret with a window where a figure with a dark lantern may appear. Act II shows an old room hung with tattered tapestry, destined by Montoni to be the scene of Julia's execution. The stage is a little darkened. "Thunder, and lightning flashes through the old walls." Into this scene come the rescuers, entering by a trap from the cavern below. The dramatist has built up considerable suspense in the first part of this act, but he does not trust himself to carry the horrors farther. In order to forestall the laughter that he feared, he deliberately burlesques the scene after the hero goes out, leaving Hilario behind with orders to follow. Hilario is the buffoon of the piece, and Andrews at this moment of great suspense provides him with a bit of clowning which completely destroys the tension which had been created.

Hilario (alone) Follow! I'm numb'd, I'm petrified—I have not a limb to stand upon—soft—let me try (advances one leg)—yes, I have put my right foot foremost, no, let me take it back again. (Retreats a little—thunders again.) What, shall I leave my friend in the lurch? Let him grapple with old Ebony by himself? For shame, Hilario! After him, my boy! (Goes towards the doors in the scene, opens one on the right of that where Carlos entered, which discovers a Coffin standing on a bier, with a lamp upon it.) Wheugh! I'm dead and buried! A Coffin! (Shuts door.) And I dare say the sexton will be here before I can say my prayers.

[9] Frederick Reynolds assisted Andrews with this play as well as *Better Late Than Never*. Genest says Andrews was to have all the fame and Reynolds half the profits.

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A fourth novel of Mrs. Radcliffe's, *The Italian*, reached the stage as the *Italian Monk* (Haymarket, Aug. 15, 1797). The adaptor, again, was James Boaden. The play follows the novel in the main except for certain sentimental variations and a considerable condensation of the third book, which Mrs. Radcliffe spun out with interminable meetings of the Inquisition. Since no ghosts walk in the novel or in the play, a discussion of Boaden's work is not in order here. It is worth noting, however, that the mysterious figure of the Monk who eventually reveals the secret of Schedoni's crimes is retained in the play. His first entrance is made the occasion for a humorous demonstration of fear on the part of Paullo. Apparently by this time such scenes of mock-terror were become conventional.

The following year (Dec. 29, 1798) Boaden brought out at Drury Lane a version of Lewis' famous novel, *The Monk*,[10] with the title *Aurelio and Miranda*. Of all the tales of terror it is, of course, the most extravagant. Lewis had enlivened his sensational story of rape, incest, murder, magic, and diablerie, with an obvious sensuality. The reviewers had in consequence raised the hue and cry against him; the Attorney-General was moved by a society for the suppression of vice to obtain an injunction against the sale of the book. The prosecution failed to materialize, but Lewis had in the meantime removed what he supposed objectionable, expunging, so he wrote his father, "every syllable on which could be grounded the slightest construction of immorality." Naturally when the authorities learned of Boaden's projected presentation of so unsavory a work, they busied themselves in the interest of public morals. The licenser of plays obliged him to change his intended title (Ambrosio) evidently believing this would in some way take the curse from the subject. The public sat eagerly waiting to condemn the venture. But they were fated to disappointment, for when Kemble and Siddons presented it with Sheridan's commendation they found the play exceedingly tame. Boaden writes that the Duke of Leeds sought him out in the Green Room to present him to the Duchess in her box "though he candidly avowed that his religious feelings hardly allowed him to tolerate the

[10] I have come on another version of *The Monk* of a far different sort—*Le Moine*, Drame fantastique, par L. M. Fontan, produced at the Odéon in 1831. In thirty-four years theatrical fashions have greatly changed. Fontan particularly stresses the devil-compact which Boaden had so carefully avoided. His Monk is to be pitied for the struggle with evil which he is made to endure. The figures of Faust and the Byron of the popular imagination loom near.

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powerful effects which he saw produced upon the stage." Later, in Mrs. Siddons' dressing-room, Dr. Burney shook his head wisely and said the subject was fatal and would not do. Yet the play survived for six performances.

We must suppose his Grace and Dr. Burney were still under the spell of the novel when they cavilled at the play, for Boaden had completely purged away the indecencies and excised all the supernatural element. The crux of Lewis' story is the compact which the Monk makes with the devil in order that he may obtain his lewd desires. The instrument of his downfall is the lascivious Rosario, a female minion of Satan, who seduces him after gaining admittance to the monastery as a novice. Miranda, the Rosario of the play, loves the Monk with a pure and holy love; she has entered his monastery for no wicked end. In fact, when Aurelio (the Monk) makes improper proposals to her, she repulses him. Only when his high birth is revealed and he is thereby able to lay aside his habit and marry his fair "monitress", will she listen to his importunings. Thus are Lewis' most horrible scenes of conjuration and devilry reduced to the requirements of the stage.

The *Monthly Mirror* (Jan. 1799) justifies Boaden's alterations by admitting that he has performed his task adequately. Just what that task was, in the opinion of the reviewer, it is profitable to examine. The themes of incest and matricide, it seems, are too horrible for the stage though they afford the romance fine dramatic possibilities. Likewise the appearance of the ghost to Antonia, the incantation in the cemetery, the proceedings of the Inquisition and the final interview between the Monk and Matilda when she appears in her true diabolical character, are not available for the dramatist. Though this supernatural machinery has an undeniable fascination, it is not transferable to a drama, "*in which probability and morality* are the chief objects of the poet."

Thus at the very end of the century the critics were still insisting that the theater was no place for the creations of a romantic imagination. No one then could have imagined that Lewis, who was indirectly responsible for the innocuous sentimental *Aurelio and Miranda*, would in ten years' time become the leader among a new school of romantic dramatists and compel his audience to accept, unquestioningly, ghosts and goblins, bleeding nuns who walk at midnight, wood demons and other horrors which in the theater of Garrick would have caused a riot.

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XXVI

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S REVIEW OF JANE AUSTEN'S *EMMA*

IN 1816 *The Quarterly Review* issued its number for October 1815,[1] and among the articles was a review of Miss Austen's most recent novel *Emma*. This was the review, universally attributed ever since to Sir Walter Scott, and consistently spoken of as "that magnanimous article." Biographers of both Scott and Jane Austen point to it with pleasure as a signal example of one genius recognizing another. In view of the prominence accorded to this review in the literary histories it is remarkable that no one has taken pains to enquire into the truth of its ascription to such a distinguished pen, especially since a discrepancy exists between the date of this review and the dates of Scott's recorded utterances on Jane Austen, and further since the review itself is unlike Scott's known critical work.

The history of the ascription of the review to Scott is very clear. Mr. Murray, the publisher of *Emma*, was also the owner of *The Quarterly Review*, a fact which probably explains the strange and immediate notice that was taken of the novel. Yet in the correspondence between the author and publisher following the appearance of the review no indication is given of the reviewer's identity, though in 1816 Scott's was a name worth the private disclosure. Jane Austen wrote and remained in ignorance. When Lockhart, some years later, was preparing his father-in-law's miscellaneous prose for publication, he applied to Murray the publisher of *The Quarterly* for a list of Sir Walter's contributions. Murray sent him, along with genuine pieces, an article which had been printed in the magazine for January 1821,[2] but not the article on *Emma*. This latter review dealt with Jane Austen's posthumous publications, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*, which had been issued in 1818. Murray or Lockhart then discovered that an error had been made, that this review was actually the work of Richard Whately, later Archbishop of Dublin.[3] Lockhart then found the review of *Emma*, published for October 1815, and this he announced as from Scott's pen. He explains the original error but gives no authority for the attribution he makes. The transaction is recorded in this note.

[1] *Quarterly Review*, XIV, 188.
[2] *Quarterly Review*, XXIV, 352.

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When the late collection of Sir Walter Scott's *Prose Miscellanies* was preparing, the publisher of the *Quarterly Review* led me into a mistake, which I may as well take this opportunity of apologizing for. Glancing hastily over his private records, he included in his list of Sir Walter's contributions to his journal an article on Miss Austen's novels, in No. xlviii for January 1821; and as the opinions which the article expressed on their merits and defects harmonized with the usual tone of Scott's conversation, I saw no reason to doubt that he had drawn it up, although the style might have been considerably *doctored* by Mr. Gifford. I have since learned that the reviewal in question was in fact written by Dr. Whately, now Archbishop of Dublin; and that the article which Scott did contribute to the *Quarterly* on the novels of Miss Austen, was that which the reader will find in No. xxvii. *Emma* and *Northanger Abbey*, in particular, were great favorites of his, and he often read chapters of them to his evening circle.[4]

All later writers have followed unquestioningly Lockhart's statement.[5]

Two lines of evidence combine to render it extremely unlikely, if not absolutely to disprove, that Scott wrote this well-known paper. The first—purely negative—makes against Scott's authorship; the second, however, is positive, pointing definitely to another person. The negative evidence can be summarized briefly: if all the references connecting Jane Austen with Scott are collected, it will be found that none occurs earlier than Feb. 10, 1822. These references are here presented, arranged in chronological order:

1. Feb. 10, 1822. "By the way, did you know Miss Austen, authoress of some novels which have a great deal of nature in

[3] Reprinted by Whately in *Miscellaneous Lectures and Reviews*, London, 1861. (The 1815 Review was probably not included in this volume because it reflects an immature point of view, and this publication was intended to represent the Archbishop's most finished work. This criticism would not apply to the Review of 1821.)

[4] Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, Fireside edition, IV, 3 n.

[5] Only a few of the more important repetitions are here recorded.

a) Allibone, *Dictionary*, under Scott, Sir Walter.

b) Anderson, J. P., Bibliography in Goldwin Smith's *Life*.

c) Chapman, R. W., *Novels of Jane Austen*, IV, intro. n.

d) Thomson, J., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Writings of Sir Walter Scott*, Philadelphia, Nov., 1898.

e) Austen-Leigh, W. & R. A., *Life and Letters of Jane Austen*. (The authors in a footnote on p. 326 state that the attribution is confirmed on the basis of information supplied by Mr. John Murray. This information is not printed, and considering the original error and its character, it is doubtful whether the attribution becomes any more valid.)

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them?—nature in ordinary and middle life, to be sure, but valuable from its strong resemblance and correct drawing."[6]

2. 1823. "The children compare Walter Scott to Mr. Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice*."[7]

3. Mar. 14, 1826. "Also read again and for the third time at least, Miss Austen's finely written novel of *Pride and Prejudice*. That young lady had a talent for describing the involvements and feelings and characters of ordinary life, which is to me the most wonderful I ever met with. The Big Bow-Wow strain I can do myself like any now going; but the exquisite touch, which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting, from the truth of the description and the sentiment, is denied me. What a pity such a gifted creature died so early!"[8]

4. Sept. 18, 1827. ". . . . Then whiled away the evening over one of Miss Austen's novels. There is a truth of painting in her writings which always delights me. They do not, it is true, get above the middle classes of society, but there she is inimitable."[9]

The first of these indicates a recent knowledge of Jane Austen's works, and to some degree reflects the language and ideas of the reviews, as though Scott, having been led to the novels by the descriptions and analyses given in those articles, had nothing he cared to add to the ideas there given, and so, easily repeated them. The second refers evidently to that pleasant sort of domestic joke which owes its existence to freshness of impression. The last two are in a much more individual and familiar vein, and seem to argue increasing acquaintance with the subject. This negative evidence in itself is neither large nor important, but it becomes useful in view of the positive evidence which follows.

Lockhart's note and Archbishop Whateley's supervision of its reprinting, leave no doubt as to the authorship of the review of January 1821. If now the earlier article, which has been attributed to Sir Walter Scott, is read as the work of an anonymous writer and placed in parallel column with the Archbishop's known review, several interesting facts appear. Both reviews are planned and

[6] Lockhart, vide supra, IV, 3.
[7] Patrick Tytler's *Note Book*, quoted in Macgunn, *Sir Walter Scott's Friends*.
[8] Sir Walter Scott, *Journal*, Edin., 1891.
[9] *Idem*.

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executed in the same way, there are striking parallels of critical idea, and—most significant of all—the later review refers in a pointed way to the former. For convenience of reference, the passages in the latter which indicate identity of authorship, have been placed opposite those in the former.

1815	1821
1. "Accordingly a style of novel has arisen, within the last fifteen or twenty years, differing from the former in the points upon which the interest hinges; etc." (to end of paragraph).	1. "*We remarked in a former number, reviewing a work of the author now before us*, that 'a new style of novel has arisen, within the last fifteen or twenty years, differing from the former in the points upon which the interest hinges; etc.' " (to end of paragraph).
2. "And thus in the novel, as in every style of composition which appeals to the public taste, the more rich and easily worked mines being exhausted, the adventurous author must, if he is desirous of success, have recourse to those which were disdained by his predecessors as unproductive, or avoided as only capable of being turned to profit by great skill and labour."	2. "Now, though the origin of this new school of fiction may probably be traced, *as we there suggested*, to the exhaustion of the mines from which materials for entertainment had been hitherto extracted, and the necessity of gratifying the natural craving of the reader for variety, by striking into an untrodden path, etc. . . . ."
3. "One word, however, we must say in behalf of that once powerful divinity, Cupid king of gods and men, who in these times of revolution, has been assailed, even in his own kingdom of romance, by the authors who were formerly his devoted priests, etc." (To the end of the paragraph.)	3. "*We ventured, in a former article*, to remonstrate against the dethronement of the once powerful God of Love, in his own most special domain, the novel; and to suggest that, in shunning the ordinary fault of recommending by examples a romantic and uncalculating extravagance of passion, Miss Austen had rather fallen into the opposite extreme of exclusively patronizing what are called prudent matches, etc." (To end of the paragraph.)

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A brief parallel analysis of the two reviews, and a few examples of parallel passages, will make even more clear the close connection both in method and idea that exists between the two pieces.

1815	1821
1. Apology for novel reading made.	1. Apology for novel reading no longer the necessity it once was.
2. The different varieties of novels, romance, sentimental fiction; plots treading between possibility and probability. *Tom Jones* taken as example.	2. The use of the unnatural and the improbable in romances and sentimental fiction. *Tom Jones* taken as example.
3. Passage quoted above about exhaustion of old mines and the rise of a new school of fiction.	3. Passages quoted above about the exhaustion of the old mines and the rise of a new school of fiction.
4. "In this class she [Jane Austen] stands alone; for the scenes of Miss Edgeworth are laid in higher life, varied more by romantic incident. . . . ."	4. "Among the authors of this school there is no one superior, if equal, to the lady [Jane Austen] whose last production is now before us. . . . . Miss Edgeworth draws characters and details conversations, with a spirit not to be surpassed; but her stories are more romantically improbable. . . . ."
5. Discusses separately *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Emma*.	5. Discusses separately *Mansfield Park*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Persuasion*.
6. Ends with protest against prudent matches and the dethronement of the God of Love quoted above.	6. Ends with reference to closing paragraph of the former review, giving a more detailed analysis of the same subject.

There are still some similar passages, which, since they do not fall into the same logical position in both reviews have been separated for ease of examination.

1. "The author's knowledge of the world, and the peculiar tact with which she presents characters . . . . reminds us something of the merits of the Flemish school of painting."	1. "When this Flemish painting, as it were, is introduced—this accurate and unexaggerated delineation of events and characters. . . . ."

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1815	1821
2. " . . . . the force of a narrative conducted with much neatness and point, and a quiet yet comic dialogue in which the characters of the speakers evolve themselves with dramatic effect."	2. "But she has not been forgetfull of the important maxim . . . . of saying as little as possible in her own person, and giving a dramatic air to the narrative, by introducing frequent conversations; which she conducts with a regard to character hardly exceeded by Shakespeare himself."

There are, of course, differences in the opinions expressed, but examination shows that the differences are not the result of opposing views, but that the latter are extensions, revisions of the former. A single set of quotations will indicate this.

1. "Characters of folly or simplicity, such as those of old Woodhouse or Miss Bates, are ridiculous when first presented, but if too often brought forward or too long dwelt upon, their prosing is apt to become as tiresome in fiction as in real society."	1. "She [Jane Austen] shows . . . . admirable discrimination in the characters of fools . . . . a merit far from common . . . . it is no fool that can describe fools well . . . . exhibit to us mere folly in the abstract. . . . ."

Here the second opinion is much nearer to the truth and has obviously been arrived at as a result of understanding more clearly Jane Austen's purposes and methods: there is growth of knowledge, not aimless contradiction.

It only remains to enquire if Richard Whately, in 1815 or in January 1816, was in a position to review *Emma*. In the summer of 1815, then a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, he accompanied his sister to Portugal. His sister stopped with friends there and he returned in the autumn of the same year to England, taking up his university work when term began.[10] So the composition was possible according to time. From another point of view, that of Whately's interests and prejudices, it is still more possible. Whately was not widely read or intelligently interested in art, but that to which his mind did lead him, he clung to sturdily, was continually quoting and always using his information. His favorite writers were Aristotle, Bacon, Shakespeare, Crabbe,

[10] E. J. Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D.*, London, 1868.

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Fielding, contemporary fiction[11] (a taste he shared with the author he reviewed); and in painting he was drawn only by those pictures which "illustrated a subject he thought interesting and suitable, sketches of the costumes of different countries, illustrations of .... life, of hunting, or of .... scenes in history or fiction"[12]— it is hardly necessary to add, i.e., the Flemish school and its imitators. Not only does the article known to be by Whately, but to an equal degree the one attributed to Sir Walter Scott, reflect in a surprising manner exactly this mind, and no other. It might be amusing to argue that Scott came to Jane Austen by way of the first of these reviews, since he echoes it rather closely, although he later refines and individualizes the statement, but this point need not be pressed here.

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[11] *Dict. of Nat. Bio.*, under Whately, Richard.
[12] E. J. Whately, vide supra.

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XXVII

CHARLOTTE BRONTE'S ANGRIAN CYCLE OF STORIES

THE existence of voluminous Brontë juvenilia has long been known. Anyone who has read Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* must remember the astonishing list of twenty-two 'books' therein enumerated as having been completed by August 3, 1830, near the end of Charlotte's fourteenth year. Mr. Clement K. Shorter continues the list through 1839, bringing the number of titles up to forty. To these may be added from sources not included in his list an almost equal number of sketches and fragments, making a total which in volume approximates the author's published works.

The appearance of these curious little 'books' has become fairly familiar through the descriptions and reproductions of bibliographers. Books they are indeed, though hand-made, with elaborate title-pages, prefaces, and colophons containing signature and date. They vary in size from miniatures $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ inches to large octavos. The leaves are usually carefully sewed together inside a cover of blue or brown wrapping paper. Their texts are executed in a minute hand-printing impossible to read except under a strong glass. A few of the stories have been printed and more or less widely distributed, but it is doubtful if as many as a dozen persons, including even the author, have known the juvenilia as a whole; and it is only as a whole that they assume biographical and critical importance.

Except for the Introduction to "Tales of the Islanders" and a portion of the "History of the Year," quoted to illustrate Charlotte's unusual precocity and the strange home life of the Brontë children, Mrs. Gaskell made no use of the manuscripts which she lists. Unused and apparently unread, they were returned to Mr. Nicholls. After lying forty years in his desk with their mailing wrapper unbroken, they were purchased from him by Mr. Shorter for Mr. Thomas J. Wise. A few of the manuscripts Mr. Wise kept for himself and friends, the rest he allowed to become scattered among private collectors of England and America, who have valued them only as literary curiosities. A large number of them have, fortunately, found their way into the hands of a collector in Philadelphia, whose kindness in lending me transcripts of them has made my study possible.

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Mr. Shorter, like Mrs. Gaskell, made no use of the manuscripts as they passed through his hands except to list them. After a brief general description, he dismisses them with one sentence: "Perhaps the only juvenile fragment which is worth anything is also the only one in which she escapes from the Wellington enthusiasm."

The story exempted from Mr. Shorter's general condemnation is *An Adventure in Ireland*, dated April, 1829, a childish fairy tale written under the influence of *Arabian Nights*. In stating that this is the only story in which Charlotte escapes from the "Wellington enthusiasm," Mr. Shorter is mistaken, but he errs more seriously, I think, in pronouncing all the others worthless.

When Charlotte was but thirteen years old she wrote a story which she called *The Twelve Adventurers*, in which twelve of her favorite heroes, including the Duke of Wellington, are shipwrecked on the coast of Africa, near the mouth of the Niger River. By the help of the genii who rule the land they overcome the hostile blacks and found a city. At the end of twenty years, when the population of the settlement had grown to 15,000, the Duke of Wellington was unanimously chosen as "a fit and proper person to sit on the throne of these realms."

Other stories followed, extending and developing the situation created in the first. The city, called at first Glass Town, later Verdopolis, grows with the rapidity of magic. It is soon the commercial metropolis of the world, "the Queen City of Neptune," beautiful above all others for situation, with magnificent public buildings and residences. The element of magic disappears, for Charlotte soon outgrew the influence of *Arabian Nights*, but Verdopolis continues to expand. In the course of time it spreads northward up the Valley of the Niger and sends out colonies into the fertile lands to the east, until there is evolved a far-flung empire of unrivalled wealth and power.

The government is at first a simple confederacy of twelve free states, ruled by the twelve original heroes or their descendants, under the leadership of the Duke of Wellington. In the course of the second generation the Verdopolitan Confederacy is subverted by Arthur Wellesley, Marquis of Douro, elder son of the Duke. This young man, after saving his country in a military crisis, demands the cession of three of the richest provinces to himself in full sovereignty and control, to be known as the Kingdom of Angria. His successive titles, Duke of Zamorna, King of Angria,

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and Emperor Adrian, tell the story of his continued aggressions and usurpations.

Through all the Verdopolitan and Angrian stories, except the very early ones in which his father holds the center of the stage, this tyrant moves as the arch-hero with a supremacy of interest which Mr. Shorter terms Charlotte's "Wellington enthusiasm." The term loses its aptness when applied to the second half of the cycle and becomes even misleading, for by this time the Duke of Wellington has disappeared from the scene, and in his son there remains only the reminiscence of the Wellesley name. He has become the typical Byronic hero, supreme and unrestrained. One might now more properly speak of Charlotte's Byron enthusiasm.

The composition of the Angrian Cycle, if the term be used to include the earlier stories of Verdopolis, covered a period of ten years or more, and the group includes every form of literature known to its young authors—essays, poems, dramas, short sketches, and novels—more than a hundred in number. To its astonishing volume Charlotte and Branwell Brontë seem to have contributed about equally, for from the very founding of Verdopolis, Branwell had added his effusions to his sister's, introducing some very interesting, if incongruous, elements. It was he who brought revolution and war into Verdopolitan politics and created the Kingdom of Angria. His contributions, usually wildly imaginative, confused, contradictory, and verbose, Charlotte accepted without question and transmuted by her genius into an integral, natural, and permanent part of the whole. Indeed, no character or situation, whether of Charlotte's or Branwell's creation, was ever lost. So easily and naturally did each catch up and use the conceptions of the other that it is impossible to separate their contributions with certainty.

In this imaginary world of her own creation Charlotte lived and moved from her thirteenth to her twenty-third year. It was her playground in childhood and her land of refuge in the troubled years of young womanhood. To it she transferred all she knew of life, whether from her wide reading or her own narrow experiences, and to its creation she devoted the whole force of her genius. Written with the intimacy and frankness of a diary and with far less self-consciousness, the Angrian stories picture clearly the development of Charlotte's mind, emotions, and views of life during her formative years.

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How vividly Charlotte's mind realized Angria, both the land and its people, is betrayed by innumerable passages such as follow, written in the course of her unhappy months of teaching in Miss Wooler's school.

I now after a day of weary wandering return to the ark which for me floats alone on the flood of this world's desolate and boundless deluge. It is strange that I cannot get used to the ongoings that surround me. . . . . It is the still small voice alone that comes to me at eventide that—like a breeze with a voice in it—over the deeply blue hills and out of the now leafless forests and from the cities on distant river banks of a far and bright continent, it is that which takes my spirit and engrosses all my living feelings, all my energies which are not merely mechanical. . . . . Last night I did indeed lean upon the thunder-waking wings of such a stormy blast as I have seldom heard blow, and it whirled me away like heath in the wilderness for five seconds of ecstacy. As I sat by myself in the dining room, while all the rest were at tea, the trance seemed to descend on a sudden. Verily this foot trod the war-shaken shores of the Calebar and these eyes saw the defiled and violated Adrianopolis shedding its lights on the river from lattices whence the invader looked out.

. . . . The other day I appeared to realize a delicious hot day in the burning height of summer, a gorgeous afternoon . . . . descending upon the hills of Africa, ... a day when fruits visibly ripen, when orchards appear suddenly to change from green to gold over the distant Sydenham Hills in Hawkscliffe Forest. . . . . It seemed to me that the war was over, that the trumpet had ceased but a short time since, and that its last tones had been pitched on a triumphant key. . . . . After months of bloody toil a time of festal rest was now bestowed on Angria. The noblemen, the generals, and the gentlemen were at their country seats and the Duke, young but war-worn, was at Hawkscliffe, stupendous still in influence.

All this day I have been in a dream. . . . . I sat sinking from irritation and weariness into a kind of lethargy. . . . . I flung up the sash. An uncertain sound of inexpressible sweetness came on a dying gale from the south. . . . . I shut the window and went back to my seat. Then came on me, rushing impetuously, all the mighty phantasm that this had conjured from nothing to a system as strong as some religious creed. I felt as if I could have written gloriously. The spirit of all Verdopolis, of all the mountainous North, of all the woodland West, of all the river-watered East, came crowding into my mind. If I had had time to indulge it, I felt that the vague suggestion of that moment would have settled down into some narrative better than anything I ever produced before. But just then a dolt came up with a lesson. . . . .

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Charlotte had apparently passed her twenty-third birthday when she bade farewell to Angria and her Angrians in a paragraph which constitutes a landmark in her literary career.

> I have now written a great many books and for a long time have dwelt on the same characters and scenes and subjects. I have shown my landscape in every variety of shade and light that morning, noon, and evening —the rising, the meridian, and the setting sun can bestow on them. . . . . So it is with persons. . . . . But we must change, for the eye is tired of the picture so often recurring and now so familiar.
>
> Yet do not hurry me too fast, reader. It is no easy task to dismiss from my imagination the images which have filled it so long; they were my friends and intimate acquaintances, and I could with little labour describe to you the faces, the voices, the actions of those who peopled my thoughts by day and not seldom stole strangely even into my dreams at night. . . . . Still, I long to quit for a time that burning clime where we have sojourned too long. Its skies flame, the glow of sunset is always upon it. The mind would cease from excitement and turn now to a cooler region, where the dawn breaks gray and sober and the coming day for a time at least is subdued by clouds.

Had either of the two biographers who have had access to the Angrian cycle made more adequate use of it, little of the familiar speculative and controversial Bronteana would have been written, for to most of the disputed questions these stories afford conclusive answers.

In the first place the stories furnish an accurate record of Charlotte's reading through her most impressionable years and reflect the successive influences under which her own style evolved. Into her imaginary world, along with characters drawn from her reading and imagination, she projected herself, her brother and sisters, and other familiar figures. Accordingly, the Angrian literature becomes an important piece of family and neighborhood biography. Her teasing satires of Branwell, woven throughout the Cycle, are particularly illuminating, and, together with his own stories, enable the reader accurately to estimate the nature and extent of her literary debt to her brother.

It has been the universal custom to take *The Professor* as the earliest of Charlotte's novels and the starting point for critical study. The contrast between its commonplace dullness and the fire and passion of *Jane Eyre* has led to interesting attempts at explanation, chief of which is the well known theory that Charlotte,

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while in school at Brussels, conceived a passion for her teacher, M. Heger, which fired her latent genius into activity. Miss May Sinclair, on the other hand, suggests that it was Emily's *Wuthering Heights* which roused Charlotte's latent talent for emotional and dramatic writing.

The Angrian stories, however, disprove both theories by showing that Charlotte's genius had no sudden awakening, but developed normally and gradually. The record of its development from month to month, from year to year, through her childhood and early womanhood, is not to be disputed. By the time that Charlotte took leave of Angria in the paragraph quoted above she had developed all the best characteristics of her literary style. The simplicity and realism, the passion, the flights of imagination, and the lyrical quality of her prose at its best in *Jane Eyre* and *Villette* had all been displayed repeatedly before *The Professor* was written. In truth, *The Professor*, in its attempt to establish a "set of principles," shows the conscious imposition of a self-discipline against the long indulgence of her imagination and emotions, which characterizes her subsequent work. *Jane Eyre* is a partial return to her natural style of expression.

The conclusion to which one is forced upon re-reading Charlotte Brontë's published novels in the light of the Angrian Cycle is that after she quitted Angria, that is after her twenty-third year, she created nothing. She modified, re-shaped, and adapted in conformity with her two adult experiences—teaching and study in Brussels—but she *created* practically nothing. The characters, plot incidents, and general situations which make up *The Professor*, *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, and *Villette* were all drawn from her Angrian storehouse.

When she bade goodbye to Africa for England she brought with her the dear and familiar characters. Fortunately there are extant fragments showing the successive steps by which her Angrian lords and ladies were transformed into ordinary English men and women. A few examples will support these statements. The opening chapters of *The Professor* are a subdued and condensed version of a chapter of a story, *Wool is Rising*, written by Branwell Brontë and dated June 26, 1834. The remainder of the book is drawn from other stories concerning the same characters, as Charlotte herself adapted and continued them throughout the Angrian cycle. Names, situations, phrases, and even whole paragraphs are identical. The only new element in the story is the

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Belgian setting. Even the name of the Belgian school-mistress, Zoraïde, at which Charlotte pokes fun—"the continental nations do allow themselves vagaries in the choice of names such as we sober English never run into"—is borrowed from one of her own Angrian heroines. Two distinct versions of *The Professor* are found among the transition fragments mentioned above, but curiously enough the published version is nearer than either of the others to the original.

Shirley furnishes an even better example than *The Professor*, both because it is further removed from Angria in time of composition and because it has a much greater number of characters. Shirley herself is the continuation of an Angrian beauty, named Jane Moore, who represented Emily Bronte. She is the only character in Charlotte's published novels who retains her Angrian halo of happiness and good fortune. Robert and Louis Moore are counterparts of the originals of Edward and William Crimsworth in *The Professor*, Sir Philip Nunnely is a lineal descendant of "young Soult, the Rhymer," a character under which Charlotte early began satirizing her brother's propensity for writing verse. The curates, though apparently drawn from living models, had their Angrian prototype in one Henry Warner. The mill-strike and the shooting of Robert Moore from ambush have their earlier sketch in a Verdopolitan story without a title, dated August 20, 1832, of a strike and the shooting of Colonel Greenville. The use which Charlotte here makes of the Methodists as literary material is a subdued and restrained reworking of earlier and less merciful satires on this denomination, which are among the best things she ever did.

Both Rochester, in *Jane Eyre*, and John Bretton, in *Villette*, are derived from her arch-hero, Arthur Wellesley, with different sides of his varied nature emphasized and modified under different influenzes. The much discussed Paul Emanuel is preëminently an Angrian. One would hardly expect to find among the gay and brilliant women of Angria the prototype of Jane Eyre and Lucy Snowe, yet near the end of the cycle she appears once in the person of Miss Hastings, the companion and foil of Jane Moore, "the Rose of Zamorna," and again as Miss West, governess to the daughters of Mr. Lonsdale.

Many of the incidents which direct the plots of both *Jane Eyre* and *Villette* have either evident originals or very suggestive parallels in the juvenilia. Rochester's mad wife; Jane's betrayal

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of her love to Rochester in the garden; and the mysterious exchange of call and answer between the two had been used before in connection with Arthur Wellesley. Similarly in *Villette* many incidents usually considered autobiographical are echoes from Angrian stories written long before the supposed incident in Charlotte's own life could have occurred. Among these are the voice bidding Lucy to try her fortune in a foreign land; her feverish dream while left alone in Madam Beck's school during the long vacation; the effect of the opiate administered to her by Madam Beck; the visitations of the ghostly nun; the gay concert scene; and many others. Even the description in *Villette* of Rachel's acting of Vashti before the royalty and fashionable world of Brussels bears more than an accidental likeness to a purely imaginary description of Mrs. Siddons' acting of a native tragedy before the royalty and nobility of Verdopolis.

These assertions, I am well aware, in order to carry conviction, must be supported by more extensive quotations from the text of the Angrian stories than is possible in the present paper. This proof I hope later to submit in a longer work now in preparation.

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XXVIII

MELVILLE'S *BENITO CERENO* AND CAPTAIN DELANO'S VOYAGES

IN *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* for October, 1855, appeared the first installment of a sea story entitled *Benito Cereno*, which was continued and concluded in the November and December numbers. Following the established custom of that periodical, the story was printed without signature: and it remained unacknowledged until the following year, when it was included in *The Piazza Tales*, a volume of short stories by Herman Melville. Lost for half a century in the oblivion which engulfed all that Melville wrote, it did not again appear in type until its inclusion in the Standard Edition of Constable and Company in 1924. This year it has been republished separately in a limited edition by the Nonesuch Press.

In discussing *The Piazza Tales* Professor Raymond Weaver says:

> Of these, *The Bell Tower*, *Don Benito Cereno*, *The Encantadas*, show the last glow of Melville's literary glamour, the final momentary brightening of the embers before they sink into blackness and ash.[1]

John Freeman[2] is even more enthusiastic. He pronounces *Benito Cereno* and *The Encantadas* "superb," declares *Benito Cereno* to be Melville's "short masterpiece," and devotes four pages to this story alone. He finds the tale strikingly Conradian:

> Anticipating Conrad's abundant short stories by fifty years, Melville has anticipated their excellence and given us a measure to measure them by.

Melville gives his reader no reason to suspect that the story is anything but a narrative of his own invention, but coming by chance upon an old volume of the voyages of Capt. Amasa Delano,[3] an American mariner of Duxbury, Mass., I discovered the interesting fact that in Chapter XVIII of Captain Delano's book Melville found his story ready made. He merely rewrote this Chapter including a portion of one of the legal documents there appended, suppressing a few items, and making some small additions.

[1] Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic*, New York, 1921.

[2] John Freeman, *Herman Melville*, New York, 1926.

[3] Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, etc.*, Boston, 1817.

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A

NARRATIVE

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

IN THE

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HEMISPHERES:

COMPRISING

THREE VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD;

TOGETHER WITH A

VOYAGE OF SURVEY AND DISCOVERY,

IN THE

PACIFIC OCEAN AND ORIENTAL ISLANDS.

.....

BY AMASA DELANO.

.....

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY E. G. [illegible], FOR THE AUTHOR.

1817.

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Capt. Amasa Delano.

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The following is the narrative as it was written by Captain Delano, together with the documents and correspondence which he appends.

CHAPTER XVIII

Particulars of the Capture of the Spanish Ship Tryal, at the Island of St. Maria, with the Documents Relating to That Affair

IN INTRODUCING the account of the capture of the Spanish ship Tryal, I shall first give an extract from the journal of the ship Perseverance, taken on board that ship at the time, by the officer who had the care of the log book.

"Wednesday, February 20th, commenced with light airs from the north east, and thick foggy weather. At six A.M. observed a sail opening round the south head of St. Maria, coming into the bay. It proved to be a ship. The captain took the whale boat and crew and went on board her. As the wind was very light, so that a vessel would not have much more than steerage way at the time; observed that the ship acted very awkwardly. At ten A.M. the boat returned. Mr. Luther informed that Captain Delano had remained on board her, and that she was a Spaniard from Buenos Ayres, four months and twenty-six days out of port, with slaves on board; and that the ship was in great want of water; had buried many white men and slaves on her passage, and that captain Delano had sent for a large boat load of water, some fresh fish, sugar, bread, pumpkins, and bottled cider, all of which articles were immediately sent. At twelve o'clock (Meridian) calm. At two P.M. the large boat returned from the Spaniards, had left our water casks on board her. At four P.M. a breeze sprung up from the souther quarter, which brought the Spanish ship into the roads. She anchored about two cables length to the south east of our ship. Immediately after she anchored, our captain with his boat was shoving off from along side the Spanish ship; when to his great surprise the Spanish captain leaped into the boat, and called out in Spanish that the slaves on board had risen and murdered many of the people; and that he did not then command her; on which manoeuvre, several of the Spaniards who remained on board jumped overboard, and swam for our boat, and were picked up by our people. The Spaniards, who remained on board, hurried up the rigging, as high aloft as they could possibly get, and called out repeatedly for help—that they should be murdered by the slaves. Our captain came immediately on board, and brought the Spanish captain and the men who were picked up in the water; but before the boat arrived, we observed that the slaves had cut the Spanish ship adrift. On learning this, our captain hailed, and ordered the ports to be got up, and the guns cleared; but unfortunately, we could not bring but one of our guns to bear on the ship. We fired five or six shot with it, but could not bring her to. We soon observed her making sail, and standing directly

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out of the bay. We dispatched two boats well manned, and well armed after her, who, after much trouble, boarded the ship and retook her. But unfortunately in the business, Mr. Rufus Low, our chief officer, who commanded the party, was desperately wounded in the breast, by being stabbed with a pike, by one of the slaves. We likewise had one man badly wounded and two or three slightly. To continue the misfortune, the chief officer of the Spanish ship, who was compelled by the slaves to steer her out of the bay, received two very bad wounds, one in the side, and one through the thigh, both from musket balls. One Spaniard, a gentleman passenger on board, was likewise killed by a musket ball. We have not rightly ascertained what number of slaves were killed; but we believe seven, and a great number wounded. Our people brought the ship in, and came to nearly where she first anchored, at about two o'clock in the morning of the 21st. At six A.M. the two captains went on board the Spanish ship; took with them irons from our ship, and doubled ironed all the remaining men of the slaves who were living. Left Mr. Brown, our second officer, in charge of the ship, the gunner with him as mate, and eight other hands; together with the survivors of the Spanish crew. The captain and chief officer, were removed to our ship, the latter for the benefit of having his wounds better attended to with us, than he could have had them on board his own ship. At nine A.M. the two captains returned, having put everything aright, as they supposed, on board the Spanish ship.

"The Spanish captain then informed us that he was compelled by the slaves to say, that he was from Buenos Ayres, bound to Lima; that he was not from Buenos Ayres, but sailed on the 20th of December last from Valparaiso for Lima, with upwards of seventy slaves on board; that on the 26th of December, the slaves rose upon the ship, and took possession of her, and put to death eighteen white men, and threw overboard at different periods after, seven more; that the slaves had commanded him to go to Senegal; that he had kept to sea until his water was expended, and had made this port to get it; and also with a view to save his own and the remainder of his people's lives if possible, by running away from his ship with his boat."

I shall here add some remarks of my own, to what is stated above from the ship's journal, with a view of giving the reader a correct understanding of the peculiar situation under which we were placed at the time this affair happened. We were in a worse situation to effect any important enterprize than I had been in during the voyage. We had been from home a year and a half, and had not made enough to amount to twenty dollars for each of my people, who were all on shares, and our future prospects were not very flattering. To make our situation worse, I had found after leaving New Holland, on mustering my people, that I had seventeen men, most of whom had been convicts at Botany Bay. They had secreted themselves on board without my knowledge. This was a larger number

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than had been inveigled away from me at the same place, by people who had been convicts, and were then employed at places that we visited. The men whom we lost were all of them extraordinarily good men. This exchange materially altered the quality of the crew. Three of the Botany-bay-men were outlawed convicts; they had been shot at many times, and several times wounded. After making this bad exchange, my crew were refractory; the convicts were ever unfaithful, and took all the advantage that opportunity gave them. But sometimes exercising very strict discipline, and giving them good wholesome floggings; and at other times treating them with the best I had, or could get, according as their deeds deserved, I managed them without much difficulty during the passage across the South Pacific Ocean; and all the time I had been on the coast of Chili. I had lately been at the islands of St. Ambrose and St. Felix, and left there fifteen of my best men, with the view of procuring seals; and left that place in company with my consort the Pilgrim. We appointed Massa Fuero as our place of rendezvous, and, if we did not meet there, again to rendezvous at St. Maria. I proceeded to the first place appointed; the Pilgrim had not arrived. I then determined to take a look at Juan Fernandez, and see if we could find any seals, as some persons had informed me they were to be found on some part of the island. I accordingly visited that place, as has been stated; from thence I proceeded to St. Maria; and arrived the 13th of February at that place, where we commonly find visitors. We found the ship Mars of Nantucket, commanded by captain Jonathan Barney. The day we arrived, three of my Botany bay men run from the boat when on shore. The next day (the 14th), I was informed by Captain Barney, that some of my convict men had planned to run away with one of my boats, and go over to the main. This information he obtained through the medium of his people. I examined into the affair, and was satisfied as to the truth of it; set five more of the above description of men on shore, making eight in all I had gotten clear of in two days. Captain Barney sailed about the 17th, and left me quite alone. I continued in that unpleasant situation till the 20th, never at any time after my arrival at this place, daring to let my whale boat be in the water fifteen minutes unless I was in her myself, from a fear that some of my people would run away with her. I always hoisted her in on deck the moment I came alongside, by which means I had the advantage of them; for should they run away with any other boat belonging to the ship, I could overtake them with the whale boat, which they very well knew. They were also well satisfied of the reasons why that boat was always kept on board, except when in my immediate use. During this time, I had no fear from them, except of their running away. Under these disadvantages the Spanish ship Tryal made her appearance on the morning of the 20th, as has been stated; and I had in the course of the day the satisfaction of seeing the great utility of good discipline. In every part of the business of the Tryal, not one disaffected word was spoken by the men,

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but all flew to obey the commands they received; and to their credit it should be recorded, that no men ever behaved better than they, under such circumstances. When it is considered that we had but two boats, one a whale boat, and the other built by ourselves, while on the coast of New Holland, which was very little larger than the whale boat; both of them were clinker built, one of cedar, and the other not much stouter; with only twenty men to board and carry a ship, containing so many slaves, made desperate by their situation; for they were certain, if taken, to suffer death; and when arriving alongside of the ship, they might have staved the bottom of the boats, by heaving into them a ballast stone or log of wood of twenty pounds: when all these things are taken into view, the reader may conceive of the hazardous nature of the enterprise, and the skill and the intrepidity which were requisite to carry it into execution.

On the afternoon of the 19th, before night, I sent the boatswain with the large boat and seine to try if he could catch some fish; he returned at night with but few, observing that the morning would be better if he went early. I then wished him to go as early as he thought proper, and he accordingly went at four o'clock. At sunrise, or about that time, the officer who commanded the deck, came down to me while I was in my cot, with information that a sail was just opening round the south point, or head of the island. I immediately rose, went on deck, and observed that she was too near the land, on account of a reef that lay off the head; and at the same time remarked to my people, that she must be a stranger, and I did not well understand what she was about. Some of them observed that they did not know who she was, or what she was doing; but that they were accustomed to see vessels shew their colours, when coming into a port. I ordered the whale boat to be hoisted out and manned, which was accordingly done. Presuming the vessel was from sea, and had been many days out, without perhaps fresh provisions, we put the fish which had been caught the night before into the boat, to be presented if necessary. Every thing being soon ready, as I thought the strange ship was in danger, we made all the haste in our power to get on board, that we might prevent her getting on the reefs; but before we came near her, the wind headed her off, and she was doing well. I went along side, and saw the decks were filled with slaves. As soon as I got on deck, the captain, mate, people and slaves crowded around me to relate their stories, and to make known their grievances; which could not but impress me with feelings of pity for their sufferings. They told me they had no water, as is related in their different accounts and depositions. After promising to relieve all the wants they had mentioned, I ordered the fish to be put on board, and sent the whale boat to our ship, with orders that the large boat, as soon as she returned from fishing, should take a set of gang casks to the watering place, fill them, and bring it for their relief as soon as possible. I also ordered the small boat to take what fish the large one had caught and what soft bread they had baked, some pumpkins, some sugar, and bottled cider, and

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return to me without delay. The boat left me on board the Spanish ship, went to our own, and executed the orders; and returned to me again about eleven o'clock. At noon the large boat came with the water, which I was obliged to serve out to them myself, to keep them from drinking so much as to do themselves injury. I gave them at first one gill each, an hour after, half a pint, and the third hour a pint. Afterward, I permitted them to drink as they pleased. They all looked up to me as a benefactor; and as I was deceived in them, I did them every possible kindness. Had it been otherwise there is no doubt I should have fallen a victim to their power. It was to my great advantage, that, on this occasion, the temperament of my mind was unusually pleasant. The apparent sufferings of those about me had softened my feelings into sympathy; or, doubtless my interference with some of their transactions would have cost me my life. The Spanish captain had evidently lost much of his authority over the slaves, whom he appeared to fear, and whom he was unwilling in any case to oppose. An instance of this occurred in the conduct of the four cabin boys, spoken of by the captain. They were eating with the slave boys on the main deck, when, (as I was afterwards informed) the Spanish boys, feeling some hopes of release, and not having prudence sufficient to keep silent, some words dropped respecting their expectations, which were understood by the slave boys. One of them gave a stroke with a knife on the head of one of the Spanish boys, which penetrated to the bone, in a cut four inches in length. I saw this and inquired what it meant. The captain replied that it was merely the sport of the boys, who had fallen out. I told him it appeared to me to be rather serious sport, as the wound had caused the boy to lose about a quart of blood. Several similar instances of unruly conduct, which, agreeably to my manner of thinking, demanded immediate resistance and punishment, were thus easily winked at, and passed over. I felt willing, however, to make some allowance even for conduct so gross, when I considered them to have been broken down with fatigue and long suffering.

The act of the negro, who kept constantly at the elbows of Don Bonito and myself, I should, at any other time, have immediately resented; and although it excited my wonder, that his commander should allow this extraordinary liberty, I did not remonstrate against it, until it became troublesome to myself. I wished to have some private conversation with the captain alone, and the negro as usual following us into the cabin, I requested the captain to send him on deck, as the business about which we were to talk could not be conveniently communicated in presence of a third person. I spoke in Spanish, and the negro understood me. The captain assured me, that his remaining with us would be of no disservice; that he had made him his confidant and companion since he had lost so many of his officers and men. He had introduced him to me before, as captain of the slaves, and told me he kept them in good order. I was alone with them, or rather on board by myself, for three or four hours, during

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the absence of my boat, at which time the ship drifted out with the current three leagues from my own, when the breeze sprung up from the south east. It was nearly four o'clock in the afternoon. We ran the ship as near to the Perseverance as we could without either ship's swinging afoul the other. After the Spanish ship was anchored, I invited the captain to go on board my ship and take tea or coffee with me. His answer was short and seemingly reserved; and his air very different from that with which he had received my assistance. As I was at a loss to account for this change in his demeanor, and knew he had seen nothing in my conduct to justify it, and as I felt certain that he treated me with intentional neglect; in return I became less sociable, and said little to him. After I had ordered my boat to be hauled up and manned, and as I was going to the side of the vessel, in order to get into her, Don Bonito came to me, gave my hand a hearty squeeze, and, as I thought, seemed to feel the weight of the cool treatment with which I had retaliated. I had committed a mistake in attributing his apparent coldness to neglect; and as soon as the discovery was made, I was happy to rectify it, by a prompt renewal of friendly intercourse. He continued to hold my hand fast till I stepped off the gunwale down the side, when he let it go, and stood making me compliments. When I had seated myself in the boat, and ordered her to be shoved off, the people having their oars up on end, she fell off at a sufficient distance to leave room for the oars to drop. After they were down, the Spanish captain, to my great astonishment, leaped from the gunwale of the ship into the middle of our boat. As soon as he had recovered a little, he called out in so alarming a manner, that I could not understand him; and the Spanish sailors were then seen jumping overboard and making for our boat. These proceedings excited the wonder of us all. The officer whom I had with me anxiously inquired into their meaning. I smiled and told him, that I neither knew, nor cared; but it seemed the captain was trying to impress his people with a belief that we intended to run away with him. At this moment one of my Portuguese sailors in the boat spoke to me, and gave me to understand what Don Bonito said. I desired the captain to come aft and sit down by my side, and in a calm deliberate manner relate the whole affair. In the mean time the boat was employed in picking up the men who had jumped from the ship. They had picked up three, (leaving one in the water till after the boat had put the Spanish captain and myself on board my ship,) when my officer observed the cable was cut, and the ship was swinging. I hailed the Perseverance, ordering the ports got up, and the guns run out as soon as possible. We pulled as fast as we could on board; and then despatched the boat for the man who was left in the water, whom we succeeded to save alive.

We soon had our guns ready; but the Spanish ship had dropped so far astern of the Perseverance, that we could bring but one gun to bear on her, which was the after one. This was fired six times, without any other effect than cutting away the fore top-mast stay, and some other small ropes

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which were no hindrance to her going away. She was soon out of reach of our shot, steering out of the bay. We then had some other calculations to make. Our ship was moored with two bower anchors, which were all the cables or anchors of that description we had. To slip and leave them would be to break our policy of insurance by a deviation, against which I would here caution the masters of all vessels. It should always be borne in mind, that to do any thing which will destroy the guaranty of their policies, how great soever may be the inducement, and how generous soever the motive, is not justifiable; for should any accident subsequently occur, whereby a loss might accrue to the underwriters, they will be found ready enough, and sometimes too ready, to avail themselves of the opportunity to be released from responsibility; and the damage must necessarily be sustained by the owners. This is perfectly right. The law has wisely restrained the powers of the insured, that the insurer should not be subject to imposition, or abuse. All bad consequences may be avoided by one who has a knowledge of his duty, and is disposed faithfully to obey its dictates.

At length, without much loss of time, I came to a determination to pursue, and take the ship with my two boats. On inquiring of the captain what fire arms they had on board the Tryal, he answered, they had none which they could use; that he had put the few they had out of order, so that they could make no defence with them; and furthermore, that they did not understand their use, if they were in order. He observed at the same time, that if I attempted to take her with boats we should all be killed; for the negroes were such bravos and so desperate, that there would be no such thing as conquering them. I saw the man in the situation that I have seen others, frightened at his own shadow. This was probably owing to his having been effectively conquered and his spirits broken.

After the boats were armed, I ordered the men to get into them; and they obeyed with cheerfulness. I was going myself, but Don Bonito took hold of my hand and forbade me, saying, you have saved my life, and now you are going to throw away your own. Some of my confidential officers asked me if it would be prudent for me to go, and leave the Perseverance in such an unguarded state; and also, if any thing should happen to me, what would be the consequence to the voyage. Every man on board, they observed, would willingly go, if it were my pleasure. I gave their remonstrances a moment's consideration, and felt their weight. I then ordered into the boats my chief officer, Mr. Low, who commanded the party; and under him, Mr. Brown, my second officer; my brother William, Mr. George Russell, son to major Benjamin Russell of Boston, and Mr. Nathaniel Luther, midshipmen; William Clark, boatswain; Charles Spence, gunner; and thirteen seamen. By way of encouragement, I told them that Don Bonito considered the ship and what was in her as lost; that the value was more than one hundred thousand dollars; that if we would take her, it should be all our own; and that if we should afterwards be disposed to give him up one half, it would be considered

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as a present. I likewise reminded them of the suffering condition of the poor Spaniards remaining on board; whom I then saw with my spy-glass as high aloft as they could get on the top-gallant-masts, and knowing that death must be their fate if they came down. I told them, never to see my face again, if they did not take her, and these were all of them pretty powerful stimulants. I wished God to prosper them in the discharge of their arduous duty, and they shoved off. They pulled after and came up with the Tryal, took their station upon each quarter, and commenced a brisk fire of musketry, directing it as much at the man at the helm as they could, as that was likewise a place of resort for the negroes. At length they drove the chief mate from it, who had been compelled to steer the ship. He ran up the mizen rigging as high as the cross jack yard, and called out in Spanish, "Don't board." This induced our people to believe that he favoured the cause of the negroes; they fired at him, and two balls took effect; one of them went through his side, but did not go deep enough to be mortal; and the other went through one of his thighs. This brought him down on deck again. They found the ship made such headway that the boats could hardly keep up with her, as the breeze was growing stronger. They then called to the Spaniards, who were still as high aloft as they could get, to come down on the yards, and cut away the robings and earings of the topsails, and let them fall from the yards, so that they might not hold any wind. They accordingly did so. About the same time, the Spaniard who was steering the ship, was killed; (he is sometimes called *passenger*, and sometimes *clerk*, in the different depositions,) so that both these circumstances combined rendered her unmanageable by such people as were left on board. She came round to the wind, and both boats boarded, one on each bow, when she was carried by hard fighting. The negroes defended themselves with desperate courage; and after our people had boarded them, they found they had barricadoed the deck by making a breastwork of the water casks which we had left on board, and sacks of matta, abreast the mainmast, from one side of the ship to the other, to the height of six feet; behind which they defended themselves with all the means in their power to the last; and our people had to force their way over this breast work before they could compel them to surrender. The other parts of the transaction have some of them been, and the remainder will be hereafter stated.

On going on board the next morning with hand-cuffs, leg-irons, and shackled bolts, to secure the hands and feet of the negroes, the sight which presented itself to our view was truly horrid. They had got all the men who were living made fast, hands and feet, to the ring bolts in the deck; some of them had part of their bowels hanging out, and some with half their backs and thighs shaved off. This was done with our boarding lances, which were always kept exceedingly sharp and bright as a gentleman's sword. Whilst putting them in irons, I had to exercise as much authority over the Spanish captain and his crew, as I had to use over my own men

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on any other occasion, to prevent them from cutting to pieces and killing these poor unfortunate beings. I observed one of the Spanish sailors had found a razor in the pocket of an old jacket of his, which one of the slaves had on; he opened it, and made a cut upon the negro's head. He seemed to aim at his throat, and it bled shockingly. Seeing several more about to engage in the same kind of barbarity, I commanded them not to hurt another one of them, on pain of being brought to the gang-way and flogged. The captain, also, I noticed, had a dirk, which he had secreted at the time the negroes were massacreing the Spaniards. I did not observe, however, that he intended to use it, until one of my people gave me a twitch by the elbow, to draw my attention to what was passing, when I saw him in the act of stabbing one of the slaves. I immediately caught hold of him, took away his dirk, and threatened him with the consequences of my displeasure, if he attempted to hurt one of them. Thus I was obliged to be continually vigilant, to prevent them from using violence towards these wretched creatures.

After we had put everything in order on board the Spanish ship, and swept for and obtained her anchors, which the negroes had cut her from, we sailed on the 23rd, both ships in company, for Conception, where we anchored on the 26th. After the common forms were passed, we delivered the ship, and all that was on board her, to the captain, whom we had befriended. We delivered him also a bag of doubloons, containing, I presume, nearly a thousand; several bags of dollars, containing a like number; and several baskets of watches, some gold, and some silver. all of which had been brought on board the Perseverance for safe keeping. We detained no part of this treasure to reward us for the services we had rendered. all that we received was faithfully returned.

After our arrival at Conception, I was mortified and very much hurt at the treatment which I received from Don Bonito Sereno; but had this been the only time that I ever was treated with ingratitude, injustice, or want of compassion, I would not complain. I will only name one act of his towards me at this place. He went to the prison and took the depositions of five of my Botany bay convicts, who had left us at St. Maria, and were now in prison there. This was done by him with a view to injure my character, so that he might not be obliged to make us any compensation for what we had done for him. I never made any demand of, nor claimed in any way whatever, more than that they should give me justice; and did not ask to be my own judge, but to refer it to government. Amongst those who swore against me were the three outlawed convicts, who have been before mentioned. I had been the means, undoubtedly, of saving every one of their lives, and had supplied them with clothes. They swore everything against me they could to effect my ruin. Amongst other atrocities, they swore I was a pirate, and made several statements that would operate equally to my disadvantage had they been believed; all of which were brought before the viceroy of Lima against me. When

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we met at that place, the viceroy was too great and too good a man to be misled by these false representations. He told Don Bonito, that my conduct towards him proved the injustice of these depositions, taking his own official declaration at Conception for the proof of it; that he had been informed by Don Jose Calminaries, who was commandant of the marine, and was at that time, and after the affair of the Tryal, on the coast of Chili; that Calminaries had informed him how both Don Bonito and myself had conducted, and he was satisfied that no man had behaved better, under all circumstances, than the American captain had done to Don Bonito, and that he never had seen or heard of any man treating another with so much dishonesty and ingratitude as he had treated the American. The viceroy had previously issued an order, on his own authority, to Don Bonito, to deliver to me eight thousand dollars as part payment for service rendered him. This order was not given till his Excellency had consulted all the tribunals holding jurisdiction over similar cases, except the twelve royal judges. These judges exercise a supreme authority over all the courts in Peru, and reserve to themselves the right of giving a final decision in all questions of law. Whenever either party is dissatisfied with the decision of the inferior courts in this kingdom, they have a right of appeal to the twelve judges. Don Bonito had attempted an appeal from the viceroy's order to the royal judges. The viceroy sent for me, and acquainted me of Don Bonito's attempt; at the same time recommending to me to accede to it, as the royal judges well understood the nature of the business, and would do much better for me than his order would. He observed at the same time, that they were men of too great characters to be biassed or swayed from doing justice by any party; they holding their appointments immediately from his majesty. He said, if I requested it, Don Bonito should be holden to his order. I then represented, that I had been in Lima nearly two months, waiting for different tribunals, to satisfy his Excellency what was safe for him, and best to be done for me, short of a course of law, which I was neither able nor willing to enter into; that I had then nearly thirty men on different islands, and on board my tender, which was then somewhere amongst the islands on the coast of Chili; that they had no method that I knew of to help themselves, or receive succour, except from me; and that if I was to defer the time any longer it amounted to a certainty, that they must suffer. I therefore must pray that his Excellency's order might be put in force.

Don Bonito, who was owner of the ship and part of the cargo, had been quibbling and using all his endeavors to delay the time of payment, provided the appeal was not allowed, when his Excellency told him to get out of his sight, that he would pay the money himself, and put him (Don Bonito) into a dungeon, where he should not see sun, moon, or stars; and was about giving the order, when a very respectable company of merchants waited on him and pleaded for Don Bonito, praying that

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his Excellency would favor him on account of his family, who were very rich and respectable. The viceroy remarked that Don Bonito's character had been such as to disgrace any family, that had any pretensions to respectability; but that he should grant their prayer, provided there was no more reason for complaint. The last transaction brought me the money in two hours; by which time I was extremely distressed, enough, I believe, to have punished me for a great many of my bad deeds.

When I take a retrospective view of my life, I cannot find in my soul, that I ever have done anything to deserve such misery and ingratitude as I have suffered at different periods, and in general, from the very persons to whom I have rendered the greatest services.

The following Documents were officially translated, and are inserted without alteration, from the original papers. This I thought to be the most correct course, as it would give the reader a better view of the subject than any other method that could be adopted. My deposition and that of Mr. Luther, were communicated through a bad linguist, who could not speak the English language so well as I could the Spanish, Mr. Luther not having any knowledge of the Spanish language. The Spanish captain's deposition, together with Mr. Luther's and my own, were translated into English again, as now inserted; having thus undergone two translations. These circumstances, will, we hope, be a sufficient apology for any thing which may appear to the reader not to be perfectly consistent, one declaration with another; and for any impropriety of expression.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

STAMP

A faithful translation of the depositions of Don Benito Cereno, of Don Amasa Delano, and of Don Nathaniel Luther, together with the Documents of the commencement of the process, under the King's Seal.

I Don Jose de Abos, and Padilla, his Majesty's Notary for the Royal Revenue, and Register of this Province, and Notary Public of the Holy Crusade of this Bishoprick, etc.

Do certify and declare, as much as requisite in law, that, in the criminal cause, which by an order of the Royal Justice, Doctor Don Juan Martinez de Rozas, deputy assessor general of this province, conducted against the Senegal Negroes, that the ship Tryal was carrying from the port of Valparaiso, to that of Callao of Lima, in the month of December last. There is at the beginning of the prosecution, a decree in continuation of the declaration of her captain, Don Benito Cereno, and on the back of the twenty-sixth leaf, that of the captain of the American ship, the Perseverance, Amasa Delano; and that of the supercargo of this ship, Nathaniel Luther, midshipman, of the United States, on the thirtieth leaf; as also the Sentence of the aforesaid cause, on the back of the 72nd

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leaf; and the confirmation of the Royal Audience, of this District, on the 78th and 79th leaves; and an official order of the Tribunal with which the cause and everything else therein continued, is remitted back; which proceedings with a representation made by the said American captain, Amasa Delano, to this Intendency, against the Spanish captain of the ship Tryal,. Don Benito Cereno, and answers thereto—are in the following manner—

Decree of the Commencement of the Process.

In the port of Talcahuane, the twenty-fourth of the month of February, one thousand eight hundred and five, Doctor Don Juan Martinez de Rozas, Counsellor of the Royal Audience of this Kingdom, Deputy Assessor, and learned in the law, of this Intendency, having the deputation thereof on account of the absence of his Lordship, the Governor Intendent —Said, that whereas the ship Tryal, has just cast anchor in the road of this port, and her captain, Don Benito Cereno, has made the declaration of the twentieth of December, he sailed from the port of Valparaiso, bound to that of Callao; having his ship loaded with produce and merchandize of the country, with sixty-three negroes of all sexes and ages, and besides nine sucking infants; that the twenty-sixth, in the night, revolted, killed eighteen of his men, and made themselves master of the ship—that afterwards they killed seven men more, and obliged him to carry them to the coast of Africa, at Senegal, of which they were natives; that Tuesday the nineteenth, he put into the island of Santa Maria, for the purpose of taking in water, and he found in its harbour the American ship, the Perseverance, commanded by captain Amasa Delano, who being informed of the revolt of the negroes on board the ship Tryal, killed five or six of them in the engagement, and finally overcame them; that the ship being recovered, he supplied him with hands, and brought him to this port.—Wherefore, for examining the truth of these facts, and inflict on the guilty of such heinous crimes, the penalties provided by law. He therefore orders that this decree commencing the process, should be extended, that agreeably to its tenor, the witnesses, that should be able to give an account of them, be examined—thus ordered by his honour, which I attest.—Doctor ROZAS.

Before me, Jose de Abos, and Padilla, his Majesty's Notary of Royal Revenue and Registers.

Declaration of first Witness

DON BENITO CERENO

The same day and month and year, his Honour ordered the captain of the ship Tryal, Don Benito Cereno, to appear, of whom he received before me, the oath, which he took by God, our Lord, and a Sign of the Cross, under which he promised to tell the truth of whatever he should know and should be asked—and being interrogated agreeably to the

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tenor of the act, commencing the process, he said, that the twentieth of December last, he set sail with his ship from the port of Valparaiso, bound to that of Callao; loaded with the produce of the country, and seventy-two negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, belonging to Don Alexandro Aranda, inhabitant of the city of Mendosa; that the crew of the ship consisted of thirty-six men, besides the persons who went passengers; that the negroes were of the following ages,—twenty from twelve to sixteen years, one from about eighteen to nineteen years, names Jose, and this was the man that waited upon his master Don Alexandro, who speaks well the Spanish, having had him four or five years; a mulatto, named Francisco, native of the province of Buenos Ayres, aged about thirty-five years; a smart negro, named Joaquin, who had been for many years among the Spaniards, aged twenty-six years, and a caulker by trade; twelve full grown negroes, aged from twenty-five to fifty years, all raw and born on the coast of Senegal—whose names are as follow,—the first was named Babo, and he was killed,—the second who is his son, is named Muri,—the third, Matiluqui,—the fourth, Yola,—the fifth, Yau,—the sixth Atufal, who was killed,—the seventh, Diamelo, also killed,—the eighth, Leebe, likewise killed,—the ninth, Natu, in the same manner killed, and that he does not recollect the names of the others; but that he will take due account of them all, and remit to the court; and twenty-eight women of all ages;—that all the negroes slept upon deck, as is customary in this navigation; and none wore fetters, because the owner, Aranda told him that they were all tractable; that the twenty-seventh of December, at three o'clock in the morning, all the Spaniards being asleep except the two officers on the watch, who were the boatswain Juan Robles, and the carpenter Juan Balltista Gayete, and the helmsman and his boy; the negroes revolted suddenly, wounded dangerously the boatswain and the carpenter, and successively killed eighteen men of those who were sleeping upon deck,—some with sticks and daggers, and others by throwing them alive overboard, after tying them; that of the Spaniards who were upon deck, they left about seven, as he thinks, alive and tied, to manoeuver the ship; and three or four more who hid themselves, remained also alive, although in the act of revolt, they made themselves masters of the hatchway, six or seven wounded, went through it to the cock-pit without any hindrance on their part; that in the act of revolt, the mate and another person, whose name he does not recollect, attempted to come up through the hatchway, but having been wounded at the onset, they were obliged to return to the cabin; that the deponent resolved at break of day to come up the companion-way, where the negro Babo was, being the ring leader, and another who assisted him, and having spoken to them, exhorted them to cease committing such atrocities—asking them at the same time what they wanted and intended to do—offering himself to obey their commands; that notwithstanding this, they threw, in his presence, three men, alive and tied, overboard; that they told the deponent to come up, and that

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they would not kill him—which having done, they asked him whether there were in these seas any negro countries, where they might be carried, and he answered them, no; that they afterwards told him to carry them to *Senegal*, or to the neighboring islands of St. Nicolas—and he answered them, that this was impossible, on account of the great distance, the bad condition of the vessel, the want of provisions, sails and water; that they replied to him, he must carry them in any way; that they would do and conform themselves to every thing the deponent should require as to eating and drinking, that after a long conference, being absolutely compelled to please them, for they threatened him to kill them all, if they were not at all events carried to Senegal. He told them that what was most wanting for the voyage was water; that they would go near the coast to take it, and thence they would proceed on their course—that the negroes agreed to it; and the deponent steered towards the intermediate ports, hoping to meet some Spanish or foreign vessel that would save them; that within ten or eleven days they saw the land, and continued their course by it in the vicinity of Nasca; that the deponent observed that the negroes were now restless, and mutinous, because he did not effect the taking in of water, they having required with threats that it should be done, without fail the following day; he told them that they saw plainly that the coast was steep, and the rivers designated in the maps were not to be found, with other reasons suitable to the circumstances; that the best way would be to go to the island of Santa Maria, where they might water and victual easily, it being a desert island, as the foreigners did; that the deponent did not go to Pisco, that was near, not make any other port of the coast, because the negroes had intimated to him several times, that they would kill them all the very moment they should perceive any city, town, or settlement, on the shores to which they should be carried; that having determined to go to the island of Santa Maria, as the deponent had planned, for the purpose of trying whether in the passage or in the island itself, they could find any vessel that should favor them, or whether he could escape from it in a boat to the neighboring coast of Arruco. To adopt the necessary means he immediately changed his course, steering for the island; that the negroes held daily conferences, in which they discussed what was necessary for their design of returning to Senegal, whether they were to kill all the Spaniards, and particularly the deponent; that eight days after parting from the coast of Nasca, the deponent being on the watch a little after day-break, and soon after the negroes had their meeting, the negro Mure came to the place where the deponent was, and told him, that his comrades had determined to kill his master, Don Alexandro Aranda, because they said they could not otherwise obtain their liberty, and that he should call the mate, who was sleeping, before they executed it, for fear, as he understood, that he should not be killed with the rest; that the deponent prayed and told him all that was necessary in such a circumstance to dissuade him from his design, but all was useless, for the negro Mure answered him,

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that the thing could not be prevented, and that they should all run the risk of being killed if they should attempt to dissuade or obstruct them in the act; that in this conflict the deponent called the mate, and immediately the negro Mure ordered the negro Matinqui, and another named Lecbe, who died in the island of Santa Maria, to go and commit this murder; that the two negroes went down to the birth of Don Alexandro, and stabbed him in his bed; that yet half alive and agonizing, they dragged him on deck and threw him overboard; that the clerk, Don Lorenzo Bargas, was sleeping in the opposite birth, and awaking at the cries of Aranda, surprised by them, and at the sight of the negroes, who had bloody daggers in their hands, he threw himself into the sea through a window which was near him, and was miserably drowned, without being in the power of the deponent to assist, or take him up, though he immediately put out his boat; that a short time after killing Aranda, they got upon deck his german-cousin, Don Francisco Masa, and his other clerk, called Don Hermenegildo, a native of Spain, and a relation of the said Aranda, besides the boatswain, Juan Robles, the boatswain's mate, Manuel Viseaya, and two or three others of the sailors, all of whom were wounded, and having stabbed them again, they threw them alive into the sea, although they made no resistance, nor begged for any thing else but mercy; that the boatswain, Juan Robles, who knew how to swim, kept himself the longest above water, making acts of contrition, and in the last words he uttered, charged this deponent to cause mass to be said for his soul, to our Lady of Succour; that having finished this slaughter, the negro Mure told him that they had now done all, and that he might pursue his destination, warning him that they would kill all the Spaniards, if they saw them speak, or plot any thing against them—a threat which they repeated almost every day; that before this occurrence last mentioned, they had tied the cook to throw him overboard for I know not what thing they heard him speak, and finally they spared his life at the request of the deponent; that a few days after, the deponent endeavored not to omit any means to preserve their lives—spoke to them peace and tranquillity, and agreed to draw up a paper, signed by the deponent, and the sailors who could write, as also by the negroes, Babo and Atufal, who could do it in their language, though they were new, in which he obliged himself to carry them to Senegal, and they not to kill any more, and to return to them the ship with the cargo, with which they were for that satisfied and quieted; that omitting other events which daily happened, and which can only serve to recal their past misfortunes and conflicts, after forty-two days navigation, reckoned from the time they sailed from Nasca, during which they navigated under a scanty allowance of water, they at last arrived at the island of Santa Maria, on Tuesday the nineteenth instant, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour they cast anchor very near the American ship Perseverance, which lay in the same port, commanded by the *generous captain Amasa Delano*, but at seven o'clock

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in the morning they had already descried the port, and the negroes became uneasy as soon as they saw the ship, and the deponent, to appease and quiet them, proposed to them to say and do all that he will declare to have said to the American captain, with which they were tranquilized, warning him that if he varied in the least, or uttered any word that should give the least intimation of the past occurrences, they would instantly kill him and all his companions; that about eight o'clock in the morning, captain Amasa Delano came in his boat, on board the Tryal, and all gladly received him; that the deponent, acting then the part of an owner and a free captain of the ship told them that he came from Buenos Ayres, bound to Lima, with that parcel of negroes; that at the cape many had died, that also, all the sea officers and the greatest part of the crew had died, there remained to him no other sailors than these few who were in sight, and that for want of them the sails had been torn to pieces; that the heavy storms off the cape had obliged them to throw overboard the greatest part of the cargo, and the water pipes; that consequently he had no more water; that he had thought of putting into the port of Conception, but that the north wind had prevented him, as also the want of water, for he had only enough for that day, concluded by asking of him supplies; that the *generous captain Amasa Delano* immediately offered them sails, pipes, and whatever he wanted, to pursue his voyage to Lima, without entering any other port, leaving it to his pleasure to refund him for these supplies at Callao, or pay him for them if he thought best; that he immediately ordered his boat for the purpose of bringing him water, sugar, and bread, as they did; that Amasa Delano remained on board the Tryal all the day, till he left the ship anchored at five o'clock in the afternoon, deponent speaking to him always of his pretended misfortunes, under the forementioned principles, without having had it in his power to tell a single word, nor giving him the least hint, that he might know the truth, and state of things; because the negro Mure, who is a man of capacity and talents, performing the office of an officious servant, with all the appearance of submission of the humble slave, did not leave the deponent one moment, in order to observe his actions and words; for he understands well the Spanish, and besides there were thereabout some others who were constantly on the watch and understood it also; that a moment in which Amasa Delano left the deponent, Mure asked him, how do we come on? and the deponent answered them, well; he gives us all the supplies we want; but he asked him afterwards how many men he had, and the deponent told him that he had thirty men; but that twenty of them were on the island, and there were in the vessel only those whom he saw there in the two boats; and then the negro told him, well, you will be the captain of this ship to night and his also, for three negroes are sufficient to take it; that as soon as they had cast anchor, at five of the clock, as has been stated, the American captain took leave, to return to his vessel, and the deponent accompanied him as far as the gunwale, where he staid under

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pretence of taking leave, until he should have got into his boat; but on shoving off, the deponent jumped from the gunwale into the boat and fell into it, without knowing how, and without sustaining, fortunately, any harm; but he immediately hallooed to the Spaniards on the ship, "Overboard, those that can swim, the rest to the rigging." That he instantly told the captain, by means of the Portuguese interpreter, that they were revolted negroes, who had killed all his people; that the said captain soon understood the affair, and recovered from his surprise, which the leap of the deponent occasioned, and told him, "Be not afraid, be not afraid, set down and be easy," and ordered his sailors to row towards his ship, and before coming up to her, he hailed, to get a cannon ready and run it out of the port hole, which they did very quick, and fired with it a few shots at the negroes; that in the mean while the boat was sent to pick up two men who had thrown themselves overboard, which they effected; that the negroes cut the cables, and endeavoured to sail away; that Amasa Delano seeing them sailing away, and the cannon could not subdue them, ordered his people to get muskets, pikes and sabres ready, and all his men offered themselves willingly to board them with the boats; that captain Amasa Delano wanted to go in person, and was going to embark the first, but the deponent prevented him, and after many entreaties he finally remained, saying, though that circumstance would procure him much honour, he would stay to please him, and keep him company in his affliction, and would send a brother of his, on whom he said he placed as much reliance as on himself; his brother, the mates, and eighteen men, whom he had in his vessel, embarked in the two boats, and made their way towards the Tryal, which was already under sail; that they rowed considerably in pursuing the ship, and kept up a musketry fire; but that they could not overtake them, until they hallooed to the sailors on the rigging, to unbend or take away the sails, which they accordingly did, letting them fall on the deck; that they were then able to lay themselves alongside, keeping up constantly a musketry fire, whilst some got up the sides on deck, with pikes and sabres, and the others remained in the stern of the boat, keeping up also a fire, until they got up finally by the same side, and engaged the negroes, who defended themselves to the last with their weapons, rushing upon the points of the pikes with an extraordinary fury; that the Americans killed five or six negroes, and these were Babo, Atufal, Dick, Natu, Qiamolo, and does not recollect any other; that they wounded several others, and at last conquered and made them prisoners, that at ten o'clock at night, the first mate with three men, came to inform the captain that the ship had been taken, and came also for the purpose of being cured of a dangerous wound, made by a point of a dagger, which he had received in his breast; that two other Americans had been slightly wounded; the captain left nine men to take care of the ship as far as this port; he accompanied her with his own until both ships, the Tryal and Perseverance, cast anchor between nine and eleven o'clock

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in the forenoon of this day; that the deponent has not seen the twenty negroes, from twelve to sixteen years of age, have any share in the execution of the murders; nor does he believe they have had, on account of their age, although all were knowing to the insurrection; that the negro Jose, eighteen years old, and in the service of Don Alexandro, was the one who communicated the information to the negro Mure and his comrades, of the state of things before the revolt; and this is known, because in the preceding nights he used to come to sleep from below, where they were, and had secret conversations with Mure, in which he was seen several times by the mate; and one night he drove him away twice; that this same negro Jose, was the one who advised the other negroes to kill his master, Don Alexandro; and that this is known, because the negroes have said it; that on the first revolt, the negro Jose was upon deck with the other revolted negroes, but it is not known whether he materially participated in the murders; that the mulatto Francisco was of the band of revolters, and one of their number; that the negro Joaquin was also one of the worst of them, for that on the day the ship was taken, he assisted in the defence of her with a hatchet in one hand and a dagger in the other, as the sailors told him; that in sight of the deponent, he stabbed Don Francisco Masa, when he was carrying him to throw him overboard alive, he being the one who held him fast; that the twelve or thirteen negroes, from twenty-five to fifty years of age, were with the former, the principal revolters, and committed the murders and atrocities before related; that five or six of them were killed, as has been said, in the attack on the ship, and the following remained alive and are prisoners—to wit—Mure, who acted as captain and commander of them, and on all the insurrections and posterior events, Matinqui, Alathano, Yau, Luis, Mapenda, Yola, Yambaio, being eight in number, and with Jose, Joaquin, and Francisco, who are also alive, making the number of eleven of the remaining insurgents; that the negresses of age, were knowing to the revolt, and influenced the death of their master; who also used their influence to kill the deponent; that in the act of murder, and before that of the engagement of the ship, they began to sing, and were singing a very melancholy song during the action, to excite the courage of the negroes; that the statement he has just given of the negroes who are alive, has been made by the officers of the ship; that of the thirty-six men of the crew and passengers, which the deponent had knowledge of, twelve only including the mate remained alive, besides four cabin boys, who were not included in that number; that they broke an arm of one of those cabin boys, named Francisco Raneds, and gave him three or four stabs, which are already healed; that in the engagement of the ship, the second clerk, Don Josi Morairi, was killed by a musket ball fired at him through accident, for having incautiously presented himself on the gunwale; that at the time of the attack of the ship, Don Joaquin Arambaolaza was on one of the yards flying from the negroes, and at the approach of the boats, he

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hallooed by order of the negroes, not to board, on which account the Americans thought he was also one of the revolters, and fired two balls at him, one passed through one of his thighs, and the other in the chest of his body, of which he is now confined, though the American captain, who has him on board, says he will recover; that in order to be able to proceed from the coast of Nasca, to the island of Santa Maria, he saw himself obliged to lighten the ship, by throwing more than one third of the cargo overboard, for he could not have made that voyage otherwise; that what he has said is the most substantial of what occurs to him on this unfortunate event, and the truth, under the oath that he has taken;—which declaration he affirmed and ratified, after hearing it read to him. He said that he was twenty-nine years of age;—and signed with his honour—which I certify.

BENITO CERENO.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

RATIFICATION

In the port of Talcahuano, the first day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and five,—the same Honourable Judge of this cause caused to appear in this presence the captain of the ship Tryal, Don Benito Cereno, of whom he received an oath, before me, which he took conformably to law, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know, and of what he should be asked, and having read to him the fore-going declaration, and being asked if it is the same he has given and whether he has to add or to take off any thing,—he said, that it is the same he has given, that he affirms and ratifies it; and has only to add, that the new negroes were thirteen, and the females comprehended twenty-seven, without including the infants, and that one of them died from hunger or thirst, and two young negroes of those from twelve to sixteen, together with an infant. And he signed it with his honour—which I certify.

BENITO CERENO.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

Declaration of DON AMASA DELANO

The same day, month and year, his Honour, ordered the captain of the American ship Perseverance to appear, whose oath his Honour received, which he took by placing his right hand on the Evangelists, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know and be asked—and being interrogated according to the decree, beginning this process, through the medium of the interpreter Carlos Elli, who likewise swore to exercise well and lawfully his office, that the nineteenth or twentieth of the month, as he believes, agreeably to the calculation he

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keeps from the eastward, being at the island of Santa Maria, at anchor, he descried at seven o'clock in the morning, a ship coming round the point; that he asked his crew what ship that was; they replied that they did not know her; that taking his spy-glass he perceived she bore no colours; that he took his barge, and his net for fishing, and went on board of her, that when he got on deck he embraced the Spanish captain, who told him that he had been four months and twenty-six days from Buenos Ayres; that many of his people had died of the scurvy, and that he was in great want of supplies—particularly pipes for water, duck for sails, and refreshment for his crew; that the deponent offered to give and supply him with everything he asked and wanted; that the Spanish captain did nothing else, because the ringleader of the negroes was constantly at their elbows, observing what was said. That immediately he sent his barge to his own ship to bring; (as they accordingly did) water, peas, bread, sugar, and fish. That he also sent for his long boat to bring a load of water, and having brought it, he returned to his own ship; that in parting he asked the Spanish captain to come on board his ship to take coffee, tea, and other refreshments; but he answered him with coldness and indifference; that he could not go then, but that he would in two or three days. That at the same time he visited him, the ship Tryal cast anchor in the port, about four o'clock in the afternoon,—that he told his people belonging to his boat to embark in order to return to his ship, that the deponent also left the deck to get into his barge,—that on getting into the barge, the Spanish captain took him by the hand and immediately gave a jump on board his boat,—that he then told him that the negroes of the Tryal had taken her, and had murdered twenty-five men, which the deponent was informed of through the medium of an interpreter, who was with him, and a Portuguese; that two or three other Spaniards threw themselves into the water, who were picked up by his boats; that he immediately went to his ship, and before reaching her, called to the mate to prepare and load the guns; that having got on board, he fired at them with his cannon, and this same deponent pointed six shots at the time the negroes of the Tryal were cutting away the cables and setting sail; that the Spanish captain told him that the ship was already going away, and that she could not be taken; that the deponent replied that he would take her; then the Spanish captain told him that if he took her, one half of her value would be his, and the other half would remain to the real owners; that thereupon he ordered the people belonging to his crew, to embark in the two boats, armed with knives, pistols, sabres, and pikes, to pursue her, and board her; that the two boats were firing at her near an hour with musketry, and at the end boarded and captured her; and that before sending his boats, he told his crew, in order to encourage them, that the Spanish captain offered to give them the half of the value of the Tryal if they took her. That having taken the ship, they came to anchor at about two o'clock in the morning very near the deponent's, leaving in her about

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twenty of his men; that his first mate received a very dangerous wound in his breast made with a pike, of which he lies very ill; that three other sailors were also wounded with clubs, though not dangerously; that five or six of the negroes were killed in boarding; that at six o'clock in the morning, he went with the Spanish captain on board the Tryal, to carry manacles and fetters from his ship, ordering them to be put on the negroes who remained alive, he dressed the wounded, and accompanied the Tryal to the anchoring ground; and in it he delivered her up manned from his crew; for until that moment he remained in possession of her; that what he has said is what he knows, and the truth, under the oath he has taken, which he affirmed and ratified after the said declaration had been read to him—saying he was forty-two years of age—the interpreter did not sign it because he said he did not know how—the captain signed it with his honour—which I certify.

AMASA DELANO.

DOCTOR ROZAS
Before me.—PADILLA

RATIFICATION

The said day, month and year, his Honour ordered the captain of the American ship, Don Amasa Delano to appear, of whom his Honour received an oath, which he took by placing his hand on the Evangelists, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know, and be asked, and having read to him the foregoing declaration, through the medium of the interpreter, Ambrosio Fernandez, who likewise took an oath to exercise well and faithfully his office—he said that he affirms and ratifies the same; that he has nothing to add or diminish, and he signed it, with his Honour, and likewise the Interpreter.

AMASA DELANO
AMBROSIO FERNANDEZ.

DOCTOR ROZAS.
Before me.—PADILLA

Declaration of DON NATHANIEL LUTHER, *Midshipman*

The same day, month and year, his Honour ordered Don Nathaniel Luther, first midshipman of the American ship Perseverance, and acting as clerk to the captain, to appear, of whom he received an oath, and which he took by placing his right hand on the Evangelists, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know, and be asked, and being interrogated agreeably to the decree commencing this process, through the medium of the Interpreter, Carlos Elli, he said that the deponent himself was one that boarded, and helped to take the ship Tryal in the boats; that he knows that his captain, Amasa Delano, has deposed on every thing that happened in this affair; that in order to avoid delay he requests that his declaration should be read to him, and he will

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tell whether it is conformable to the happening of the events; that if any thing should be omitted he will observe it, and add to it, doing the same if he erred in any part thereof; and his Honour having acquiesced in this proposal, the Declaration made this day by captain Amasa Delano, was read to him through the medium of the Interpreter, and said, that the deponent went with his captain, Amasa Delano, to the ship Tryal, as soon as she appeared at the point of the island, which was about seven o'clock in the morning, and remained with him on board of her, until she cast anchor; that the deponent was one of those who boarded the ship Tryal in the boats, and by this he knows that the narration which the captain has made in the deposition which has been read to him, is certain and exact in all its parts; and he has only three things to add; the first, that whilst his captain remained on board the Tryal, a negro stood constantly at his elbow, and by the side of the deponent, the second, that the deponent was in the boat, when the Spanish captain jumped into it, and when the Portuguese declared that the negroes had revolted; the third, that the number of killed was six, five negroes and a Spanish sailor; that what he has said is the truth, under the oath which he has taken; which he affirmed and ratified, after his Declaration had been read to him; he said he was twenty-one years of age, and signed it with his Honour, but the Interpreter did not sign it, because he said he did not know how—which I certify.

NATHANIEL LUTHER.

DOCTOR ROZAS.
Before me.—PADILLA

RATIFICATION

The aforesaid day, month and year, his Honour, ordered Don Nathaniel Luther, first midshipman of the American ship Perseverance, and acting as clerk to the captain, to whom he administered an oath, which he took by placing his hand on the Evangelists, under the sanctity of which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know and be asked; and the foregoing Declaration having been read to him, which he thoroughly understood, through the medium of the Interpreter, Ambrosio Fernandez, to whom an oath was likewise administered, to exercise well and faithfully his office, he says that he affirms and ratifies the same, that he has nothing to add or diminish, and he signed it with his Honour, and the Interpreter, which I certify.

NATHANIEL LUTHER
AMBROSIO FERNANDEZ.

DOCTOR ROZAS.
Before me.—PADILLA

SENTENCE

In this city of Conception, the second day of the month of March, of one thousand eight hundred and five, his Honour Doctor Don Juan

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Martinez de Rozas, Deputy Assessor and learned in the law, of this intendency, having the execution thereof on account of the absence of his Honour, the principal having seen the proceedings, which he has conducted officially against the negroes of the ship Tryal, in consequence of the insurrection and atrocities which they have committed on board of her.—He declared, that the insurrection and revolt of said negroes, being sufficiently substantiated, with premeditated intent, the twenty-seventh of December last, at three o'clock in the morning; that taking by surprise the sleeping crew, they killed eighteen men, some with sticks, and daggers, and others by throwing them alive overboard; that a few days afterward with the same deliberate intent, they stabbed their master Don Alexandro Aranda, and threw Don Francisco Masa, his german cousin, Hermenegildo, his relation, and the other wounded persons who were confined in the births, overboard alive; that in the island of Santa Maria, they defended themselves with arms, against the Americans, who attempted to subdue them, causing the death of Don Jose Moraira the second clerk, as they had done that of the first, Don Lorenzo Bargas; the whole being considered, and the consequent guilts resulting from those heinous and atrocious actions as an example to others, he ought and did condemn the negroes, Mure, Matiniqui, Alazase, Yola, Joaquin, Luis, Yau, Mapenda, and Yambaio, to the common penalty of death, which shall be executed, by taking them out and dragging them from the prison, at the tail of a beast of burden, as far as the gibbet, where they shall be hung until they are dead, and to the forfeiture of all their property, if they should have any, to be applied to the Royal Treasury; that the heads of the five first be cut off after they are dead, and be fixed on a pole, in the square of the port of Talcahuano, and the corpses of all be burnt to ashes. The negresses and young negroes of the same gang shall be present at the execution, if they should be in that city at the time thereof; that he ought and did condemn likewise, the negro Jose, servant to said Don Alexandro, and Yambaio, Francisco, Rodriguez, to ten years confinement in the place of Valdivia, to work chained, on allowance and without pay, in the work of the King, and also to attend the execution of the other criminals; and judging definitively by this sentence thus pronounced and ordered by his Honour, and that the same should be executed notwithstanding the appeal, for which he declared there was no cause, but that an account of it should be previously sent to the Royal Audience of this district, for the execution thereof with the costs.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—José DE ABOS PADILLA
His Majesty's Notary of the Royal Revenue and Registers

CONFIRMATION OF THE SENTENCE

SANTIAGO, *March the twenty-first, of one thousand eight hundred and five*

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Having duly considered the whole, we suppose the sentence pronounced by the Deputy Assessor of the City of Conception, to whom we remit the same for its execution and fulfilment, with the official resolution, taking first an authenticated copy of the proceedings, to give an account thereof to his Majesty; and in regard to the request of the acting Notary, to the process upon the pay of his charges, he will exercise his right when and where he shall judge best.—

There are four flourishes

Their Honours, the President, Regent, and Auditors of his Royal Audience passed the foregoing decree, and those on the Margin set their flourishes, the day of this date, the twenty first of March, one thousand eight hundred and five;—which I certify,

ROMAN.

NOTIFICATION

The twenty-third of said month, I acquainted his Honour, the King's Attorney of the foregoing decree,—which I certify,

ROMAN.

OFFICIAL RESOLUTION

The Tribunal has resolved to manifest by this official resolve and pleasure for the exactitude, zeal and promptness which you have discovered in the cause against the revolted negroes of the ship Tryal, which process it remits to you, with the approbation of the sentence for the execution thereof, forewarning you that before its completion, you may agree with the most Illustrious Bishop, on the subject of furnishing the spiritual aids to these miserable beings, affording the same to them with all possible dispatch.—At the same time this Royal Audience has thought fit in case you should have an opportunity of speaking with the Bostonian captain, Amasa Delano, to charge you to inform him, that they will give an account to his Majesty, of the generous and benevolent conduct which he displayed in the punctual assistance that he afforded the Spanish captain of the aforesaid ship, for the suitable manifestation, publication and noticety of such a memorable event.

God preserve you many years.

SANTIAGO, *March the twenty-second, of one thousand eight hundred and five.*

JOSÉ DE SANTIAGO CONCHA.

DOCTOR DON JUAN MARTINEZ DE ROZAS,

Deputy assessor, and learned in the law, of the Intendency of Conception.

I, the undersigned, sworn Interpreter of languages, do certify that the foregoing translation from the Spanish original, is true.

FRANCIS SALES.

Boston, April 15, 1808.

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N.B. It is proper here to state, that the difference of two days, in the dates of the process at Talquahauno, that of the Spaniards being the 24th of February and ours the 26th, was because they dated theirs the day we anchored in the lower harbor, which was one day before we got up abreast of the port, at which time we dated ours; and our coming by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, made our reckoning of time one day different from theirs.

It is also necessary to remark that the statement in page 332, respecting Mr. Luther being supercargo, and United States midshipman, is a mistake of the linguist. He was with me, the same as Mr. George Russell, and my brother William, midshipmen of the ship Perseverance.

On my return to America in 1807, I was gratified in receiving a polite letter from the Marquis De CASE YRUSO, through the medium of JUAN STOUGHTON, Esq., expressing the satisfaction of his majesty, the king of Spain, on account of our conduct in capturing the Spanish ship Tryal on the island St. Maria, accompanied with a gold medal, having his majesty's likeness on one side, and on the other the inscription, REWARD OF MERIT. The correspondence relating to that subject, I shall insert for the satisfaction of the reader. I had been assured by the president of Chili, when I was in that country, and likewise by the viceroy of Lima, that all my conduct, and the treatment I had received, should be faithfully represented to his majesty Charles IV, who most probably would do something more for me. I had reason to expect, through the medium of so many powerful friends as I had procured at different times and places, and on different occasions, that I should most likely have received something essentially to my advantage. This probably would have been the case had it not been for the unhappy catastrophe which soon after took place in Spain, by the dethronement of Charles IV, and the distracted state of the Spanish government, which followed that event.

Philadelphia, 8th September, 1806.

SIR,

HIS Catholic Majesty, the king of Spain, my master, having been informed by the audience of Chili of your noble and generous conduct in rescuing, off the island St. Maria, the Spanish merchant ship Tryal, captain Don Benito Cereno, with the cargo of slaves, who had mutinized, and cruelly massacred the greater part of the Spaniards on board; and by humanely supplying them afterwards with water and provisions, which they were in need of, has desired me to express to you, sir, the high sense he entertains of the spirited, humane, and successful effort of yourself and the brave crew of the Perseverance, under your command, in saving the lives of his subjects thus exposed, and in token whereof, his majesty has directed me to present to you the golden medal, with his likeness, which will be handed to you by his consul in Boston. At the same time permit me, sir, to assure you I feel particular satisfaction in being the

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organ of the grateful sentiments of my sovereign, on an occurrence which reflects so much honour on your character.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) MARQUIS DE CASE YRUSO.

Captain AMASA DELANO, *of the American Ship Perseverance, Boston.*

Boston, August, 1807.

SIR,

WITH sentiments of gratitude I acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's much esteemed favour of September 8th, conveying to me the pleasing information of his Catholic Majesty having been informed of the conduct of myself and the crew of the Perseverance under my command. It is peculiarly gratifying to me, to receive such honours from your Excellency's sovereign, as entertaining a sense of my spirit and honour, and successful efforts of myself and crew in saving the lives of his subjects; and still more so by receiving the token of his royal favour in the present of the golden medal bearing his likeness. The services rendered off the island St. Maria were from pure motives of humanity. They shall ever be rendered his Catholic Majesty's subjects when wanted, and it is in my power to grant. Permit me, sir, to thank your Excellency for the satisfaction that you feel in being the organ of the grateful sentiments of your sovereign on this occasion, and believe me, it shall ever be my duty publicly to acknowledge the receipt of such high considerations from such a source.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient

And devoted humble servant,

(Signed) AMASA DELANO.

His Excellency the Marquis DE CASE YRUSO

Consular Office, 30th July, 1807.

SIR,

UNDER date of September last, was forwarded me the enclosed letter from his Excellency the Marquis DE CASE YRUSO, his Catholic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America, which explains to you the purport of the commission with which I was then charged, and until now have anxiously waited for the pleasing opportunity of carrying into effect his Excellency's orders, to present to you at the same time the gold medal therein mentioned.

It will be a pleasing circumstance to that gentleman, to be informed of your safe arrival, and my punctuality in the discharge of that duty so justly owed to the best of sovereigns, under whose benignity and patronage I have the honour to subscribe myself, with great consideration, and much respect, sir,

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Your obedient humble servant,
JUAN STOUGHTON,
Consul of his Catholic Majesty,
Residing at Boston.

AMASA DELANO, *Esq.*

Boston, August 8th, 1807.

SIR,

I FEEL particular satisfaction in acknowledging the receipt of your esteemed favour, bearing date the 30th ult. covering a letter from the Marquis DE CASE YRUSO, his Catholic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America, together with the gold medal bearing his Catholic Majesty's likeness.

Permit me, sir, to return my most sincere thanks for the honours I have received through your medium, as well as for the generous, friendly treatment you have shown on the occasion. I shall ever consider it one of the first honours publicly to acknowledge them as long as I live.

These services rendered his Catholic Majesty's subjects off the island St. Maria, with the men under my command, were from pure motives of humanity. The like services we will ever render, if wanted, should it be in our power.

With due respect, permit me, sir, to subscribe myself,
Your most obedient, and
Very humble servant,
(Signed) AMASA DELANO.

To Don JUAN STOUGHTON, *Esq., his Catholic Majesty's Consul, residing in Boston.*

I do not wish, however, to accuse Melville of plagiarism. Captain Delano in this chapter sets down the actual facts of his thrilling and unforgettable experience in the deserted bay at the island of Santa Maria, February 20, 1805; Melville has transformed them into a Gothic masterpiece. At first sight Melville's story seems to differ from that of Captain Delano only in minor details, but on closer examination one perceives that these apparently trifling differences very materially alter the tone of the narrative. Captain Delano relates a stirring adventure, a tale of surprising discovery followed by a vigorous sea fight brought to a triumphant conclusion. Melville tells a typical tale of terror, of an American captain awed and depressed by nameless fears, and of a Spanish captain broken in body and in spirit by a horrible experience. It becomes, then, a matter of some interest to observe in what particulars Melville, in his version, departed from the historical facts.

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The first item is that of the date. Melville states that the events took place in the year 1799. This discrepancy is perhaps accidental rather than intentional. Delano's narrative is of a voyage made from Boston around Cape Horn and up the coast of Chili. He left Boston Nov. 10, 1799, and early in 1800 arrived in the neighborhood of Santa Maria, an island a few leagues from the mainland in the vicinity of the port of Talcahuano, and the city of Concepcion. At this point he introduces a digression, and devotes Chapter XVIII to his capture of the Spanish ship, *Tryal*, when he was again in these waters on quite another voyage in 1805. The date of the capture was Feb. 20, 1805. Perhaps Melville failed to note this silent transition. Melville places the adventure on the second day of the stay at Santa Maria, whereas Delano had been there since February 13.

The first important alteration is in the description of the Spanish ship. Delano has nothing to say as to the appearance of the vessel. Melville on the other hand, at some length, paints a picture of shabby grandeur with sinister details, typical examples of which are the carved figures of the stern with the dark satyr in a mask holding his foot on the prostrate neck of a writhing figure likewise masked, and the concealment of the prow in canvas wrappings with the subsequent discovery that the figurehead is a human skeleton.

The next departure from fact is in the names of the vessels. The Spaniard in Delano's story is the *Tryal* and his own vessel, the *Perseverance*. For one Melville substitutes *San Dominick*, and for the other *Batchelor's Delight*, both chosen as suggestive and significant names. Once aboard the strange craft, the American captain in *Benito Cereno* is astonished at four symmetrically placed old oakum pickers, and a dark row of Ashantee hatchet polishers. These figures are Melville's invention, and their steady labor through the hours that follow forms a subdued but constant chorus and accompaniment, terrifying in its suggestion of impending calamity.

Melville's most material change consists in keeping the captain on board the Spanish ship, alone. At one point, indeed, in his own story, Delano says that he was alone, but Luther, the midshipman, a man of 21, and an experienced seaman, declares in his deposition that he remained with his captain constantly all of the time that Delano was aboard.

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During this wait Melville makes use of one or two of the incidents supplied by Delano, but adds several others. Of these latter, the most striking are the shaving of Benito Cereno by Babo, the appearance of Atufal in chains, and the luncheon on the *San Dominick*. It will also be noted that Babo and not Muri is made the confidential servant, Melville feeling, perhaps, a sinister suggestiveness in the former name which the latter lacked. The attack of the two blacks upon the Spanish seaman, the fleeting glimpse of the rich jewel, the incident of the sailor who makes the strange knot, are all introductions of Melville's which heighten the effect.

After the leap of the Spanish captain into Delano's boat, Melville adds Babo's leap, the attempt of Babo to stab Cereno, and the chance revelation of the skeleton figurehead.

The final liberties with the raw material are taken when, after the first few paragraphs, Melville rewrites the deposition of Don Benito to account for the additions he has made to Delano's story, and at the close when he consigns the unfortunate Spaniard to the monastery and to an early death.

Mr. Freeman declares that the chief impression of horror is conveyed in the brief, final dialogue of the story. This conversation is all Melville's invention, and yet the suggestion for it derives from his source. Mr. Freeman misses, I think, the autobiographical intent of this concluding meeting between the two captains. This dialogue which darkens the whole tale is the voice of Melville himself crying out against the injustice which has been done him, charging his critics with a misrepresentation which had brought his work to a premature close, and ruined his life. Melville with his ready apprehension of the allegorical or symbolical saw at once in Delano's story of the ill fated Spanish commander, a parallel with his own fate. His very first book had had to suffer expurgation, and he himself had been declared untruthful and immoral. The *Living Age* proclaimed him a "wretched profligate." The complete misconception of Melville which began with *Typee* persisted through all he wrote, and became ineradicable after *Pierre*. He came to realize that he was not only to be denied appreciation, but that he was even doomed never to be understood.

Melville himself is Benito Cereno, and Babo is the personification of malicious criticism. The dialogue quoted by Mr. Freeman gains added significance when the preceding speech of Cereno's

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is included. During the long voyage from Santa Maria to Lima the two captains discuss their dramatic encounter and Delano explains how completely the apparent facts misled him:

"Only at the end [he declares] did my suspicions get the better of me, and you know how wide of the mark they then proved."

"Wide, indeed," said Don Benito, sadly; "you were with me all day; stood with me, sat with me, talked with me, looked at me, ate with me, drank with me; and yet, your last act was to clutch for a villain, not only an innocent man, but the most pitiable of all men. To such degree may malign machinations and deceptions impose. So far may even the best men err, in judging the conduct of one with the recesses of whose condition he is not acquainted. But you were forced to it; and you were in time undeceived. Would that, in both respects, it was so ever, and with all men."

"I think I understand you; you generalize, Don Benito; and mournfully enough. But the past is passed; why moralize upon it? Forget it. See, yon bright sun has forgotten it all, and the blue sea, and the blue sky; these have turned over new leaves."

"Because they have no memory," he dejectedly replied, "because they are not human."

"But these mild trades that now fan your cheek, Don Benito, do they not come with a human-like healing to you? Warm friends, steadfast friends are the trades."

"With their steadfastness they but waft me to my tomb, senor," was the foreboding response.

"You are saved, Don Benito," cried Captain Delano, more and more astonished and pained; "You are saved; what has cast such a shadow upon you?"

"The negro."

There was silence, while the moody man sat, slowly and unconsciously gathering his mantle about him, as if it were a pall.

There was no more conversation that day.

HAROLD H. SCUDDER

University of New Hampshire

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XXIX

THE ENGLISH CONTROVERSY OVER REALISM IN FICTION 1885–1895

IT is well known that a heated controversy took place during the eighteen-nineties over the inclusion of fact, brutal fact, in fiction. It is likewise well known that the controversy ended with a partial victory for the "New Realists." The chief literary historians of the period—W. G. Blaikie-Murdock,[1] Holbrook Jackson,[2] Harold Williams,[3] and Oscar Burdett[4]—agree in dating the change during the early years of the decade. Of these writers, however, Holbrook Jackson alone has indicated—and then only in romantic generalizations—the turbulent clash of ideas which accompanied the transition. In *Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer* 1904, Ernest Vizetelly describes with strong partisan feeling the outcry against his father's published translations of Zola's works. But Vizetelly takes us no further than the year 1889, when his father was imprisoned, and he does not deal with the subsequent reaction in England toward tolerance and even sympathy. Accordingly, Vizetelly's account fails to give an adequate appreciation of the important results which followed the controversy over realism, in fixing the chief line of development which English fiction was to take for at least thirty-five years.

In attempting to gain an understanding of the nature, issues, and significance of this conflict, therefore, we must depend for the most part on the periodicals of the time. The wealth of material which these afford clearly illustrates the successive phases of the transition which was effected.

The origin of the controversy may be dated around the year 1885. Even before this date George Moore had published his first naturalistic work, *A Modern Lover*, 1883, and George Gissing, the semi-naturalistic *Workers in the Dawn*, 1880, and *The Unclassed*, 1884. But these books had attracted little interest. More comment, undoubtedly, was aroused by the publication during 1884 of Zola's *Nana* in translation, which followed the rather tame *Au bonheur des dames* (*The Ladies' Paradise*), 1883. Nevertheless,

[1] *The Renaissance of the Nineties*, 1911.
[2] *The Eighteen-Nineties*, 1913.
[3] *Modern English Writers*, 1918.
[4] *The Beardsley Period*, 1925.

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1885 is an important year, first because it witnessed a notable increase in the popularity of foreign translations. In this single year Vizetelly published Zola's *Pot-Bouille* (*Piping Hot*), *La Curée* (*Rush for the Spoil*), *L'Assommoir*, *Germinal*, and *Thérèse Raquin*. Again, during 1885, *A Mummer's Wife* by George Moore was published. Furthermore in August of the same year an article by W. S. Lilly in the *Fortnightly Review* shows definitely that the inclusion of fact in fiction was becoming an issue.

Lilly's article is distinctly controversial in tone. He denounces from the standpoint of idealism writings which ascribe the various phases of human action to social and organic forces, and though he is able to state fairly the aims and intentions of the naturalists, he cannot sympathize with them. "The appeal of Zola," he says, "is to those who, profiting by the scientific researches of the century, would banish sentiment, imagination, empiric doctrines and poetic idealism, and place a new estimate on facts in forming new conclusions." Lilly's own conclusion, however, is that "the visible when it rests not upon the invisible becomes the bestial." In support of this statement he quotes Tennyson's counsel to

> Move upward working out the beast,
> And let the ape and tiger die.

He next indulges in denunciation, saying of Zola, "above the mud he never rises; it is his native element." Then, feeling that something must still be said, he bases a refutation of Zolaistic doctrine upon the existence of "higher selves" and "lower selves."[5]

No doubt public opinion was strongly with Lilly when he wrote. It was just as strongly against George Moore when, the same year, in *Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals* he satirized those who would prohibit the inclusion of fact in fiction. Mr. Moore, it seems, was provoked into his defense of the naturalistic principles by the banishment of his three-volume first novel, *A Modern Lover*, from the approved respectability of Mudie's circulating libraries. Now the exclusion of an author's works from the shelves of the circulating libraries was in those days no light matter. The price of the three-volume novel was 18 shillings, and if the circulating libraries would not buy it, the edition would go unsold. Publishers, moreover, were unwilling to print novels in one volume, because the circulating libraries, desiring to keep their monopoly, would have none of them. Consequently, Mr. Moore was bitter

[5] The New Naturalism, *Fortnightly Review*, August 1, 1885.

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against a system which promised to stifle his literary aspirations. After persuading Vizetelly and Company to make a financial experiment by publishing *A Mummer's Wife*, 1885, in one volume, he aimed a broadside at Mr. Mudie, the arbiter of literary taste for the empire, as follows:

> . . . . Instead of being allowed to fight, with and against the thoughts and aspirations of men, literature is now rocked to sleep in the motherly arms of the librarian. That which he approves is fed with gold; that from which he turns the breast dies like a vagrant child; while in and out of his voluminous skirts run a motley and monstrous progeny, a callow, a whining, a puking breed of bastard bantlings, a race of Aztecs that disgrace the intelligence of the English nation. Into this nursery none can enter except in baby clothes; and the task of discriminating between a divided skirt and a pair of trousers is performed by the librarian. . . . . To analyse, you must have a subject; a religious or sensual passion is as necessary to a realistic novelist as a disease is to a physician. The dissection of a healthy subject would not, as a rule, prove interesting, and if the right to probe and comment on humanity's failings be granted, what becomes of the pretty schoolroom with its piano tinkling away at the "Maiden's Prayer," and the water-color drawings representing mill-wheels and Welsh Castles? . . . . Let us renounce the effort to reconcile these two irreconcilable things—literature and young girls. . . . . And that the nineteenth century should possess a literature characteristic of its nervous, passionate life, I hold is as desirable, and would be as far-reaching in its effects, as the biggest franchise bill ever framed. . . . .

Thus the controversy was launched in 1885. The flame of English indignation was fed with each succeeding French translation, and the rapidity with which these translations followed one another made the blaze burn brightly. In 1886 there appeared *Madame Bovary* by Flaubert, *Les frères Zemganno* by Edmond de Goncourt, as well as five additional works of Zola—*La faute de l'abbé Mouret*, *La fortune des Rougon*, *L'Oeuvre* (*His Masterpiece*), *Joie de vivre*, and *Une page d'amour*. From 1887 to 1899 *Une Vie*, *Bel-Ami* (*Ladies' Man*), and *Sur l'eau* (*Afloat*) by Maupassant were published; *Germine Lacerteux* and *Renée Mauperin* by the Goncourts; and to the translations of Zola were added *La confession de Claude*, *La Terre* (*Soil*), *La conquête de Plassans*, *Le ventre de Paris* (*Fat and Thin*), *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*, *Madeleine Férat*, and *Le capitaine Burle* (*Soldier's Honour*), besides twenty new or different editions. So great was the popularity of French realistic novels in England at this time that

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Ernest Vizetelly's estimate of a million in circulation seems but slightly exaggerated.

In spite of this popularity, however, denunciation came from all quarters. Perhaps the most important was that of the Poet Laureate:

Tumble nature heel o'er head, and yelling with the yelling street,
Set the feet above the brain and swear the brain is in the feet.
Bring the old dark ages back without the faith, without the hope,
Break the State, the Church, the Throne, and roll their ruins down the slope.
Authors—essayist, atheist, novelist, realist, rhymester, play your part,
Paint the mortal shame of nature with the living hues of art.
Rip your brothers' vices open, strip your foul passions bare;
Down with Reticence, down with Reverence—forward—naked—let them stare.
Feed the budding rose of boyhood with the drainage of your sewer;
Send the drain into the fountain, lest the stream should issue pure.
Set the maiden fancies wallowing in the troughs of Zolaism,—
Forward, forward, ay, and backward, downward too into the abysm![6]

A writer for the *Quarterly Review* was quite in accord with the current tendency in criticism when he said that the works of certain French realists constitute " 'a natural history of man' from which the heavenly fire has been damped out; an archangel fallen to the beast and no longer mindful of his origin."[7] However, this critic, as well as others of his kind, did not see that some of the accusations which he directed against the aims of the French novel would have been accepted by the Frenchmen themselves as more or less accurate interpretations, as, for example, when he stated "that Balzac was a materialist; that he worshipped force, and did not believe in God." He continues,

With them [the French realists] the main interest is not in showing how a man, by mastering himself, becomes lord of his fate; but how irresistibly instinct breaks through hindrances and the prophecy written in nerves and temperament is fulfilled *malgré lui*. [And he adds,] The "sad analysis" which has analyzed into the limbo of a "mere psychology" our long cherished faith in the moral law, and a God that can hear our prayers, will not be very tender to the fair and gracious forms which have haunted the poet's mind, and peopled the realms of fancy.[7]

[6] *Locksley Hall, Sixty Years After*, 1886.
[7] Realism and Decadence in French Fiction, *Quarterly Review*, July, 1890.

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Diverse elements were mingled in the charges which English critics brought against the fiction which was being produced across the channel. A characteristic reaction was that of a distaste for the portrayal of sex intimacies. One critic censures the means the Frenchman must have taken to get his material. He condemns Maupassant for his outspokenness:

> in crude, but quite unimpassioned language, and sometimes with amusement, he throws down his lively sketches of a depravity which has long since passed the bounds of permissible human speech.

He continues in a stream of invective against the illicit charm of these foreign novels.

> In *Notre Coeur* there is a kind of murderous enchantment which takes prisoner soul and sense, though certainly not those of an Englishman, who despises what to his Gallic neighbor might seem luxuries of feeling.[8]

Another critic speaks of a book by Maupassant as a "filthy volume." "*L'inutile beauté* contains eleven stories of which only three may be read without a blush,"[9] he avows.

We may feel inclined to smile at other criticisms of a more temperate nature. It is hard to conceive of a more perfect expression of the typical highly developed Anglo-Saxon's reaction than the following from the pen of Andrew Lang.

> There is not much humor in their [the naturalists'[10]] works, and little good humor is bred of them. . . . . If I were to draw an indictment I might add that some of them [the naturalists] have an almost unholy knowledge of the nature of women. . . . . Such analysis makes one feel uncomfortable in the reading, makes one feel intrusive and unmanly.

He frankly states the standards by which he judges novels. "Therefore do not exaggerate the merit of our modern works," he advises. "Only three or four of them will be raised into the changeless world where *Tom Jones* is and *The Bride of Lammermoor*, where *Esmond* is and *Pickwick*."[11] The modern authors considered by Lang in this statement are Tolstoi, Dostoievski, Anatole France, Flaubert, and Henry James. But, after all, few writers were so polite in their judgments as he was.

[8] The French Decadence, *Quarterly Review*, April, 1892.

[9] Some Recent French Novels, *Blackwoods*, July, 1891.

[10] English critics used the words "French realist" and "naturalist" interchangeably. Balzac was sometimes linked with Zola in their comments.

[11] Realism and Romance, *Contemporary Review*, Nov., 1887.

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We begin to see that the English objection to the foreign translations was two-fold. In the first place, the critics protested against naturalism as a social philosophy; it was deterministic and therefore disillusioning and depressing; it was analytic and therefore not elevating or inspiring. Secondly, they objected to the technique and method of the Frenchmen; French fiction was indecent, filthy, and contaminating.

Even avowals of humanitarian sympathies did not make Zola's works less contaminating, according to Emily Crawford in the *Fortnightly Review*. The warnings conveyed in his novels were of no value to the young because the young do not heed warnings, "and so to them the perusal of a book of Zola is only in the majority of cases, a source of purulent contagion." But Zola "is not necessarily a vicious man." He merely has an immoderate taste for the crude and salacious. This critic therefore frees him from Mr. Gladstone's accusation of having introduced crudity merely in order to advance his sales. Zola's Italian blood, continues Miss Crawford, is largely responsible; "what Byron saw and enjoyed of Italian dissipation was presumably seen and enjoyed by a long line of Zolas who were citizens of Venice." Nevertheless Zola "stands on a higher plane than the brothers Goncourt or Guy de Maupassant," and "the underlings of the naturalist school are like dogs battening upon carrion offal. They imitate the master when he is offensive, and go beyond him in reeking foulness." It is all very bad, concludes Miss Crawford; "How can we expect the young to escape from spring blights if that beautiful and natural guard against them, the sense which calls the mantling blush to the cheek, is broken down by literature that is wantonly purulent?"[12]

Generalizations about French writers and French taste were to be found in the best magazines. *Blackwood's* critic of current literature stated that "the Parisian novelists describe life to us as made up of vile passions and the lusts of the flesh,"[13] and the *Quarterly Review* referred to "the ghastly realms" of *Sapho*, "peopled by unclean Harpies and obscene creations which seem to possess like a growing madness the mind of the Parisian."[14]

Some writers, indeed, were inclined to be abusive. "M. Guy de Maupassant", says a critic in the *Quarterly Review*, "is a gentleman

[12] Emile Zola, *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1889.

[13] The Old Saloon, *Blackwoods*, September, 1888.

[14] Realism and Decadence in French Fiction, *Quarterly Review*, July, 189.

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by birth and education, but he does not write like one." The critic remarks, furthermore, that M. Prudhomme, "to his honor be it spoken," has been making reforms in France, "and he may one day commit the volumes of Zola and de Maupassant to the flames. Mankind will not lose by the holocaust."[15] "Naturalism," writes another, "is the conquering anarch of our time . . . . holding up the mirror to Nature, Gallic nature, which we should do well to bear in mind, is human—with a difference."[16]

But the opinions expressed with restraint in formal review articles reveal little of the popular excitement which attended the translation of Zola's works into English. The writers for these reviews were necessarily more temperate in their judgments and opinions than were the newspaper critics. The denunciatory attitude of the press before 1889 may be noticed in the following comments.

> Realism according to latter-day French lights [says a writer in *Society*] means nothing short of sheer beastliness; it means not only the insinuation of petty intrigue, but the laying bare of social sores in their most loathsome forms; it means the alternation of the brutal directness of the drunken operative of today with the flabby sensuality of Corinth in the past. In a word it is dirt and horror pure and simple; and the good-natured Englishman who might smilingly criticize the French novel for being 'rather thick' will be disgusted and tired with the inartistic garbage which is to be found in Zola's *La Terre*. Yet Messrs. Vizetelly, of Catherine Street, Strand, are allowed with impunity to publish an almost word for word translation of Zola's bestial *chef d'oeuvre*. In the French original its sins are glaring enough in all conscience, but the English version needs but a chapter's perusal to make one sigh for something to take the nasty taste away.[17]

A writer for *The Sentinel* related that he had noticed a novel of Zola placed in the window of a book shop and opened so that passersby might read a certain episode. The writer read the two pages and stated that "the matter was of such a leprous nature that it would be impossible for any young man who had not learned the Divine secret of self-control to have read it without committing some form of outward sin within twenty-four hours after."[18]

[15] The French Decadence, *Quarterly Review*, April, 1892.

[16] The Modern French Novel, *Quarterly Review*, April, 1890.

[17] *Society*, April 21, 1888.

[18] Quoted in *Pernicious Literature, Debate in the House of Commons, Trial and Conviction for the Sale of Zola's Novels, with Opinions of the Press.* (National Vigilance Assn.) 1889, p. 6.

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A contributor to *The Globe* wrote of Zola's books that they were characterized by "dangerous lubricity," that they sapped the foundations of manhood and womanhood, not only destroying innocence but corroded the moral nature. *The Birmingham Daily Mail* declared that "Zola simply wallows in immorality." The *Whitehall Review* openly clamored for the prosecution of the publisher.

The newspapers undoubtedly reflected the popular attitude. The idea that Zola gave full rein to "filthy, libidinous propensities" filled the public mind.[19] Acting in accordance with the rising tide of indignation, the National Vigilance Association—a society for the protection of the young from "pernicious literature"—launched a crusade.

As soon as the crusade began to attract notice in the newspapers, Mr. Smith, one of the members of the Vigilance Association, submitted the following motion to the House of Commons:

> *Resolved*, that this house deplores the rapid spread of demoralizing literature, and is of opinion that the law against obscene publications and indecent pictures should be vigorously enforced and, if necessary, strengthened.

Though this resolution was not aimed specifically against the French translations, passages in Mr. Smith's speech were so directed. He described Henry Vizetelly as "the chief culprit in the spread of pernicious literature"; and, according to the *Pall Mall Gazette* report, which he never contradicted, said of the works of Zola that "nothing more diabolical has ever been written by the pen of man; they are only fit for swine, and those who read them must turn their minds into cesspools."

Mr. Smith's motion was carried unanimously, but the government hesitated to institute prosecutions. The belief of the government was that prosecutions should be instituted by individuals. Accordingly, two solicitors, Colette and Colette, were induced to bring an indictment. They applied to the Bow Street police-court for a summons against Henry Vizetelly for having published three obscene books, to wit, *Nana*, *The Soil* (*La Terre*), and *Piping Hot* (*Pot-Bouille*) by Emile Zola. The summons was granted, and on August 10, 1888, Vizetelly appeared to answer it.

In mentioning the first as well as the second trial of Henry Vizetelly for publishing obscene books, summaries must here

[19] *Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer.* Chapter IX.

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suffice. The government, encouraged by the press, took up the prosecution, and the prosecutor read certain extracts from *The Soil*. The demeanor of the jury and their repeated interruptions plainly indicated what the verdict would be. Accordingly, Vizetelly, upon the advice of his counsel, changed his plea of "not guilty" to one of "guilty," and was then sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred pounds and to enter recognisances in two hundred pounds to be of good behavior for twelve months.

The fine was paid, but there seemed to be some doubt in the minds of the Vizetellys as to what was meant by good behavior. They took the admonition of the Recorder to mean that they were not to publish *Nana*, *The Soil* (*La Terre*), or *Piping Hot* (*Pot-Bouille*) in their present form nor to issue any translations of Zola which were "at least as objectionable" as these.

Accordingly it was decided by the publishing firm to endeavor to censor the Zola volumes in a manner which would make them acceptable to the English public. The task was intrusted to Ernest Vizetelly. He spent two months on the work and deleted or modified three hundred and twenty-five pages of the fifteen volumes handed to him.

"The National Vigilants," however, were so much elated by their previous easy victory that they returned to the warpath. Henry Vizetelly was again summoned, this time for selling the following books: *The Assommoir*, *Fat and Thin* (*Le ventre de Paris*), *The Rush for the Spoil* (*La Curée*), *Abbé Mouret's Transgression* (*La faute de l'abbé Mouret*), *How Jolly Life Is* (*Joie de vivre*), *The Fortune of the Rougons*, and *His Excellency E. Rougon* (*Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*); *Madame Bovary* by Gustave Flaubert; *A Love Crime* (*Un crime d'amour*) by Paul Bourget; *A Woman's Life* (*Une Vie*) and *A Ladies' Man* (*Bel-Ami*), by Maupassant. The cases were heard by Mr. Vaughn, a magistrate of Bow Street, who committed Vizetelly for trial with respect to the following works: Zola's *Abbé Mouret's Transgression* (*La faute de l'abbé Mouret*), *The Rush for the Spoil* (*La Curée*), *Fat and Thin* (*Le ventre de Paris*), *His Excellency E. Rougon* (*Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*), *How Jolly Life Is* (*Joie de vivre*); Bourget's *Love Crime* (*Un crime d'amour*) and Maupassant's *Ladies' Man* (*Bel-Ami*).

Why Henry Vizetelly decided to plead guilty at the second trial is a matter for speculation. Ernest Vizetelly's account seems improbable, but it is the only one that we have. He states that the consultation of Henry Vizetelly with his lawyer did not take place

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until a half hour before the case opened at the Central Criminal Court on May, 1889. Vizetelly's counsel did not pause to argue with his seventy-year-o d client but declared that there could be no defense; the defendant must throw himself on the mercy of the court. This course was taken since time was lacking in which either to change the lawyer's mind or to employ another lawyer as senior counsel.[20]

On this plea of guilty Vizetelly was sentenced to go to prison as a first-class misdemeanant for three months. The recorder prefaced his sentence by saying that a fine was useless since the defendant had no means of paying it.

That the verdict did not express the unanimous opinion of Englishmen, however, is shown by the fact that some hundred and twenty-five prominent statesmen, biologists, doctors, artists and literary men signed a memorial to the home secretary with a view to securing Vizetelly's release. The novelists who signed the petition were: Thomas Hardy, George Moore, H. Rider Haggard, Walter Besant, W. Clark Russell, Hall Caine, Robert Buchanan, T. P. O'Connor, H. W. Lucy, J. Fitzgerald Molloy, F. C. Phillips' George du Maurier, Grant Allen, "Ouida," Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, Mrs. Elizabeth Lynn Lynton, Mrs. Mona Caird, John Strange Winter, Olive Schreiner, Mabel Collins (Cook), Harriet Jay, G. A. Sala, Edmund Yates and Frank A. Marshall. The men of letters were: Havelock Ellis, John Addington Symonds, Arthur Symons, H. D. Traill, Leslie Stephen, Henry Arthur Jones, A. W. Pinero, Edmund Gosse, Frank Harris, Dr. R. Garnett, Oscar Browning, Samuel Storey, James S. Corton, St. Loe Strachey, G. Laurence Gomme, Frederic and James Greenwood, William Senior, Archibald Forbes, William Archer, Frank T. Marzials, Norman Maccol, William Sharp, Alex C. Ewald, and H. Sutherland Edwards.

While the tide of popular indignation against Zola and his English publisher was rising, even up to 1893, little criticism favorable to the French realists was published. Nevertheless, as we have remarked, the new narrative technique had impressed certain English authors. George Moore was gradually rising into prominence with the publication of *A Drama in Muslin*, 1886, *A Mere Accident*, 1887, *Spring Days*, 1888, *Mike Fletcher*, 1889, and *Vain Fortunes*, 1890. George Gissing, also, was beginning to win the public interest when in *Isabel Clarendon*, 1886, and *A Life's*

[20] *Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer*, p. 291.

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Morning, 1888, he became a disciple of Meredith. Once he had gained the public ear, however, Gissing returned to the influence of his former masters, and in *The Nether World*, 1889, and *Born in Exile*, 1892, he further advanced the cause of the realists. Moreover the reading public, its attention having been attracted by the Vizetelly trial, was showing an increased interest in the French translations.

A change, at any rate, began to appear as early as 1890—not a sudden change but the evidence of a new attitude. A defender of naturalism could not yet find a periodical to support him but he could at least strike a blow by ridiculing the feeble and sentimental attempts at narrative literature made by the mass of English writers; he could call attention to the evils resulting from conventionalism in fiction.

"In England the artist is either afraid to tell the whole truth, or else he is intellectually incapable of revealing the complicated mechanism of the human heart," says D. F. Hannigan in the *Eclectic* for May, 1890. "He barely hints at certain matters which the votaries of Mrs. Grundy consider it an indelicacy to speak about; and, whenever he attempts a bold piece of realism, he mars the effect of it by introducing some irrelevant bit of didacticism, intended no doubt to appease the virtuous indignation of the Pharisaic middle-class reader to whom the naked truth is unpalatable."[21]

"The sample English commodity which circulates in three volumes," writes a critic for the *Quarterly Review* of October, 1891, "is a conventional product, an institution like Saturday excursions to Brighton and Margate for half-a-crown, a refuge for distressed needle-women, a thing as native to our shores as Brittania metal and afternoon tea. The Homeric epithet, dedicated by long custom to its usage is "trashy." Our indigenous novel, taken in the bulk, contains little art and no science. And its art is well worn—a feeble echo of Rousseau with insular decorum stifling its too Gallic accents and reducing him to respectable inanity. It is a sentimental prude who would shriek and perhaps faint at the mere mention by bold Mr. Meredith of "skeleton anatomy."[22]

[21] The Artificiality of the Novel, *Eclectic*, May, 1890.

[22] In the discursive first chapter of *Diana of the Crossways*, 1885, Meredith, in defending realism, referred to the skeleton anatomy of fact, which, he said, is necessary in fiction. "Instead of objurgating the timid intrusions of philosophy, invoke her presence, I pray you. History without her is the skeleton-map of events; fiction a picture of figures modeled on no skeleton-anatomy."

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Delighting in the love season, that carnival of egotism, our British Miss, closes her record discreetly when the wedding-bells strike, and she is—to use her own favorite expression—led to the altar by the hero whom she has chased, or drawn on, from cover to cover, through a thousand pages. When the French satirist wanders in the forest of Mudie and glances at these strange, impossible creature, he feels an overpowering sense of wonder and amazement, which tempts him to exaggerate the less desirable qualities of his own fiction in the hope of giving a redoubled shock, for there is nothing he so contemns as Rousseau turned Puritan. The "everlasting pantomine" of rose-pink virtue squinting across the pages of its prayer-book of vice, while it gambols within the measure of police-morality, is very laughable to him."[23]

In the next year, 1892, Edmund Gosse becomes more bold. "The Tyranny of the Novel," which appeared in the *National Review*, was virtually a plea that the novel, which had now taken precedence over all other forms of literary expression, enlarge its borders and extend its scope.

It is quite plain [writes Mr. Gosse] that to a certain extent the material out of which the English novel has been constructed is in danger of being exhausted. . . . . If we could suddenly arrive from another planet and read a cluster of novels from Mudie's without any previous knowledge of the class, we should be astonished at the conventionality, the narrowness, the monotony. . . . . What is the use of this tyranny which they [the novelists] wield if it does not enable them to treat life broadly and to treat it as a whole? . . . . The one living novelist who has striven to give a large, competent, and profound view of the movement of life is M. Zola. When we have said the worst of the *Rougon-Macquart* series, when we have admitted the obvious faults of these books—their romantic fallacies on the one hand, their cold brutalities on the other—it must be admitted that they present the results of a most laudable attempt to cultivate the estate outside of the kitchengarden. In these books of M. Zola, as every one knows, successive members of a certain family stand out against a background of human masses in incessant movement. The peculiar characteristic of this novelist is that he enables us to see why these masses are moved, and in what direction. . . . .

Mr. Gosse then proceeds at some length to emphasize Zola's grasp of the mechanism of modern civilization, but he is on his guard lest his works of commendation be taken as expressing unqualified approval of the Frenchman's work. "I would not be

[23] English Realism and Romance, *Quarterly Review*, October, 1891.

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misunderstood," he says, "even by the most hasty reader, to recommend an imitation of M. Zola." Nevertheless, he adds, "The experiments of Mr. George Gissing and Mr. George Moore deserve sympathetic acknowledgment."

That Mr. Gosse felt decidedly sympathetic to the tendencies represented in the works of M. Zola is more amply shown in an essay entitled "Limits of Realism in Fiction," which he wrote in 1890. But this essay was never published in an English review. Mr. Gosse finally sent it to *The Forum*, an American publication. Later on, in 1893, he published it in England among the group of essays which he entitled *Questions at Issue*.

The reasons why 1893 should be here selected as the pivotal year in the orientation of English taste in fiction permit of no exact demonstration. 1892 or 1894 might be selected for reasons almost equally good. The fact is important, however, that in 1893 there came from the press five distinctive volumes of realistic short stories—*Wreckage* by Hubert Crackanthorpe, *Mlle. Miss* by Henry Harland, *Keynotes*, by "George Egerton," *Wreckers* and *Methodists* by H. D. Lowry, and *Renunciations* by Frederic Wedmore.

The appearance of these five volumes, indeed, signifies a change of attitude. The stories are for the most part incisive, naturalistic analyses of human nature and sentiment in their least romantic phases. Responding to a demand which the translations of Maupassant had aroused, a scattered group of English writers had simultaneously started to "search amid the grim unrest" of contemporary life, "savoring each fragile modulation of its dusky pageantry." If only these five volumes had appeared during the eighteen-nineties, their significance in literary history might be considered as rather slight. But that a new era of story-writing in England was beginning, and that a public was ready for this new era, is indicated by the subsequent publication of at least thirteen similar volumes.

The fact that there had been created in England by 1893 a reading public sympathetic to an analytic examination of contemporary society is further indicated by the publication in the *Contemporary Review* of that year of an article favorable to Zola and naturalistic art. "The Moral Teachings of Zola" by Vernon Lee is really a hymn of praise:

> Genius can make its own terms [Miss Lee asserts]. You cannot beat it down or do without, for it offers a possession which outweighs all

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damage or disadvantage; the expression of what mankind is beginning to feel, the formula of what mankind is beginning to think. So despite all drawbacks, real or imaginary, Zola has had to be accepted. We may not enjoy and we may not approve; but unless we forego much knowledge of contemporary thought and feeling, and much practical benefit in consequence, we are bound, mature and thoughtful men and women, to read and meditate his works. The present moment is very propitious. Zola is not merely enthroned; he is beginning to be threatened with dethronement. We have long ago heard all objections of the generation which he shocked and horrified; we are now hearing all the objections of the generation which Zola himself produced by the force of imitation and reaction. It is universally admitted that Zola's books are full of horrors and indecencies, that the reading thereof must be attended by some disgust and perhaps some danger; also that they are not really scientific nor thoroughly realistic; and we know how he stands to Rabelais, to Victor Hugo, to Claude Bernard. All these points having been discussed and settled, we are therefore at liberty to ask ourselves, each reader for himself, by what thoughts or feelings Zola has enriched his contemporaries, since, as I have remarked, the fact of his having been accepted, drawbacks and all, proves that he offered the world something it found worth possessing.

Zola's essential genius, according to Miss Lee, is exercised to show the moral incompetence of man in a complicated and naif system of false weights and measures; he makes vivid

a network of tolerated mischief—a gigantic spiders web of lust, greed, vanity and sloth, of all the active and passive modes of indulging self while disregarding others—and into this is caught every inferior one of us, every inferior portion of ourselves. This network of complicated evil, this spiritual hell, which catacombs our life with its intricate circles, is what Zola has made us see and feel in his terrible set of novels . . . . . It is salutary to be horrified and sickened when the horror and the sickness make one look around, pause, and reflect.[24]

Equally important in establishing the date of the transition is the fact that an article by Arthur Waugh in the first issue of *The Yellow Book*, July, 1894, was concerned with protesting at the over-enthusiasm for realism which English writers were showing. The acceptance of realism was, then, *un fait accompli*. The new school of fiction, writes Mr. Waugh, "will now be full of the sap of life, strong, robust, and muscular. It will hurry us out into the fields, will show us the coarser passions of the farm hand; at any

[24] *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1893.

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expense it will paint the life it finds around it; it will at least be consonant with the want of taste which is falsely believed to becontemporary. We get a realistic fiction abroad and we begin to copy it at home." Such writing, Mr. Waugh states, is not "the sort of literature that will survive the trouble of the ages."[25]

Hubert Crackanthorpe, however, feels the victory secured, and in his reply to Waugh in the next issue of *The Yellow Book* does not feel called upon to enter into the enthusiasms and extravagances of his fellow-realists. "Time flits quickly in this hurried age of ours," he says, "and the opposition to the renascence of fiction as a conscious interpretation of life is not what it was; its opponents are not the men they were. It is not long since a publisher was sent to prison for issuing English translations of celebrated specimens of French realism; yet, only the other day we vied in doing honor to the chief figure-head of that tendency across the channel[26] and there was heard only the belated protests of a few worthy individuals inadequately equipped with the jaunty courage of second-hand knowledge." No one has to fight single-handed in the little bouts with the puritans, he continues; "heroism is at a discount; Mrs. Grundy is becoming mythological; a crowd of unsuspected supporters collects from all sides, and the deadly conflict of which we have been warned becomes but an interesting skirmish. Books are published, stories are printed in old-fashioned reviews which would never have been tolerated a few years ago."

As supporting the opinion that a change in the English attitude toward fiction had taken place, Crackanthorpe brings the testimony of Edmund Gosse to bear. "A public which has eaten of the apple of knowledge," he quotes Mr. Gosse as saying, "will no longer be satisfied with marionettes. . . . . Whatever comes next, we cannot return in serious novels to the impossibilities of the old well-made plot, to the children changed at nurse, to the Madonna heroine and the God-like hero, to the impossible virtues and the melodramatic vices. In the future even those who sneer at realism and misinterpret it most wilfully will be obliged to put their productions more in accord with veritable experience. . . . .

[25] Reticence in Literature, *The Yellow Book*, July, 1894.

[26] Referring to Zola's visit to England commencing Sept. 20, 1893, in response to an invitation of the Institute of Journalists. The Institute of Journalists had invited the officials of various foreign organizations, and Zola's invitation was addressed to him as *President de la Société des Gens de Lettres.*

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There will still be novel-writers who address the gallery and who will keep up the gaudy old conventions . . . . but they will no longer sign themselves George Sand or Charles Dickens."[27]

To say that by 1894 the controversy was finally decided in favor of the realists would, however, be an exaggeration. Arnold Bennett wrote as late as 1917 that the orientation of English taste toward realism was still going on and that the transition of the English novel was not yet accomplished.[28] Above all, it would be unwise to suggest that the case for Zola had ever been won in England. Nevertheless active hostility was replaced in some quarters by tolerance, in others by curiosity, and in others by sympathetic understanding. By 1896 the *Fortnightly* was willing to print an article favorable to Zola as well as one analyzing sympathetically the work of Edmond de Goncourt. "Now that the first burst of rage which greeted a new departure in literary treatment has somewhat died down," wrote R. E. S. Hart, "there may be more chance of modifying the harsh judgment for which the author [Zola] may have been as guilty as his critics in taking it." Mr. Hart does not consider it necessary to plead for Zola: "of the greatness and fertility of his genius there can be no doubt." He considers Zola's work as a whole, its scope, its tendency, its revelations; and Zola's social attitude he deduces from the explanations of Dr. Pascal—man is still in bondage but possesses the possibilities for his own release.[29]

Yetta Blaze de Bury, writing on the Goncourts for the same magazine, stresses the historical quality of their writing and their "restitutive curiosity" which makes them akin to Flaubert and Tourgueniev, "the polar bears of genius." Miss de Bury sees the Goncourts also as students of individual human specimens. Of *Germinie Lacerteux* she writes:

It is the coexistence in this soul of morally morbid elements with others that are sound, the absence of contagion between the good and the bad, the inward flourishing together of poisonous plants with other perennial ones; it is the juxtaposition in the same ground of decomposition and vigor, of purulence and purity, which makes this study so singular and

[27] Reply to Waugh, *The Yellow Book*, Oct. 1894. The quotation from Edmund Gosse is taken from "Limits of Realism in Fiction," one of the essays included in *Questions at Issue*, 1893.

[28] *Books and Persons*, 1917, p. 6.

[29] Zola's Philosophy of Life, *Fortnightly Review*, Aug. 1, 1896.

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yet, we dare to say, so like truth.[30] [There is nothing of the controversy here.]

But although the active controversy was ended by 1896, the popular acceptance of French naturalistic art in England cannot, after all, be said to have taken place. Only a relatively small group of literati really accepted it; undiluted naturalism has never been congenial to the Anglo-Saxon temperament. Nevertheless the facts presented here indicate that a change in critical opinion took place, and we may now survey the situation and mark the stages of the change. To begin with, the success which the first naturalistic translations enjoyed was largely due to their frankness and unconventionality. Consequently the dominant note in the protest before 1891—both popular and critical—was that of indignation at the crudities of the foreign work. There was, however, as has been noted, a strong objection on the part of the more philosophical Victorians to the mechanistic and fatalistic tendencies of the French naturalistic novel, and it is with this objection that we are here concerned. For although during the years 1890–1893 there appeared in England no defender of naturalistic principles, the satirical criticisms of the sentimental and conventional tendencies in the English novel, which we have noted, were written by those who had accepted the lesson of the French fiction. Constructively the criticism was directed toward the creation of an English novel "more nearly in accord with veritable experience," a novel which would "show the complicated mechanism of the human heart" and be "a conscious interpretation of life." Beginning in 1893 we note a change in the attitude toward the tendencies of the foreign fiction and a more sympathetic feeling toward Zola shown in important reviews; we see Zola welcomed to England by the press as well as by English authors; we note the appearance of a new type of short-story by English disciples of Maupassant; we witness the confident statements of young authors that a new attitude prevails in England with regard to fiction, and it seems not illogical to infer that a considerable number of Englishmen had undergone a change of heart.

Of course it may be suggested that, after French realism ceased to hold the public interest as a subject for controversy, indifference and therefore tolerance resulted. But facts indicate otherwise. George Moore became famous with the publication of *Esther*

[30] Edmond de Goncourt, *Fortnightly Review*, Sept. 1, 1896.

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Waters in 1894—although *A Mummer's Wife*, 1885, a much better novel, attracted little notice when published. Richard Whiteing's *No. 5 John Street*, which is naturalistic in spirit and subject-matter, was the center of public interest in 1895; and Percy White's *Corruption*, 1895, Arthur Morrison's *Child of the Jage*, 1896, and Somerset Maugham's *Liza of Lambeth*, 1897—all naturalistic novels—were good sellers. Moreover, studies of marital incompatibility, for which the French novel supplied the technique as well as the demand, vied with the romantic novels of adventure for popularity between the years 1895 and 1900. Even these romantic novels, we learn from *The Sketch* of May 24, 1899, were not immune to the prevalent realistic influence, for they "stick fast to some hard facts and treat human nature of past epochs very much as if it belonged to the end of the nineteenth century." Finally, if further proof be needed, the Publishers' Catalogue will show that the demand for French naturalistic translations continued, if not increased, throughout the nineties.[31]

The realistic controversy died down, as we see, after a partial victory had been won for the principle of realism. But the victory secured for English realists no new license of expression in the matter of sex treatment. One result of the Vizetelly trial, as W. L. George tells us, was to make English publishers very timorous in accepting work which dealt too intimately with carnal relationships. When unconventional situations were treated "a thick veil of ellipse and metaphor" was therefore necessary.[32] Nevertheless, in its more general aspects the influence of French naturalism exercised for a period of ten years before 1893, was of considerable importance. It created in England new standards of critical judgment; it focused attention upon the moral and social framework of contemporary society; it stimulated interest in a critical examination of human nature and suggested a wide and fresh range of human experience as subject for investigation.

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[31] See also *L'Influence du naturalisme francais sur le roman anglais* by William C. Frierson, Paris, 1925.

[32] *Notes on Novelists*, p. 132.

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XXX

THE GENEALOGICAL NOVEL, A NEW GENRE

AS a direct result of the widespread discussion of Evolution during the third quarter of the nineteenth century and the new interest aroused in the doctrine of heredity, there appeared toward the end of the century a new genre of the novel. The genealogical novel is in itself an interesting phenomenon, marking the introduction of a new type of fiction ruled by science. Additional interest is given to the investigation through the remarkable circumstance that this new type of novel was projected contemporaneously and independently by two writers, Emile Zola and Samuel Butler, one in France and one in England.

The distinguishing characteristic of the genealogical novel may be stated in brief terms: Instead of dealing, as the biographical novel usually does, with a single hero, and beginning the story at his birth or perhaps a little before, as in *Tristram Shandy*, the genealogical novel affords a panorama of several generations, which link together the leading figures in the story. The fortunes of these characters in succeeding generations are presented in detail as each moves in turn through the picture. The history of fiction, it is true, previous to the nineteenth century, affords instances of heroes whose descendants were followed through several generations, as for example in the *Amadis of Gaul*, Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, and still other works. This came about, however, as an afterthought on the part of the author, in response to the demand for a sequel to a successful book. Gustav Freytag, in his *Ahnen* made an attempt to portray in independent historical novels the crucial periods of German history; but the fact that the successive heroes are all members of one line scattered over more than a dozen centuries does not make the work a genealogical novel.

The establishment of the new genre is to be connected especially with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. In that same year Samuel Butler left England for New Zealand. Here he read Darwin and became an enthusiastic supporter of his views. In 1862 he engaged in a controversy on the subject with an Anglican bishop in the columns of the Christchurch, N. Z., newspaper.[1] His interest in Darwin increased after his return to England in 1864, where he settled down in London with the idea

[1] John F. Harris, *Samuel Butler*, London 1916, p. 58.

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of becoming a painter. In 1872 he began to write *The Way of All Flesh* and worked at it intermittently until 1885; it was not published until 1903, after the author's death. In writing the book Butler had a double purpose: to give a satirical picture of the Victorian home-life he had experienced in his own youth—he had already treated the same subject in his painting "Morning Prayers"—and also to give an illustration for his treatises on heredity, among which the most ambitious, *Life and Habit*, was published in 1878. His biographer says on this subject:

> *The Way of All Flesh* is chronologically of the same period as *Life and Habit*, and may be regarded in fact as a practical commentary on and illustration of the theory of heredity there propounded. . . . . Identity of personality is, as we have seen, one of the contentions put forward in *Life and Habit*. Accordingly in *The Way of All Flesh*, before the birth of the hero, Ernest Pontifex, we are asked to examine him in the persons of his ancestors for three generations on his father's side and two on the mother's.[2]

It is probably impossible to prove absolutely that Butler did not read or know of Zola's genealogical novel, *Les Rougon-Macquart*, written practically contemporaneously with his own. But Butler's original inception of the work as sketched above, his interest in Italy rather than France, Zola's comparative unimportance even in French literature in the seventies, and especially the wholly different manner of their treatment, virtually preclude any influence of Zola on Butler. And Zola, of course, died before the publication of Butler's novel.

Zola drew the suggestion for his great genealogical novel from Taine's preface to his *Essais de critique* (1857) where the author compares a work of art to a scientific experiment and from the scientist Claude Bernard, whose *L'Introduction à l'étude de la Médecine experimentale* appeared in 1865. Both writers were largely influenced by Stuart Mill, Spencer, and Darwin.[3] In 1868 Zola resolved to write a series of novels (he first considered a series of ten, later of twelve, and finally of twenty) picturing "l'histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second empire." In part also he was incited to this vast project by Balzac's series of novels *La Comédie humaine*; but the main outlines of his plan Zola took over from his scientific interests in general and his study

[2] Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 220 f.

[3] Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1918, pp. 1078 ff.

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of heredity in particular. He spent fully eight months at the Bibliothèque Impériale (now Nationale) reading on heredity, physiology and related subjects.[4]

It is interesting to note in this connection how literature is always influenced by literature, even in the case of the most "objective," "scientific," or "naturalistic" writers. From Zola's sketches of the plan for his work it appears that he had in mind also the great artistic effects attained in Greek tragedy by the convention of Fate, and planned to achieve something similar. But the use of such a term in a scientific novel would be compromising for the author: "Il ne faut pas user du mot fatalité, qui serait ridicule dans dix volumes. Le fatalisme est un vieil outil."[5] For Fate, then, he substituted heredity, the biological determinism which was later to be exemplified in Ibsen's *Ghosts*.

The manner in which Zola's reading in science was displayed in his work is shown, for example, by a passage describing the hero of the last volume, the country doctor Pascal:

> Il était donc allé des gemmules de Darwin, de sa pangenèse, à la pangenèse de Haeckel, en passant par les stirpes de Galton. Puis il avait eu l'intuition de la théorie que Weismann devait faire triompher plus tard, il s'était arrêté a l'idée d'une substance extrêmement fine et complexe, le plasma germative, dont une partie reste toujours en réserve dans chaque nouvel être, pour qu'elle soit ainsi transmise, invariable, immuable, de génération en génération.[6]

In his enthusiasm for science he exclaimed, "Je voudrais être un nouveau Lucrèce. Rêve de reconcilier la poésie et la science."[7] His series of novels was designed to illustrate the workings of the laws of heredity, which Zola, as he explains in his introduction, believed could be computed as accurately as the workings of the law of gravity. Given the ancestors, the deeds and the characters of the third and fourth generation were to follow from them according to an immutable necessity. The trunk of his family tree was to explain the branches and the branches the leaves.

As Professor Lanson[8] points out, this pretense of giving to his

[4] K. Sherard, *Emile Zola*, London, 1893, pp. 84 ff.

[5] From Zola's *Ebauches*, quoted in Lemm, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Zolas Rougon-Macquart*, p. 7.

[6] *Le Docteur Pascal*, Paris, 1893, p. 38. For the hero of a "naturalistic" novel this country doctor seems to be drawn on rather "heroic" lines!

[7] Sherard, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[8] Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 1078 f.

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work a scientific character is one of the chief defects of *Les Rougon-Macquart*; in fact, as science it is an utter failure. Zola's own attitude in the matter is distinctly naïve: "For here (in the science of heredity) there is a large margin of territory as yet unexplored, open to their (the poets') investigation. Nobody can come and say that one is wrong in his deductions, because nobody knows much about the science, and so the author can set up a theory without fear of definite refutation."[9] After such a confession on the part of the author himself it seems useless to argue about "die Wissenschaftlichkeit" of *Les Rougon-Macquart*.

Zola emphasizes throughout the physical side of his characters as the causes of hereditary influences—certain lesions produce disease and insanity, which are transmitted to future generations. Butler is not such a materialist—mental states count more with him. He set forth his ideas on heredity in *Life and Habit*, already mentioned—a book which he says modestly is "not intended for scientists." A few quotations may serve to illustrate his manner of thinking. In the opening chapter we read:

> It will be our business to consider in the following chapters whether the unconsciousness or quasi-consciousness with which we perform certain acquired actions would seem to throw light upon embryology and inherited instincts, and otherwise to follow the train of thought which the class of actions above mentioned would suggest; more especially in so far as they appear to bear upon the origin of species and the continuation of life by successive generations, whether in the animal or the vegetable kingdom.

And in a later chapter[10]:

> Life is that property of matter whereby it can remember. Matter which can remember is living, matter which cannot remember is dead.

The Way of All Flesh makes allusion to hereditary influence in almost every chapter: Theobald, for example, develops his father's nasty temper as soon as he is married, and Ernest has inherited his great-grandfather's musical ability. Theoretical discussion is also introduced in the text of the story; to quote:

> I was pleased to reflect that Ernest's father was less of a fool than I had taken him to be, and had the greater hopes therefore that his son's blunders might be due to postnatal, rather than to congenital misfortunes.

[9] Quoted by Sherard, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[10] *Life and Habit*, p. 299.

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Accidents which happen to a man before he is born, in the persons of his ancestors, will, if he remembers them at all, leave an indelible impression on him; they will have moulded his character so that, do what he will, it is hardly possible for him to escape their consequences. If a man is to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, he must do so, not as a little child, but as a little embryo, or rather as a little zoosperm—and not only this, but as one that has come of zoosperms that have entered the Kingdom of Heaven before him for many generations. Accidents which occur for the first time, and belong to the period since a man's last birth, are not, as a general rule, so permanent in their effects, though of course they may sometimes be so.[11]

From this and similar passages, it is readily seen that this novel, like Zola's, is the result of the author's preoccupation with Darwin and other writers on evolution and heredity.

Butler's very original and thought-provoking novel, although pretty much overlooked until Bernard Shaw directed attention to it, has not been without influence on later novelists. The rather artificial and inartistic intrusion of science has not been imitated, but his portrayal of a family in its unity and diversity through several generations has appealed to a number of contemporary novelists as a task on which to try their skill.

Rose Macauley wrote *Told by an Idiot* because she saw the fine opportunities for satire in a genealogical novel even as Butler had seen them. She pictures four generations, from 1879 through the European War, under the captions: Victorian, Fin-de-Siècle, Edwardian, Georgian. This novel does not stress heredity especially; its main thesis appears to be rather, that underneath the passing fashions of the day, *things do not change.*[12] Indeed, the teaching of the book, as well as the title itself, are clearly explained by Miss Macaulay in the motto which she prefixes, taken from Paul Morand's *Fermê la Nuit*: "L'histoire, comme une idiote, mécaniquement se répète."

She remembered in her own youth the older people talking about the New Girl, the New Woman. Were girls and women always newer than boys and men, or was it merely that people noticed it more, said more about it?

It was one of those frosty Christmases which our parents (they say) used to have in their youths. Hot summers and frosty winters—that is what they say they used to have; one is not obliged to believe them, but it is a picturesque thought.

[11] *The Way of All Flesh*, Dent ed., p. 312.

[12] Rose Macauley, *Told by An Idiot*, London, 1923, pp. 13, 18, 246.

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Acting was good, literature and arts were much encouraged, dancing and social entertainments were more than ever in fashion. Society it was said, was getting rowdier. For that matter, society has been getting rowdier since the dawn of time. How rowdy it will end, in what nameless orgies it will be found on the Last Day, is a solemn thought indeed.

Zola's novel, too, has "made school" as the French say, and his followers, like those of Butler, have discarded the naïve pseudo-science that mars the earlier examples of this genre, while they retain the striking device of presenting members of successive generations in turn as the heroes of the story. *Die Buddenbrooks*, by Thomas Mann, published in 1901 when the author was but 26 years old, stands on a very high artistic plane. It is highly probable that Thomas Mann, known to have been a great admirer of French contemporary fiction, derived the idea for the plan of his work from Zola, whose novels in the *Rougon-Macquart* series continued to appear annually down to 1893. Mann, however, learned from the mistakes of his predecessor. His work, for example, is not a series of independent novels very unconvincingly connected by a scientific theory and a family tree appended to one volume, but it is a single unified work of art, comprising a thousand pages.

The tale of the old patrician family of Lübeck—"sad in the fruit, bright in the flower"—seems to be the finest example so far produced in this genre. The family is the real hero of the book; its gradual decline—the subtitle is *Verfall einer Familie*—lends to the work a sombre melancholy and leads to an artistic close. This motive of decadence had previously been employed in *Les Rougon-Macquart*. Mann's large canvas, portraying the lives of four generations against the background of their respective periods gives him excellent opportunities for the effective employment of the artistic device of contrast, and the author has amply realized his opportunities.

About twenty years after *Die Buddenbrooks* appeared the admirable genealogical novel, by Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*[13] —a volume of 870 pages. In 1906 he had published *The Man of Property*, which constitutes the first third of the book. The idea of dealing with generations beyond that of Soames Forsyte, "the

[13] For this reason some English critics have honored Thomas Mann with the title "The German Galsworthy." For Galsworthy's relation to Hauptmann see Trumbauer, *Hauptmann and Galsworthy, A Parallel*, University of Pennsylvania *Dissertation*, 1917.

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man of property," apparently did not come to Galsworthy until about a dozen years later. After 1917 appeared in rapid succession the short story, *Indian Summer of a Forsyte*, and the novels *In Chancery* and *To Let*, which, together with the previous novel, were published as *The Forsyte Saga*. As in Zola's work, a genealogical table showing the various branches of the family is appended for the convenience of the reader.

Probably with Zola's example in mind, Galsworthy says in his brief preface:

> But this long tale is no scientific study of a period. It is rather an intimate incarnation of the disturbance that beauty effects in the lives of men . . . . the figure of Irene never, as the reader may possibly have noticed, present except through the senses of the characters, is a concretion of disturbing Beauty impinging on a possessive world.

Two branches of the family are contrasted; we witness the eternal conflict between those for whom money furnishes the only standard of value, and those for whom beauty is the ultimate criterion. But each of the books is complete in itself. *In Chancery* for example, is a propaganda novel against English divorce laws—and subsequent publications by the author continue the story. *The Forsyte Saga*, therefore, one sees, is not "aus einem Gusz" and consequently is not a closely knit artistic unit.

When the naturalistic school of fiction came into vogue in America Zola found an imitator in Edgar Lee Masters, who retained also the scientific frame for his novel, *The Nuptial Flight* (1923).

"On the same day in 1849 from opposite sides of Louisville, Kentucky, two families start for Whitehall, Illinois." Thus the story begins. We read a little further on, "Nancy never knew that her father and mother had not been married." But the doubtful blood in Nancy—though she herself is the normal wife and mother—tells in later generations.

Heredity is mentioned on almost every page, but it is interesting to note that with the advance of science since Zola's day the catchwords have changed. Masters evidently has studied Mendel's experiments on heredity made by means of peas, and he makes frequent use of this knowledge in the course of his story.

> And when they came to peas they were able to plant rows of tall and rows of short and not mix the two.

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Nancy felt that her desire for music had run to a climax in her grandson. Yes, he was a tall pea, and Nancy told Walter Scott of her attempt to keep the tall peas and the short peas apart by placing them in separate bags that spring when he was coming into the world.

No cellular change had come over him up to this time, that mysterious transformation known to biologists that makes a human being like his mother or some other ancestor for many years of his life, and then suddenly makes him like his father, or some other ancestor, at another period of his life.[14]

Numerous other recent examples may be listed briefly as evidence of the continued popularity of the genre. Among these are Joseph Hergesheimer's *The Three Black Pennys* (1920), a story in which members of a Pennsylvania family who each have a recessive characteristic are the heroes in three different periods each about three generations apart; *Certain People of Importance* by Kathleen Norris (1922), picturing four generations of a family settled first in Indiana, then in Missouri, and after '49 in California; *The Matriarch*, by G. B. Stern (1925), the account of an international Jewish family living in Pressburg, Vienna, Paris, and London; or *Tides*, by Ada and Julian Street (1926), a family chronicle with the growth of Chicago from 1870 to 1900 as the background of the lives of three generations. More detailed consideration, however, must be given to the Russian novel, *Decadence* (1927), by Maxim Gorky, with which I conclude this survey of the genealogical novel.

Decadence evidently owes its creation to several impulses. One of them Gorky discloses in his reminiscences of Tolstoi published seven years before the novel.[15] In the course of a conversation with Tolstoi at Yasnaya Polyana about 1907, the talk turned on heredity in general and Lombroso in particular. Tolstoi asserted that there is no such thing as decadence. The rest of the conversation is quoted as Gorky reports it:

I told him the actual history of three generations of a merchant family which I had known, a history in which the law of degeneration had acted with particular mercilessness. Then he began excitedly tugging at my arm and encouraging me to write about it.

[14] *The Nuptial Flight*, pp. 27, 211.

[15] *Reminiscences of Leo Nicolayevitch Tolstoi* Maxim Gorky, Published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the *Hogarth Press*, Paradise Road, Richmond, 1920, p. 65.

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"Now that's true. I know it; there are two families like that in Tula. It ought to be written. A long novel, written concisely, do you see? You must do it. His eyes flashed."

"But then there will be knights, Leo Nicolayevitch."

"Don't. This is really serious. The one who is going to be a monk and pray for the whole family—it's wonderful. That's real; you sin and I will go and expiate your sin by prayer. And the other, the weary one, the money loving founder of the family—that's true too. And he's a drunken profligate beast, and loves everyone, and suddenly commits a murder—ah, it's good. It should be written; among thieves and beggars you must not look for heroes, you really mustn't. Heroes, that's a lie and an invention; there are simply people, people, and nothing else."

It seems probable that both novelists knew of Zola's monumental novel, although it was not mentioned in the conversation. But Gorky did not write the book until some twenty years after Tolstoi's enthusiastic encouragement of the project. Then he found himself in a Soviet state which demanded that writers conform to the economic theory of proletarian rule. Under these circumstances, Gorky returned to this theme of the degeneration of a typical bourgeois family, no doubt, because it would serve to justify the revolution of 1917 and the oppression of the bourgeoisie by the Communists.

From a reading of *Decadence* it is quite clear that this is the novel which Tolstoi urged Gorky to write. Of three brothers of the second generation one retires to a monastery to pray for the others, while another commits a quite unpremeditated murder. The third brother, really an adopted nephew, the illegitimate son of a nobleman, shows very definitely the effects of his heredity. The novel is written in impressionistic style, showing how the vigorous peasant stock, freed from serfdom in 1861, degenerated after its members had risen through wealth into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. There is no hero in the book, as Tolstoi said; there is a villain, however, and this villain is—the bourgeoisie. Out of their lack of character, their oppression, and their wastefulness comes the War ("We are making war as we always do, to distract attention from our own stupidity"). Very little is said about the aristocracy before the Revolution of 1917, but the bourgeoisie is represented as having so far degenerated in the second and third generations that the reader has little sympathy for them when they fall victims to the Revolution. The manner is naturalistic, presenting a gruesome picture of drab Russian life summed up

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in the words of one of the characters: "The combination of pity with terror and repulsion is the essence of Russian chemistry."[16]

Decadence, one feels, could have been written only by a Russian. It is as characteristic of its own national background as the experimental, extremely naturalistic but at bottom somewhat sentimental *Rougon-Macquart* is of France. In fact, each nation has stamped its peculiar genius on novels in this genre: British satirical detachment in *The Way of All Flesh* and *Told by an Idiot*; the German love of thoroughness and detail in *Buddenbrooks*; and the native vigour and crudity of the American frontier reflected in *The Three Black Pennys*, *Certain People of Importance*, or *The Nuptial Flight*.

From these examples taken from five literatures it is apparent that Zola's idea of a genealogical novel, even though in many respects a failure, has undoubtedly exerted an extensive and powerful influence. He, and to a lesser degree Samuel Butler, must be credited with having introduced a new genre, which has already given us some excellent novels,[17] and which, with its favorable artistic potentialities, holds even greater promise for the future.

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[16] *Decadence*, tr. by Veronica Dewey, 1927, p. 311.

[17] There is also a good drama constructed on similar lines, *Milestones* (1912), by Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblauch. Three generations figure in this drama whose three acts are dated 1860, 1885, and 1912.

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XXXI

THOMAS MANN'S TREATMENT OF THE MARKED MAN

IT IS doubtful whether even in so highly subjective a literature as that of modern Germany can be found an example of more consistent concern with the writer's self and his own particular problems than is furnished by the recently published ten volumes that comprise the collected works of Thomas Mann. From the first volume, *Buddenbrooks*, for which the author's own family's life and home-town quite frankly furnish setting and subject matter, to the last volume, *Bemühungen*, whose characteristic title would imply to what pains its author has been put to present his personal reaction upon the world and its problems, there is scarcely a page or paragraph that does not treat situations or sentiments which Mann experienced in his own life. Thus, Volume IX, *Rede und Antwort*, shows how ready Mann is to expose himself to public scrutiny, to give an account of himself and his ideas—"Rede und Antwort zu stehen." Similarly, Volume VIII, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, is a personal confession of faith, wrung from his heart by the untoward incidents of the war, attempting to define his relations, as a man and an artist, to his native land. And, finally, the five remaining volumes contain short stories or novels, which, when analyzed even cursorily as here, show themselves to be endless variations on the same theme, which is in its essentials the problem of Thomas Mann's own life.

Descended from a father representing an old patrician Hanseatic family and a mother of Portuguese-Brazilian-Creole blood, Thomas Mann grew up to find his father and mother at war in his breast, the burgher in him opposed to the poet. "Es ist das alte Lied von Tonio Kröger," he confesses, "ich stehe zwischen zwei Welten, bin in keiner daheim und habe es infolgedessen ein wenig schwer." Indeed, Tonio Kröger's life-story sounds exceedingly like that of Mann himself:

> Mein Vater, wissen Sie [explains Tonio] war ein nordisches Temperament, betrachtsam, gründlich, korrekt aus Puritanismus und zur Wehmut geneigt; meine Mutter von unbestimmt exotischem Blut, schön, sinnlich, naiv, zugleich fahrlässig und leidenschaftlich und von einer impulsiven Liederlichkeit.

The result of this union was Tonio Kröger, who describes himself as "ein Bürger, der sich in die Kunst verirrte, ein Bohemien mit

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Heimweh nach der guten Kinderstube, ein Künstler mit schlechtem Gewissen." Like Thomas Mann, he feels himself a burgher gone astray, an artist with an evil conscience, standing between two worlds, at home in neither and having a hard time of it in consequence. Representatives of the bourgeoisie are ready to arrest him as a suspicious character; artists reproach him with being bourgeois.

The very name, the juxtaposition of Tonio and Kröger is a symbol of the conflict between father and mother, burgher and artist in the hero's heart, for despite his "alberner Name," Tonio, brought into the family by his mother of exotic blood "von drüben," he is "kein Zigeuner im grünen Wagen, sondern ein Sohn Konsul Krögers, aus der Familie der Kröger." But whether he will or no, he is looked upon as peculiar; left alone and excluded "von den Ordentlichen und Gewöhnlichen." In his dark loneliness, he is filled with a burning, jealous longing for those who are "ordentlich" and "gewöhnlich," who live in happy harmony with all the world, have blue eyes and blond hair and respectable and respected names, like Hans Hansen and Ingeborg Holm.

In brief, this novelle, *Tonio Kröger*, exemplifies in severely simple form what Thomas Mann feels to be the irreconcilable conflict between Bürger and Künstler. It tells the story of the tragic isolation of the poet who represents life but is excluded from life, whose sentence it is "das Menschliche darzustellen ohne am Menschlichen teil zu haben," who is condemned to know and to produce but not allowed to live—"Ist der Künstler überhaupt ein Mann? Man frage 'das Weib' danach!"—who becomes a marked man with the "Gefühl der Separation und Unzugehörigkeit, des Erkannt- und Beobachtetseins," to whom literary pursuit seems not a profession but a curse—"Die Literatur ist überhaupt kein Beruf, sondern ein Fluch—der Fluch, der da unverbrüchlich lautet; du darfst nicht sein, du sollst schauen; du darfst nicht leben, du sollst schaffen; du darfst nicht lieben, du sollst wissen!"

He is called as a poet but feels himself "zum Wissen berufen, ohne dazu geboren zu sein" and would gladly free himself from the "Fluch der Erkenntnis und der schöpferischen Qual"; he is a chosen spirit but would give up all "Geist" and "Kunst" which seem to him only "Erstarrung, Öde, Eis" for "Gewöhnlichkeit, Liebe, Leben"—"das Normale, Wohlanständige und Liebenswürdige, das Leben in seiner verführerischen Banalität," for which he is consumed with secret longing, "die verstohlene und zehrende Sehnsucht nach den Wonnen der Gewöhnlichkeit."

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It seems worth while to examine in such detail *Tonio Kröger*, for Mann on more than one occasion mentions this story as "mein eigentliches"—his most autobiographical and most eminently characteristic work. Moreover, the problem of Tonio Kröger and Thomas Mann, of the artist descended from burghers, who feels the "philosophische Vereinsamung" of his "Ausserhalbstellung" is the problem of most of Mann's early work; of *Tonio Kröger*, of *Tristan*, of *Tod in Venedig*, of *Buddenbrooks*.

"Nicht selten geschieht es," observers Detlef Spinell, the poet hero of Mann's short story, *Tristan*, formulating this theme, "nicht selten geschieht es, dass ein Geschlecht mit praktischen, bürgerlichen und trockenen Traditionen sich gegen das Ende seiner Tage noch einmal durch die Kunst verklärt." The hero of *Tod in Venedig*, Gustav Aschenbach, is an excellent illustration. Born of parents as peculiarly mated as those of Tonio Kröger and Thomas Mann, counting on his father's side, judges, officers, officials among his ancestors but having as a mother the daughter of a Bohemian band-master, he becomes a poet who fights against his fate, driving himself to his task only to succumb in the end. The same type of artist, descended from respectable bourgeois stock, but feeling himself an outsider and left to cope with life alone, we shall meet again in Axel Martini, the poet in Mann's novel, *Königliche Hoheit*; in Savonarola, the preacher in Mann's drama, *Fiorenza*. The same "Entbürgerlichung," the same descent from sound Bürgertum to unsound Künstlertum, forms the background for Mann's first long, and still perhaps best-known work, *Buddenbrooks*, with its characteristically ominous sub-title, "Verfall einer Familie."

Here we have in detail the life-history of four generations of the Buddenbrooks, the story of deterioration, degeneracy, decadence, and decay, in which a family of upright, solid, hard-working, energetic, and unreflecting burghers weakens to produce the generation of Thomas, who takes to reading Schopenhauer instead of selling grain, and half-crazy Christian morbidly concerned with his own nervous system, and finally comes, this family, to an inglorious end in the little schoolboy, Hanno, a delicate, nervously high-strung, supersensitive performer of the music of Wagner, lacking the sober, solid bourgeois qualities of energy and robust physical strength with which to struggle successfully against life, going to pieces in dreamy, musical revery as a shattered, ineffectual artist. Hanno is the grand-child and heir, but like

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Thomas Mann, "fühlt er sich Enkel." Born too late, he finds himself unfit for service and the work of reality and feels lonely, inferior and unhappy on that account.

Here is Thomas Mann himself in his youth, the artistic scion of an old line of commercial burghers, taking himself, as always, very seriously, feeling it necessary to justify his own life by his works, fighting for his own salvation against his inheritance and his fate with what he calls "Ein ausserordentlich lebhaftes Verantwortlichkeitsgefühl," and with truly German conscientiousness, "Gewissenhaftigkeit . . . . eine Eigenschaft, die einen so wesentlichen Bestandteil meines Künstlertums ausmacht, dass man kurz sagen konnte, es bestehe daraus."

For if Thomas Mann is Tonio Kröger, Detlef Spinell, Gustav Aschenbach, we have his own word for it, that he identifies himself in part with Thomas and Hanno Buddenbrooks. "Nicht von Euch ist die Rede," he replies with some ardor to those who felt themselves unflatteringly portrayed in *Buddenbrooks*, "gar niemals, seid des nun getröstet, sondern von mir, von mir. . . . . Noch immer male ich Männerchen . . . . und gar niemanden stellen sie vor, wenn nicht mich selber." And somewhat impatiently he later cries: "Gerade als ob ich es je mit einem anderen 'Stoff' zu tun gehabt hätte als mit meinem eigenen Leben. Wer ist ein Dichter? Der, dessen Leben symbolisch ist."

So in his other stories, similarly autobiographical, Mann would make his life a symbol. Already in his very first publication, *Der kleine Herr Friedemann*, a volume of six short stories, we find him continually concerning himself with his own peculiar position as a marked man, and in his later stories, as well, we see him now openly presenting, now secretly paraphrasing, what he considers the primal problem of life, the contrast between the ordinary and the extraordinary, the usual and the unusual, the normal and the abnormal, the man inside, the man outside looking in; in current vulgar speech the difference between the "regular fellow" and the "queer bird." As a poet in a family of burghers and as a poet representing mankind, he feels himself an exceptional case, standing aside, outside, apart, and away from the ordinary, normal, and average, feeling himself an outsider both in the bourgeois circles to which by birth he belongs and in the artistic circles which should be his by adoption, a singular, uncommon and somewhat curious person, obviously frowned upon by fate, since he is deprived of the regular rewards of everyday life, to which the majority of men are heir.

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Practically all the important characters of Thomas Mann's stories are people who have been somehow marked by fate and excluded from life, whether like those we have discussed, they are poets, or artists like "Das Wunderkind" or princes like "Königliche Hoheit." They may be deformed like "Der kleine Herr Friedemann" or have voluntarily cut themselves off from life like "Der Bajazzo" or be affected with incurable disease like the characters in the early short story, *Tristan*, and those in Mann's latest and longest novel, *Der Zauberberg*—this company of consumptives not one, not even the doctor who attends them without what Mann ironically calls "une petite tache humide" on his lungs, an assembly of marked men and women on the enchanted mountain once and for all removed from the healthy norm of the Flachland below.

Indeed, we may say that in all of his creative work, Mann is concerned with these problems and with himself, sometimes less openly but none the less surely, producing a series of interrelated works, which are, as it were, various masks for the same thought, different variations on the same theme, now melancholy, now grotesque, now brief and rhapsodic, now detailed and sustained, always ironic, always artistic, carefully composed and aristocratically reserved.

His critical essays, as well, reveal this concern. He finds, for example, Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*, a portrayal of the apparently enviable existence of a man, seemingly favored by fortune, but who is in reality miserable within, since he is left alone with his sad secret that he has no shadow. This is, according to Mann, the story of Chamisso's suffering as a marked man, "eines Gezeichneten und Ausgeschlossenen," lacking the evidence of a secure future and an assured career and tormented by the taunts "der Dicken, Soliden, die selbst einen breiten Schatten werfen." Schlemihl is to him a symbol of Chamisso and of himself, as he concludes his essay by saying:

> Dichter, die sich selbst geben, wollen im Grunde, dass man sie erkenne; denn nicht sowohl um den Ruhm ihres Werkes ist es ihnen zu tun, als vielmehr um den Ruhm ihres Lebens und Leidens.

This is an observation by that unpolitical Thomas Mann, who in his big book about himself and the war, asserts he was never afraid to show himself and who therein proves again that he is never ashamed to exhibit his suffering. Standing alone during

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those trying years, spurning the company of the men of his profession, most of whom had joined the militaristic mob "mit Geheul," deserted even by his own brother, whom he learns to despise as his most hostile opponent, more cut off than ever from the common interests and enthusiasms of the crowd, Mann remains true to his own isolated inner self, fashioned and formed, as he several times insists, by the philosophy of Schopenhauer, the music of Wagner, the psychology of Nietzsche. He sums up this whole sense of loneliness in this single characteristic sentence:

> Chronist und Erläuterer der Decadence, Liebhaber des Pathologischen und des Todes, ein Ästhet mit der Tendenz zum Abgrund: wie käme ich dazu mich mit Deutschland zu identifizieren, wie komme *ich* zur positiven Kriegsteilnahme, zum patriotischem Enthusiasmus?

This feeling of loneliness is alleviated somewhat, however, in Thomas Mann, as he lives and learns, as he achieves success in life and love and this alleviation is reflected as well in his works. The tempting task of treating in detail the development of point of view in "Thomas Mann's Treatment of the Marked Man" away from the sad loneliness of the unsuccessful poet, Tonio Kröger, to the calm assurance of Thomas Mann himself, who was reported as saying on his election to the Prussian Academy that the artist never is lonely after he has achieved success—this problem, I repeat, must for the present, at least, be postponed. It must suffice to say that in his more recent works, Mann reveals what measure of success may come to a man, marked like himself. Thus, *Pariser Rechenschaft* shows him as an internationally known poet fêted in Paris after the war; *Herr und Hund* shows him as an established owner of a house and master of a dog; *Gesang vom Kindchen*, as the proud father of a promising child, and finally *Unordnung und frühes Leid* exhibits the whole family circle, the four children involving the fond father in their own festivities.

This development of point of view revealed in his work, following events in his life, was very gradual. I shall take time, in closing, to indicate only the interesting early stages of the change.

In *Tonio Kröger, Tristan, Bajazzo, Friedemann*—in all the early stories—we remember that the man set apart from the masses as a gloomy exception, marked in the community as the representative of "Geist" and "Kunst" and as such altogether dependent on his own performance and accomplishment, longed to be relieved from the curse resting upon him, to be transported away from the icy,

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barren, frigid world of intellectual and artistic pursuits to enjoy the ordinary happiness of life in all its strength and brutality. He was consumed with desire to be like his opposite, the blond, blue-eyed, normal, respectable, sound, serene, charming, happy, living human beings who did not need "Geist" to exult in "den Wonnen der Gewöhnlichkeit." These early heroes burned themselves out with futile desire, their longing weakened their force for activity and ruined them for life. Now, for the first time, in Mann's drama, *Fiorenza*, the representatives of both "Geist" and "Kunst" in a hard, severe, and rigorous life become great, they do publicly things deserving praise, and have justifiable pride in their accomplishment. They feel no resentment or opposition to being of the chosen, they do not consider their calling a curse, they do not long for the possession of impossible and useless gifts. No longer does a rebellious hero cry in weak and sentimental longing: "Zu sein wie du, Hans Hansen." Instead, realizing that possession enfeebles but that longing gives gigantic strength, wrestling with life and growing stronger with each obstacle overcome, the representative of "Kunst" can say with resigned equanimity to the representative of "Geist": "Der Mühelose wird nicht gross. . . . . Wem sag ich das? Euch, der da weiss—der so gewaltig weiss, dass nicht dem einfach Starken der Kranz des Helden bestimmt ist." And so Fiore, the beautiful woman, symbolizing the beauty of life in Renaissance Florence, refusing to yield herself to any but a hero, rejects Piero who is only strong, for to her a hero is not he who is strong, "sondern wer schwach ist, aber so glühenden Geistes, dass er sich dennoch den Kranz gewinnt—der ist ein Held."

Such a hero is Savonarola, who feels assured that the representative of "Geist," grown hard in suffering and great in solitude, will return possessed of strength to which beauty will bow and woman submit.

This prophecy of *Fiorenza* is fulfilled at least in part, in Thomas Mann's novel, *Königliche Hoheit*, in which the lonely crown prince, Klaus Heinrich, wins a woman no less alone than he, a dollar princess of mixed blood and queer mathematical pursuits; in Thomas Mann's life, when to his somewhat surprised delight the daughter of the Jewish professor of mathematics in Munich consents to become his wife, "eine Märchenbraut"—"eine Prinzessin von einer Frau, wenn man mir glauben will, deren Vater königlicher Universitätsprofessor ist."

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For both heroes, the prince and the poet, before compelled to lead a purely representative life, is opened up the prospect of a kind of happiness. "Für viele zu stehen, indem man für sich steht, representativ zu sein, auch das scheint mir, ist eine kleine Art von Grösse. Es ist das strenge Glück der Fürsten und Dichter."

Klaus Heinrich is a more fortunate Tonio Kröger, a happier Thomas Mann. "Die anspielungsreiche Analyse des fürstlichen Daseins als eines formalen, unsachlichen, übersachlichen, mit einem Worte artistischen Daseins und die Erlösung der Hoheit durch die Liebe: Das ist der Inhalt meines Romans, *Königliche Hoheit*," Mann explains, "und voller Sympathie für jede Art Sonderfall predigt er Menschlichkeit."

That "jede Art Sonderfall" appears in this novel is evident from Mann's own enumeration of the characters. "Ein Prinz, ein Milliardär, ein Chauffeur, ein Rassehund, eine wahnsinnige Gräfin, ein romantischer Hülfslehrer und eine Prinzessin besonderer Art treten auf." Men and women, it will be observed, who for physical, mental, social or professional reasons are aberrations from the norm. To the same category belongs even the collie dog, Perceval, too well bred to be well-bred, suffering from an inheritance for which he is not to blame.

The hero, the crown prince, Klaus Heinrich, a marked man like the heroes who preceded him, does not, however, like them make a vain bid for feminine affection. Instead he is saved from a purely representative existence by a woman as singular as he. Sonderfall weds Sonderfall; a marked man, a marked woman, and although, like all Mann's favorite characters, these two are still excluded, "von der Bummelei des Glücks," they at least have held out to them "ein strenges Glück" in prospect. A solution, this, not met with before in Thomas Mann's production, but done as are all his works in a manner self-revelatory, self-restrained and ironical. "Denn was wäre Dichtung," asks Thomas Mann in another connection, "denn was wäre Dichtung, wenn nicht Ironie, Selbstzucht und Befreiung."

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

1. MILTON AND MARSTON

Mr. S. Foster Damon, in his recent note on "Milton and Marston,"[1] renders good service to students of Milton's Elizabethan sources by calling attention to the opening lines of the last satire in Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*,—

> Sleep grim *Reproofe*, my iocond Muse doth sing
> In other keyes, to nimbler fingering.
> Dull sprighted *Melancholy*, leaue my braine.
> To hell, *Cimerian* night,—

as "a possible source for the opening lines of *L'Allegro*." Personally, I derive considerable comfort from the fact that from time to time similarities of this sort commend themselves afresh and independently to readers and scholars who have no thesis to uphold, no preoccupation with the general problem of the extent and nature of Milton's reminiscences from the Elizabethan dramatists at large. Mr. Damon errs, however, in thinking that this particular resemblance had not been noted previously. Thomas Warton (as Todd observes in his Variorum edition of Milton[2]) quoted the Marston passage at length in his commentary upon the invocation of *L'Allegro*. "I have formerly remarked," says Warton, "that in this exordium Milton had an eye on some elegant lines of Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, B. III, S. 10, ed. 1598." My own experience in dealing with the relations between Milton and Shakspere[3] leads me to add, for my own comfort no less than for Mr. Damon's, that he is by no means the first to find now and then that a supposed discovery of a likeness between Milton and the Elizabethans turns out to be no fresh discovery after all.

Perhaps I may be pardoned for adding another word in this connection. As regards Milton and Marston, one need only turn to Todd's massive volumes to find that Mr. Damon's passage from *The Scourge of Villanie* is not the only one from Marston that has suggested itself to the commentators as a possible source of certain phrases of Milton's. Thus, Todd himself[4] parallels a line in the Ode *On the Nativity* with another from *The Scourge of Villanie*, and Malone thought that Milton remembered

[1] *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 873 ff.

[2] 1809, VI, 75.

[3] Cf. my paper, "The Shakesperian Element in Milton," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 645 ff., and Professor G. C. Taylor's "Shakspere and Milton Again," *Studies in Philol.*, XXIII (1926), 189 ff.

[4] *Op. cit.*, VII, 5, as follows:

On the Nativity, 14:	*Scourge of Villanie*, III, viii, 194:
[*Christ*] chose with us a *darksome house of mortal clay.*	[*Of the soul, leaving*] *his smoaky house of mortal clay.*

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also a line or two from Marston's comedy, *What You Will*.[5] The commentators, moreover, have not exhausted the possibilities. I shall not undertake to quote chapter and verse here, but there is good reason to believe that Marston's conception of the character of Malevole in *The Malcontent*, left its mark upon Milton's Satan. The subject in the large is too complicated for adequate discussion in the present comment. It is a not unimportant part of the general problem of the rationale of Milton's far-flung and yet intimate contacts with Shakspere's dramatic contemporaries as a whole—with Jonson, Heywood, Peele, Middleton, Marlowe, and others. In my paper on *The Shaksperian Element in Milton*[6] I indicated that I had in hand such a general study. This new study, which is parallel in method with the one just named, should be ready for publication in a few months.

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2. *THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND* AND *BUEVE DE HANTONE*

Mr. Francis P. Magoun, Jr., properly expresses surprise (*PMLA*, XLII 842) that Child and Schofield should have seen a close connection betweel the ballad *The Earl of Westmoreland* and the romance *Libeaus Desconu.*, The ballad, in fact, is a retelling of the Queen of Seville episode in the continental *Bueve de Hantone* (e.g., Version I, lines 7938 ff.). The essentia element in both stories is: an exiled hero, taking service abroad, by his prowess rescues a queen from her heathen enemies, but rejects the queen's offer of marriage, on the ground that he already has a wife. Since the queen's realm is Ciuillee in the ballad and Sivele (Siviele) in the romance, the connection is evident. What is noteworthy is that the English *Bevis of Hampton* calls the place Ambeforce; the ballad therefore drew, not from the English romance, as one would expect, but from the continental French (the Anglo-Norman also has Civile, but on the whole the resemblance is closer to the continental *Bueve*, Versons I and III).

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[5] Act V, Sc. 1 (Bullen's *Marston*, II, 412):

> Cannot your trembling wires throw a *chain*
> Of powerful rapture 'bout our *mazed* sense. . . . .

which lines Milton, according to Malone, remembered in *L'Allegro*, 142-144:

> The melting voice through *mazes* running,
> Untwisting all the *chains* that tie
> The hidden soul of harmony.

(The verbal likeness here would seem to be worthy of note, though, as Warton observes, the thought differs. See Todd, VI, 104.)

[6] See p. 649, n. 10.

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3. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON JOHN JOHNSON'S DIARY

Professor Spiller's interesting paper, *A New Biographical Source for William Cowper*, can be clarified by facts in my possession. The author says: "The note-book also is distinct from Johnson's original diary, as Wright mentions having seen the latter in the University Library, Cambridge, but his one quotation from it appears nowhere in our manuscript." Awkwardly enough, the quotation from Johnson on pp. 352–353 of the revised edition (1921) of Wright's *Life of William Cowper* is not drawn from the diary to which he refers in the note to this passage on p. 353. I cannot at the moment give the source of the quotation, but it no doubt comes from one of the numerous letters of Johnson to Hayley or Lady Hesketh which have cropped up in recent years. The diary to which Wright, *more suo*, vaguely refers as having been "on view" at the University Library, Cambridge, is *MS Add. 5993*. It is a transcription, line for line and page for page, of a diary kept by John Johnson and dealing wholly with the dreams and auditory hallucinations of Cowper during part of the Norfolk period. The present whereabouts of the original manuscript are unknown to me. In 1917 it was the property of Mr. F. Payne, of Ashgate, near Chesterfield. A letter of his (*MS Add. 4251, Cambridge*), written in April, 1917, states that it came into his possession "with some furnature [*sic*] we took over some thirty-five years ago." In the same month Mr. Payne lent the manuscript to Mr. C. Sayles, who in turn showed it to T. R. Glover of St. John's College, Cambridge. Glover copied it and presented his transcription, which bears every mark of extreme accuracy, to the University Library. I have transcribed *MS Add. 5993*, and my copy is at the service of any scholar who wishes to examine it.

The Cambridge diary runs from Nov. 15, 1797, to Feb. 23, 1799. To refer to it as "Johnson's original diary" is misleading, since it covers a shorter space of time than the Swarthmore College manuscript. Also the two diaries are entirely distinct and were meant to perform quite different functions. Instead of giving an account of the external events of Cowper's last years, as does the Swarthmore diary, the Cambridge diary devotes itself wholly to the menacing dreams which afflicted the poet, and to the voices prophesying torture and destruction which he imagined that he heard. Johnson's tender and unselfish affection for Cowper was combined with a large amount of harmful foolishness. He made the mistake of asking Cowper every morning what the poor man had heard during the night, and thus never gave his patient a chance to forget his trouble. The Cambridge diary was certainly prepared by Johnson for William Hayley, for Hayley refers to it as being in his possession and quotes from it in the curious *Two Memorials of Hayley's Endeavours to Serve His Friend Cowper* (*British Museum Add. MS 38, 887*). This is the manuscript discussed by Dowden in the *Atlantic Monthly*,

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July, 1907). Hayley's *Two Memorials* also gives clear evidence either of acquaintance with the Swarthmore diary or with material drawn from it by Johnson.

Professor Spiller ascribes the reticence of Hayley's *Life of Cowper* to "the typical prejudices of biographers of the period." Although under any circumstances Hayley would probably have treated Cowper's madness more delicately than would a modern biographer, the chief reason for his reticence was the almost morbid anxiety of Lady Hesketh that the *Life* should be vague and euphemistic. The unpublished *Correspondence of W. Hayley with Lady Hesketh* (*British Museum Add. MS 30, 803, A and B*) contains abundant evidence that Hayley's desire to write a full and somewhat sensationally sentimental biography of Cowper was thwarted by Lady Hesketh. The reticence of such biographers as the sanctimonious Grimshawe was, as Spiller suggests, largely due to a desire to protect the cause of evangelical piety, but as a matter of fact both Hayley and Lady Hesketh were enemies of "religious enthusiasm."

I have decided not to rush into print with the Cambridge diary. Its interest pertains more to abnormal psychology than to literature. Though its biographical importance is considerable, it needs to be studied in connection with the considerable mass of other unpublished material relating to Cowper's last years. That necessary work is being accomplished by Professor Hannay of Boston University, and to exhibit one small wing of a building before the entire structure is erected would be premature and misleading. Hence I content myself with making the distinction between the two Johnson diaries a little clearer.

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4. WHO WAS HENRY PORTER?

Miss Rosetta E. Shear[1] has made a gallant effort to determine the identity of the Elizabethan dramatist Henry Porter. From among a number of Porters, she selects the one who matriculated at Brasenose, Oxford, in 1589, and also identifies him, somewhat boldly, with the Henry Porter who in 1591 was responsible for the death of John Cotterell. If this Brasenose Porter be indeed the dramatist, he did not have much chance to develop his genius, since he died at the early age of 27. His beginnings as a dramatic author Miss Shear places towards the close of 1596, agreeing in that respect with most of the writers on the subject, who seem to hold the opinion that a playwright can not have done much before the earliest date at which we hear of him.

I am, for my own part, an entire disbeliever in such late dating of writers' beginnings. I do not, for instance, believe that the earliest mention we have of Shakspere (in 1592) was in relation to the first dramatic

[1] "New Facts about Henry Porter," *PMLA*, XLII (1927).

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work he had done. Rather it is to be taken as evidence that he had passed through the initial stages of his apprenticeship and was beginning to attract attention. So too, in regard to Porter, I refuse to start with the assumption that he must have begun his dramatic career very shortly before the first entry of his name in Henslowe's diary, and it seems to me that Miss Shear's case rests upon this assumption.

Let us consider what reason there may be for believing that Porter had been writing some time before December 1596, when Henslowe first mentions him in the famous Diary. Since the Diary makes no mention of Porter's one extant play, "The Two Angry Women of Abington," this play can hardly be dated between December 1596 and May 1599, the date of the latest Henslowe entry dealing with Porter; nor does it belong to the remaining year (more or less) of the dramatist's short life, since a second part of the play was paid for in December 1598 and February 1598–99. It must then date prior to December 1596; and, as it was performed by the Admiral's men—as stated on the title-page of the quarto—it must belong either to the period before Henslowe took to naming his authors or to the still earlier period before May 1594, when his connection with the company began.

Professor Gayley would identify Porter's play with "Love Prevented," for which the playwright received £4 in May 1598, but this view is, it seems to me, to be rejected for three reasons:

(1) "The Two Angry Women" was printed twice in 1599, and it is difficult to conceive of a successful play going to the printer so promptly, even if the company did leave London in the middle of the year;

(2) The play would certainly have been printed under the name under which it had so recently been acted;

(3) If a sequel to "Love Prevented" was commissioned less than seven months after its first performance, it would not have been described as the second part of "The Two Angry Women."

Failing to find any entry under Porter's name that may be reasonably identified with "The Two Angry Women," we are forced to look among the earlier entries. The only one there found which at all answers to the requirements is the "Comodey of Umers," acted May 1597; but this is much more likely to be Chapman's "Humorous Day's Mirth." Accordingly, we are driven to a date prior to May 1594.

There is not any valid objection to throwing Porter's beginnings back so far. Indeed, everything appears to me to point in that direction. Would Meres have named him in 1598 among the best in comedy had his career lasted but eighteen months or thereabouts? Again, is he not, when he first comes before us in the Diary, already evidently a well-established dramatist? And, further, is it not reasonable to suppose that so popular a play as "The Two Angry Women" would take at least five years to attain publication? The probabilities, then, as I see them, favor a date

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prior to May 1594. Fortunately there is a piece of definite evidence to supplement this argument from probability.

One of the most popular features in "The Two Angry Women" was evidently the "humorous mirth" of Nick Proverbes, the servingman, which receives particular mention on the title-page. Now among the Martin Marprelate tracts is one, "Plaine Percevall the Peace Maker of England,"[2] to which Nashe made reference in *Strange News* (1590), and which he attributed to Richard Harvey. In this tract occurs the following sentence, which appears to allude unmistakably to Porter's play, and to show that its popular feature in 1598 had already attracted attention in 1590:

> I am none of these tuft mockadoo mak-a-dooes: for "Qui mochat, moccabitur" quoth the serving man of Abington.

The play, therefore, seems to have been in existence as early as 1589. We may suppose that it was revived in 1598 and at that time made so great a hit as to warrant the commissioning of a second part. The success of this sequel may then have caused the first part to be rushed to the press.

It may possibly be suggested, however, that Porter, instead of being the original author of the play, merely revised, in or about 1598, the work of an early playwright, perhaps dead by that time. But if reviser and original author were separate persons, the one more likely to be named on the title-page would be the one who was responsible for the "humorous mirth," and this person, as the Harvey passage shows, was the original dramatist. Henry Porter, then, we may conclude was the original author of the play.

Another question to be considered is whether "The Two Angry Women" was printed as Porter wrote it in or about 1589 or whether he rewrote it in or about 1598. To settle this question we must turn to the text of the play and to Henslowe's Diary.

To determine the date of the text by internal evidence is difficult, for the reason that we possess no other play known to be Porter's with which to compare it. We may institute comparisons with other plays of 1589 or 1598 or the intervening years; but we can never be sure, in such a case as this, that the play is not three or four years ahead of or behind its time in point of style. There are men who always belong to yesterday, while there are others who belong to tomorrow. If "The Atheist's Tragedy" had been first published a quarter of a century later than it was and anonymously, should we not have been told with positiveness that it could not possibly date earlier than the late twenties? But, for all that, if the style of "The Two Angry Women" be that of 1597 or 1598, we shall not be justified in disregarding the inference from that fact.

[2] Reprinted in 1860 in the *Puritan Discipline Tracts*. The quotation will be found on p. 16 of the reprint.

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When we consider the mechanism of the verse, we find that, throughout, it is very regular, with occasional patches of rhyme (including some double-ending rhyme) and a tendency towards the narration of a fable in four-foot rhyming lines, as shown in sc. 2. Scs. 7 and 9 are almost entirely in rhyme. In the first two scenes the verse is somewhat wooden; but afterwards it is much freer. I believe it to be of two dates. The language hints here and there throughout at earliness; and, if one had to date the first half-dozen speeches of the play purely on style, one would be much more inclined to set down a date prior to 1589 than one subsequent to that year.

But, if Porter's work represents two periods, when was the revision done? On the evidence of the Diary, I should say that, when the play was revived (if I am right in supposing it to have been revived) in or about 1598, it was not revised; but, as the internal evidence drives me (not quite positively) to a contrary conclusion, I have to see whether the evidence of the Diary cannot be fitted to that of the play itself. I am driven back to "Love Prevented"; and it is to be noted that the objections to that play as a mere revision are not so great as to its identity as an original work with "The Two Angry Women." Porter may have rewritten it as "Love Prevented"; but the public, remembering its original title, may have insisted on calling it by its early name, and Henslowe's entry of the second part may have been a recognition of that fact. Also the reference in "Plaine Percevall" to the servingman of *Abington* would indicate that the original name of the play was that by which it has come down to us.

Assuming, as seems reasonable, that Porter was the original author, it is impossible to identify the Brasenose matriculant of 1589 and the dramatist. The best candidate for the honor would be the Henry Porter who matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1584 (or was it 1586?). As Miss Shear has pointed out, the dramatist was probably a university man, since he speaks of himself as a scholar; and, as she further remarks, "oddly enough, the few known university graduates connected with the Admiral's Company were all Cambridge men." I believe that the author of "The Two Angry Women of Abington" is another of the number.

If my view be correct, this is a matter of no small importance in the history of Elizabethan drama, for it places Porter in the first period of that golden era (the period which ended with the death of Marlowe) and adds very greatly to his stature.

E. H. C. Oliphant

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5. *HAMLET* Q_1 AND MR. HENRY DAVID GRAY

In September last the editor of this journal printed an article by Mr. Henry David Gray, entitled "Thomas Kyd and the First Quarto of

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Hamlet," which adversely criticizes two papers of mine on the subject of *Hamlet* Q_1 published in *The Library* in 1918. I am not here concerned with Mr. Gray's argument, or indeed with points of scholarship at all, but rather with certain observations he lets fall which accuse me, in effect, of grave literary discourtesy, if not of dishonesty. The matter is not a pleasant one to handle, but fortunately it can be briefly disposed of.

In April, 1915, there appeared in *The Modern Language Review* (x, 171–180) an article over Mr. Gray's name, which, after declaring that since the publication of Furness's Variorum edition of *Hamlet* (1877) nothing had been written "which throws any new light on the problem" of Q_1, puts forward as a theory of his own the suggestion "that the pirated quarto was based upon a very corrupt version of the acted play supplied to the publisher" by a traitor-actor who played in the Shakespearean version. Three years later (Feb. 1918) Professor F. G. Hubbard, writing in *Modern Language Notes* (xxxiii, 73–79), not only challenged Mr. Gray's conclusions but showed that his theories were far less original than their author seemed to imagine, and that in particular they had been "substantially" set forth in W. H. Widgery's Harness Prize Essay of 1880. The main difference between the two statements of the theory was that while Widgery fixed the guilt upon the actor who impersonated Voltimand (Q_1 "Voltemar"), Mr. Gray saw the culprit in the player of Marcellus. To quote Professor Hubbard's words:

> Widgery takes the actor who played Voltemar for the thief and suggests that he may also have taken the part of the player king; he notes that the scene between Hamlet, Horatio and Marcellus shows the fewest discrepancies between the Quartos. Gray fails to note that Voltemar's part is the most accurate in Q_1; it does not, therefore, occur to him that here is the actor-thief. He agrees with Widgery that the thief ("Marcellus" or "Voltemar") may have taken a part in the scenes of the Players.

And he adds in a footnote, "These two views may be easily brought into accord by the hypothesis that one actor took the parts of Marcellus, Voltemar, and one of the Players." As a matter of fact Furnivall had already come remarkably near to this hypothesis in his introduction to the Griggs facsimile of Q_1 (which, though written about 1880, contains no reference to Widgery's essay and probably preceded it), for he there throws out the suggestion that the text of Q_1 was to some extent made up of "parts bought or got from some of the players," of which parts, he notes, "those of Horatio, Marcellus and Voltemar (cp. its right 3000 to the wrong 60,000 of Q_2)[1] are well done." Finally—a second point overlooked by both Mr. Gray and Professor Hubbard—the theory of a traitor belonging to Shakespeare's company as the responsible agent for the publication of pirated Shakespearian quartos received immense reinforcement from

[1] I.e., II, ii, 73, which Q^8 reads: "Gives him threescore thousand crowned in anuall fee."

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Dr. W. W. Greg's brilliant demonstration that the pirate who procured the copy of *The Merry Wives* Q_1 for Busby was the actor of the Host's part, a demonstration which was published in 1910 (Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor, 1602*. Clarendon Press), five years before Mr. Gray's article. In a word, so far from Mr. Gray possessing any prescriptive rights in the idea that the copy for *Hamlet* Q_1 was provided, in part at least, by a traitor-actor, that idea had been the common property of scholars for thirty-five years when he sprung it upon the world in 1915.

Such was the situation, as it presented itself to me in 1918, when I wrote the two papers for *The Library* on the subject of *Hamlet* Q_1. As those papers have long been out of print, I may perhaps be permitted to quote the opening paragraph of the first, so that readers of Mr. Gray's attack upon them may see how much truth there is in his allegations. The paragraph runs as follows:

> Discovered in 1823, the First Quarto of *Hamlet* still remains an unsolved puzzle Certain general points of agreement, it is true, have emerged from a mass of conflicting theory. For example, it is clear that the edition is in some sense a pirated one, that the resemblances between it and the complete *Hamlet* are most striking in the first two acts, that it contains a good deal of non-Shakespearian matter, which many attribute to a "hack poet" employed by the printer to piece out the imperfect notes of the pirates, and finally that there is a strong probability that one of these pirates was an actor who took the parts of Marcellus and Voltimand. But these conclusions, which do not in themselves solve the riddle, have been drawn from data almost wholly literary in character, and, after a century of discussion, it seems unlikely that we can get much further until we discover some new source of evidence.

The "new source of evidence" I turned to was that provided by critical bibliography, and especially a bibliographical comparison of the three (or, if we count the *Brudermord*, four) extant *Hamlet* texts. In the course of my enquiry I dealt with the "strong probability," already established, that the actor who took the part of Voltimand (and incidentally Marcellus also, though like Widgery and Hubbard I attached less importance to this "part") was the publisher's agent, and I was able, as I thought, to bring forward corroborative evidence of a conclusive nature on this point. But the matter only formed a fraction of the whole essay, and whenever I referred to the theory I was careful to make it clear, as I did in the paragraph just quoted, that it originated with the "literary critics" and not with myself.

Thus Mr. Gray not merely exceeds the limits of fair controversy, but entirely misrepresents the facts, when he gives utterance to sentences like the following:

> Shortly after Professor Hubbard, in his reply to my paper, called attention to Widgery's "Voltemar," Mr. J. Dover Wilson dressed up the theory that "Voltemar" was the thief and that he also acted the part of Marcellus. . . . .
>
> My theory, restated by Mr. Wilson, has since been frequently attributed to

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him. . . . . The error is perhaps a natural one in view of the fact that Mr. Wilson himself makes this assumption—though referring at the same time to Professor Hubbard's reply to my paper. . . . .

Mr. Wilson accepts (without acknowledgment) my casting of *M* [the pirate-actor] as Marcellus and as one of the Players.

The only possible interpretation of these words is that Mr. Gray had invented a theory of the origin of *Hamlet* Q_1 which I thereupon appropriated without acknowledgment and passed off as my own. It will now be clear that he is no more the inventor of the theory than I am, and that neither when I first wrote nor since has it ever entered my head to claim the patent rights, which if they belong to anyone, belong to Widgery and Furnivall and W. W. Greg. I did not mention them by name because I imagined that the expression "literary critics" would be sufficient to recall them to anyone reading an article on *Hamlet* Q_1 in the pages of *The Library*.

J. Dover Wilson

King's College, London

If my article on "Thomas Kyd and the First Quarto of *Hamlet*" had done Mr. Dover Wilson an injustice I should be extremely sorry; for I have always been most careful not to misrepresent any facts or make light of the contribution of others in a subject under discussion. I called attention to Mr. Wilson's failure to make mention of my former article because I wished to continue the argument from the point where I had left it; and because I believe that one should place his contribution accurately with reference to the existing bibliography. But I heartily disclaim accusing him either of discourtesy or of dishonesty; I know that they are equally impossible to him. I did not say that Mr. Wilson concealed the fact that a pirate had been suggested and "Marcellus" himself mentioned; but I thought that in working out a theory which was so close to mine (so far as the pirate was concerned) a definite reference to my paper was called for. Doubtless his neglect of it was due to his eager wish to plunge at once into his subject; for he tells of the actor-thief as one might who is revealing exciting news. But in his present paper Mr. Wilson, to justify himself, would lead one to suppose that I had accused him falsely in order to claim credit that did not belong to me. That is ridiculous; but it compels me to state the facts exactly as they are.

In the opening paragraph of his first article in *The Library*, which he quotes in his present paper, Mr. Wilson states that Q_1 "still remains an unsolved puzzle." He goes on to say that the problem "is primarily not literary at all, but bibliographical"; and he proposes a "bibliographical" solution in terms that sound suspiciously like the claiming of "patent

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rights": "While literary judgments are notoriously as shifting as the sand, bibliography provides a foundation of rock—the rock of fact. . . . . Where literary Scotland Yard suspects, Sherlock Holmes bibliography arrests the thief." To "literary investigators" he attributes "suspicions" regarding Voltimand's speech; and he admits a "possibility" also that "the literary critics are again right in their conjecture that the pirate took the part of Marcellus." The "literary" critics, it now appears, are Dr. Greg, Widgery, and Furnivall.

Dr. Greg is not offered as suggesting "that the pirate took the part of Marcellus," as he was not writing about *Hamlet*.[1] Widgery believed that the actor who played Voltemar and perhaps the Player King was "the thief who made a copy by stealth of Shakespeare's early play." He suggests "the hypothesis that a hurried transcript was made of the early play, and that Ling sent pirates into the theatre to take jottings of the first two acts of the amended piece." His theory accords with Mr. Wilson's only as regards the speech of Voltimand; it does not coincide with mine at any point. To make a possible case of the actor-thief theory one can not get very far with "Voltemar"; for an actor who played this rôle and took his "player's part" to the publisher could account for only two speeches, one of twenty-one lines and one of one line. The Player King, on examination, does not stand the test. That a Voltemar-Player King theory which does not work out is "substantially" the same as a Marcellus-Second Player theory that does, Mr. Wilson should be the last to admit; for the whole point of his paper, so far as the pirate is concerned, is that

[1] Dr. Macaulay called my attention to the *Merry Wives* analogy when accepting my paper for the *Mod. Lang. Review*, but thought that my "Marcellus" theory "comes closer to absolute accuracy." My real indebtedness was not to a brilliant scholar but to an amateur actor. For I chanced to be rehearsing a group of students in Shaw's *You Never Can Tell* when the man who was to play the ubiquitous waiter boasted that he knew every part in the play. He proceeded to quote speeches of other characters, and did indeed get them very well, though not nearly so accurately as he had his own lines. When I tried him in a scene where he was not on the stage he could give only the general drift with an occasional true or nearly true speech. It occurred to me that here might be an explanation of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*; and turning to the text I tried my suppositious thief in the part of Horatio. My theory broke down at once; but I noticed that Marcellus stood true. I tried my man as Marcellus, and the conjecture worked out to perfection. This explained the whole of Act I; for "Marcellus" was nearly letter-perfect and gave the correct line division for his own part, while he approximated the speeches of Horatio and Hamlet but—having heard them only and not learned them from copy—he went all awry on the line division. For the scenes in which he was not on the stage he was about as near to Shakespeare as my amateur actor was to Mr. Shaw. The explanation of the Shakespearean portions of Acts II and III was equally simple. The Second Player, who was Lucianus in the play within the play, was the culprit. As there was in *Hamlet* no more of Marcellus after Act I, I realized that the same actor could be used as the Second Player.

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we have nothing but guesswork until we get hold of the *right* man and demonstrate his guilt.

So Widgery, like Furnivall, was forced to fall back on the theory of reporters at the play. Dr. Furnivall's complete statement, so far as it refers to this matter, is as follows: "That it [Q_1] was due to the shorthand writers or note-takers of the time (of whom Heywood complains), with possibly some parts bought or got from some of the players, is evident too." On the words "parts" he has the footnote, "Those of Horatio, Marcellus, and Voltemar (cp. its right 3000 to the wrong 60,000 of Q_2), are well done." Though Mr. Wilson should have made a specific acknowledgment to Widgery, we will all exonerate him for not referring to a theory that comes no more "remarkably near" than this. To speak of the "literary critics" as suggesting that "the pirate took the part of Marcellus" is therefore to make of me an anonymous plural. Would it not have been simpler to have referred frankly to my paper?

In that paper I reviewed the bibliography of the subject. In doing so I noted that "Tycho Mommsen first proposed (1857) to substitute an an actor writing (very illegibly) from memory, whose notes were filled out by a bad poet," and that "The Cambridge Editors at first contented themselves with the theory of short-hand notes partly supplemented by a reference to the authentic copy, some inferior servant or actor being employed to make the comparison by stealth." I was not, therefore, claiming "prescriptive rights" to the idea of an actor-thief—which, as I was careful to show, had been "the common property of scholars" for *more* than thirty-five years—when I "sprung it upon the world in 1915." What I called my particular discovery, the rôles that the actor played, was "this simple bit of observation," of which "I might safely leave the proof to anyone's comparison of the texts and his inevitable deductions from it"; but while I was at it I thought that I might just as well set down enough of the evidence to establish the case.[2] In looking up the subject I did not come upon Widgery,[3] or I should of course have accredited him with the Voltemar-Player King, transcript and reporters hypothesis. When Professor Hubbard called my attention to Widgery's Harness Prize Essay I was much relieved to find that instead of being "substantially

[2] Here I made an unfortunate reference to "my hinseck," saying that I was in this "like the father of Joseph Vance." Professor Hubbard, in the *M. L. Notes* criticism to which Mr. Wilson refers, was evidently irritated by this "hinseck," and I learned from that not to try to be jocular when writing about Shakespeare. But so far from meaning it as solemnly arrogating to myself a vast amount of credit, it was the absurdity of old Vance in making a great to-do over his paltry find that I referred to. I thought that some apology was appropriate for elaborately proving a point that would be evident to anyone who would examine the texts with this in mind.

[3] His essay was not in the Stanford library, and I found no reference to it in the later writers who were.

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the same" it was substantially different from mine, and that it did not explain Q_1 at all.

Mr. Wilson's essays in *The Library* are keenly critical and highly valuable. They work out the theory in much more detail than I did. But to his claim that he provided a bibliographical demonstration in place of a mere literary guess, I must take a final exception. For in illustrating my point I had occasion to discuss the essential matter of the line division and other textual errors due to the actor, with what these indicated regarding the "qualifications of 'Marcellus' for reporting the play"; I compared the manner in which he gave his own lines in a difficult speech and those of Horatio in the speech that follows, showing the contrast that existed throughout; I noted the number and type of errors in both speeches; and to show the exact degree of the pirate's accuracy, I recorded every Q_1 variant in the lines of Marcellus (without needing to be enjoined to "lay the texts of F_1 and Q_1 open side by side!"). That this was a "bibliographical" application of the hypothesis Mr. Wilson should admit, for these are just the sort of things that he does in applying his "bibliographical" method. He adds a detailed examination of the punctuation; but this does not strengthen the theory, for the case would be clear if there were never a colon in the quarto. The comparison I made was sufficient to prove that it actually *was* an actor-thief who supplied the Shakespearean elements in Q_1, and that this actor took the two crucial rôles of Marcellus and the Second Player. Whether he enacted the small additional rôle of Voltimand, as Mr. Wilson believes, or, as I contend, must have managed either to steal or copy the twenty-two lines which would be written on a single sheet of paper, is a matter of no particular consequence. That he could not have taken the other rôles that Mr. Wilson assigns to him[4] I have shown in my recent article.

It is indeed not a pleasant matter to quarrel in public over who is entitled to what in a matter of scholarship. It is as undignified and unworthy a business as those engaged in who cast lots for the garments at the foot of the cross. We are seeking the truth regarding Shakespeare, and whoever aids us in our discoveries is a collaborator and a friend, to

[4] Perhaps I should not have dismissed that of English Ambassador so summarily. My statement might lead one to suppose that Mr. Wilson had been more hasty in this assignment than he was, and I would not, of all things, be unfair. In saying that it "was an unfortunate suggestion for Mr. Wilson, as 'Voltemar' enters with the English ambassadors at the end of the play," my point was that the stage direction, "Enter Voltemar and the Ambassadors from England" separates him from them and by no means makes him one of them. The Marcellus-Second Player actor, used as a supernumerary in the final scene, identified the man from whom he had got the Voltimand speech as coming in at the final filling up of the stage, and was glad to have a name to set down. It is another proof that he did not assume the rôle of Voltimand, for there is no improvement in his report after the "Voltemar" entrance.

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whom we owe our loyalty and whose findings we are glad to point out. Mr. Wilson would have avoided all this by a definite statement of what had hitherto been done.

HENRY DAVID GRAY

Stanford University

6. COLERIDGE, WORDSWORTH, AND MR. LOWES

Ernest Coleridge used to say of his grandfather that, whichever way you took "S.T.C.," you were sure to regret it. If you tried to defend him, there would be a weak point in the defense; and if you attacked him where he seemed to be most vulnerable, something in your further investigation would make you sorry. The defense of Wordsworth is a safer undertaking. Otherwise Mr. Lowes and I now stand in equal jeopardy, for he has defended Coleridge at doubtful points, and in dealing with some of these I must be fairly destructive as critic of a book[1] which too highly eulogizes Coleridge and his workmanship in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan.*

Yet, as the saying goes, this new volume is a real contribution to the study of its subject. Mr. Lowes had the laudable ambition to publish a work that should be at once scholarly and popular. That he has impressed a popular audience with the conviction that scholarship may be interesting no one who has read popular reviews of the book can deny; nor is the reason to be found only in sixteen illustrations, or in the mottoes for the chapters, or in the appeal to current notions of psychology. And for the scholarly reader he has not spared himself. Working in and out among Coleridge's neglected or misinterpreted memoranda, following slight clues with pertinacity—sometimes with a shrewdness that nearly amounts to genius—he has in remarkable detail traced the sources from which Coleridge derived his imagery, shedding light on the ways in which the poet combined or fused images that were drawn, consciously or subconsciously, from many parts of his experience and reading, above all in books of travel and description. Of course, this type of research is never-ending. So far as directly concerns Coleridge, Mr. Lowes has left undone no task he could think of, however onerous, that might illuminate his subject. He has not omitted a fact nor a note, which might have a bearing on the two poems of his choice, unless it be at p. 538 where he records his ill luck in losing the note he had made for the purpose! His scholarly conscience is clear. It may be said that no other two poems of recent date have had their "sources" so vigorously ransacked. And the literary facts thus disclosed have been sympathetically studied in relation to the mind of the poet. The new disclosures of fact are not, indeed, so bulky as one might infer from the size of the volume, or as the reader would see if

[1] *The Road to Xanadu; a Study in the Ways of the Imagination.* By John Livingston Lowes. Boston and New York, 1927.

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at any point in the text, bibliography, Notes, or Index, all the borrowings in *The Rime* and *Kubla Khan* that had hitherto been caught were assembled for inspection. Mr. Lowes has, however, re-examined nearly all the known borrowings, pursuing his quest tirelessly and independently, and doing more in it than all his predecessors combined; he has identified many new verbal reminiscences in detail, and, in a larger way, has made clear, for example (pp. 377–9), a considerable debt of *Kubla Khan* to the *Travels* of James Bruce.

Yet the volume is not without serious defects, and my treatment of these, and of various points in its subject, has turned into something different from an ordinary review.

Much of the book reposes on traditional estimates that have come to be tacitly accepted, but will not bear critical examination. Thus Mr. Lowes assumes that *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is a very fine poem; it is the common assumption. But Wordsworth on the whole thought otherwise. And Lamb was very doubtful about the wisdom of publishing *Kubla Khan*. Granted that each of the two poems has distinct merits, are both really works of the first order, to be severally compared, for example, with *The White Doe of Rylstone* and Milton's *Sabrina Fair*? How much plot or substance—essential form—does a first-rate poem need, and has *Kubla Khan* as much of it as Lamb, or Aristotle, or sound critics in general, would demand? And what of the repulsive notion in its lines 14–16?——

> A savage place! as *holy* and enchanted
> As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
> By woman wailing for her demon-lover!

Is the collocation of "holy" with demoniac love a blemish or not? The lines certainly betray the lurking indelicacy to which Wordsworth objected in *Christabel*, and Ruskin—perhaps Arnold, too—in Coleridge as a poet. Or what of the error committed by the two hundred fellows of the Ancient Mariner? For agreeing after the fact that it was good to slay the bird, they suffer excruciating tortures, and die in misery. Is their credulous mistake an adequate tragic *hamartia*? Dream or no dream, the situation is revolting.

Again, Mr. Lowes thinks that Wordsworth was not a very good literary critic (a common mistake with those who have not studied all his prose), and is quite impatient of his strictures upon *The Rime*. But Wordsworth's criticism is in effect Aristotelian; for example: "The events, having no necessary connection, do not produce each other."[2] The censure is well-taken. The main thread of the narrative is geographical; and a spatial sequence, like a temporal, does not give organization to a plot; in the *Odyssey*, the spatial sequence of the Wanderings is the result of more important causes. On the law of probability we need not dwell; the

[2] Note at the end of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800.

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objection of Mrs. Barbauld, admitted by Coleridge, is substantially that of Lamb (Lowes, pp. 301–3), who says: "I dislike all the miraculous part of it." In the treatment of the probable and the impossible, for the poems in *Lyrical Ballads*, Coleridge satisfies the demands of Aristotle and good sense less well than does his collaborator. Take, again, Wordsworth's complaint that the chief agent in *The Rime* "has no distinct character." Mr. Lowes makes merry (p. 198) over this objection, and compares the "insignia" or outward trappings of Simon Lee. Wordsworth, however, is not so much thinking of the insignia as of the inward nature of the hero, the *ethos*, as Aristotle calls it. It would have been better to compare the lines, strangely omitted from page 223 of this book, which Wordsworth says he contributed to *The Rime*, since they show his effort to supply in some measure the defect in characterization; and far better then to go on to the last episode in Book 4 of *The Prelude*. There, as I long ago argued, his defeated impulse to collaborate with Coleridge found an outlet in the delineation of the ghostly ancient soldier from across the seas; the surmise in my article, "Wordsworth's Conception of the Ancient Mariner" (in Herrig's *Archiv* 125 (1910), 89–92) is confirmed by evidence in De Sélincourt's recent edition of *The Prelude*, pp. xxi, xxxiii, 525. The episode in question was written very soon after the collaborative plan for *The Rime* broke down, and has precisely the elements of *ethos* which Wordsworth says are wanting in the poem of his friend. It is the simple truth that, in general, the poetry of Wordsworth has *ethos* in the Aristotelian sense, and the poetry of Coleridge lacks it when the subject is other than himself. There is no space here for a complete analysis of Wordsworth's objections, or of his discriminating praise. Before commending *The Rime*, he lastly objects that "the imagery is somewhat too laboriously accumulated." Mr. Lowes dissents, yet the greater part of his volume goes to show how laboriously Coleridge gathered materials for this rhetorical accumulation, by methods which Wordsworth could daily observe.[3] It also shows how little human interest—*ethos*—Coleridge gained from his reading of travels, how unerringly he pounced upon

> Whatever in those climes he found
> Irregular in sight or sound.

Thus we come to his reading. Mr. Lowes (p. xi) quotes: " 'I have read almost everything,' said Coleridge, not without warrant, a year before he wrote *The Ancient Mariner*." Now a young man of twenty-five may have read a great deal (every one knows that Coleridge did this), and in order to be a notable poet he must have done so (as Wordsworth then was systematically reading); but he has not yet read "almost everything." We may doubt whether Coleridge had then read in any

[3] Compare Lowes, p. 384: Coleridge "was striking out, as the Note Book shows, from one book to another in directions which seemed to promise contributions." The reference is to another poem, but the principle is the same.

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subject after an ordered plan; his pursuit of novelties from one book to another by means of foot-notes is not evidence enough of real system. Charles Lamb about the same time, up to the year 1800, had read as much of the Elizabethan drama as had Coleridge, and still had before him those years of reading which made him the authority upon the subject that Coleridge never became. Coleridge never was the sort of student of books that we find in a Burke or a Milton. He was omnivorous, but discursive. He lacked the command of modern languages possessed by Wordsworth, had not systematically memorized the chief English poets as Wordsworth had done, and never knew the minor poets as Wordsworth knew them. Nor did he know where to stop. Doubtless the best-read young author of our literature wrote the ode, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*; and Milton, who was not only "industrious," but "select," in his reading, says in his Tractate *Of Education*: "To search what many modern Januas and Didactics, more than ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not." Of one thing we may be reasonably sure. If Wordsworth says that, before he and Coleridge began *The Rime of of the Ancient Mariner*, Coleridge probably never saw Shelvocke's *Voyage* (from which the incident of the Albatross was taken), then Coleridge probably did not see it until he went on by himself to accumulate his imagery; see Lowes, p. 531.

And so we come back to the attempt at collaboration. Mr. Lowes almost steadily puts Wordsworth in a wrong light concerning this. Only on page 223 does he really admit "the signal importance of Wordsworth's contributions to the scheme." On page 93 he gives Coleridge credit for "the sustained unity of a coherent plan." The importance to Coleridge of Wordsworth's gift for effective organization needs a more constant emphasis. Of the five narrative poems attempted by Coleridge in 1797–98, only two, *The Rime* and *The Three Graves*, seem to have had a workable plan, and for both Wordsworth supplied it. He had what Coleridge lacked, and what Horace and Aristotle take to be the first requisite—poetic energy to formulate the whole. The volume before us shows but too clearly why Coleridge could not organize and finish *Christabel* and *The Wanderings of Cain*. How perverse (p. 5) to set the "most admired disorder" of the Gutch note-book above the "severely ordered" Commonplace Book of Milton! Above all, Wordsworth could formulate a plan, on reflection distasteful to him, in an effort to accommodate his genius to that of his friend.

Even more of the details than are commonly admitted may have arisen from this effort. Besides the six specified lines, Wordsworth in old age spoke of "four or five lines more in different parts of the poem." I once thought I could identify at least thirteen lines as furnished by Wordsworth, and now suggest that "broad as a weft" (in line 83 of the first edition) may have come from him. Mr. Lowes will have it (pp. 261–9) that Coleridge got the "weft" from a person rather than a book, and

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thinks that the poet may have learned this word from one of his sea-going brothers—of whom Coleridge saw very little. But why not suppose that it came from Wordsworth, and that he heard it from the retired sea-captain whom he may have had in mind for the poem (p. 281), or, better, from his own seafaring brother John, with whom his relations were very close? The *Vocabulary of Sea Phrases*, 1799, No. 170 in the posthumous Catalogue of his library, probably came to him from John; though published after *The Rime*, this, like many other books belonging to Wordsworth, will help to show how indefatigable a student he was of diction. Here, again, he was more systematic than Coleridge. Moreover, "broad as a weft" is not unlike the similes of Wordsworth in general; see *JEGP.* VI (1907), 179–89. And be it noted that, of the two poets, he was by far the more given to studying the language actually used by seamen and other persons in humble life.

For another detail, Mr. Lowes too readily infers (pp. 222–24, 531) that "the Old Navigator himself" was "clearly in Coleridge's mind from the beginning." He may have been so, but Wordsworth's account does not make the inference necessary; "certain parts" Wordsworth says *he* "suggested"—for example: "Some crime was to be committed which should bring upon the Old Navigator, as Coleridge *afterwards* delighted to call him, the spectral persecution." The italics for "afterwards" are mine. A fair case can be made out for Wordsworth's presumable suggestion of the main agent in the story as well as the essential plot: "*The Ancient Mariner* was founded on a strange dream, which a friend of Coleridge's had, who fancied he saw a skeleton ship, with *figures* in it." So Wordsworth as reported by Dyce; the italics again are mine. It will not do to minimize, as Wordsworth long after does, his share in the poem; there were reasons why he should not wish to have credit for too much of a hand in it; and these reasons strengthened as he grew older. I do not seek to magnify his part, either, at the expense of Coleridge and his eulogist.[4]

Nevertheless, let us look further at Wordsworth's part. In or about 1843 he told Miss Fenwick: "I also suggested the navigation of the ship by the dead men." Some years before (in 1834), he told Dyce: "I also suggested the reanimation of the dead bodies." Mr. Lowes says (p. 224): "The part played by angelic intervention may or may not have been an afterthought." If I understand this sentence, the word "reanimation," and lines 515–23, for example, of the first edition of *The Rime*, should

[4] In the account of Price, hereafter cited, Wordsworth is made to say: "We agreed to write jointly a poem, the subject of which Coleridge took from a dream which a friend of his had once dreamt concerning a person suffering under a dire curse from the commission of some crime." Price does not specify that the person was a mariner; in fact, his evidence, as far as we can trust it, is against the identification. The evidence of Dyce on Cruikshank's dream is more trustworthy.

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settle the point. Wordsworth suggested not only the "tutelary spirits" who avenge the crime, but also the reanimation of the dead bodies by souls presumably angelic; compare later editions, lines 347–9, and *Laodamia* 81: "Alcestis, a reanimated corse." The only "afterthought" mentioned by Wordsworth (see his remarks to Miss Fenwick) was the marginal gloss, "which was not thought of by either of us at the time—at least, not a hint of it was given to me." There is also a question how long he tried to be joint author of the poem. Mr. Lowes says (p. 224): "Before the evening which saw the poem's birth was ended, he had recognized that the spirits which he had evoked called Coleridge master but not him." Now Wordsworth says he desisted from collaborating, not because of the subject (he having supplied a workable plot), but because "our respective manners proved so widely different," or, again, "because I soon found that the style of Coleridge and myself would not assimilate." Any one who reads the first edition can see in it faults of which Wordsworth, whatever his "limitations" (to use Mr. Lowes' word), never could be guilty. But, further, in 1844 he told Price (*Memoirs* I, 454; English ed. I, 408–9): "We tried the poem conjointly for a day or two, but we pulled different ways, and only a few lines of it are mine." Mr. Lowes does not quote this passage even in the Notes; there he merely refers us to the *Memoirs*. It conflicts with the evidence of Miss Fenwick (Lowes, p. 223), recorded at a time, within a year or so of the conversation with Price, when Mr. Lowes (p. 225) thinks that Wordsworth had to refresh his memory by consulting Shelvocke. Yet perhaps the difference between a late afternoon with its evening and *one or two days* is not very important. The poem was begun, say, on Nov. 13, 1797, and finished on or about March 23, 1798. During that interval Coleridge was in almost daily contact with Wordsworth and his sister, while, according to Wordsworth, the ballad "grew and grew."[5] Dorothy is supposed to have furnished suggestions for it in these months; why not her brother, too, though no longer in the capacity of joint author? Some time after May 9, Cottle, as he says (*Early Recollections* I, 314), "spent a week with Mr. C. and Mr. W. at Allfoxden house, and during this time (besides the reading of MS. poems) they took me to Limouth, and Linton, and the Valley of Stones." That is, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and the publisher who then determined to issue the *Lyrical Ballads* repeated the tour that had produced *The Rime*. Was none of the poem declaimed or read aloud? The manuscript surely was read by all three before Cottle took it, and it alone, to Bristol and the printer. Was Wordsworth only a silent critic, for a week? If his memory in later years needed refreshing, the argument from

[5] Coleridge probably swelled it from 340 to 658 lines between Feb. 18, when he wrote to Cottle, "I have finished my ballad, it is 340 lines," and March 23, when "he brought his ballad finished" to the Wordsworths; see Cottle, *Early Recollections* I, 307, Dorothy's *Journals* I, 14, and Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, 2 vols., ed. E. H. Coleridge, p. 1048.

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it may cut in another direction. At the age of seventy-three he may have understated his share in the poem; he says nothing of the improvement his criticism effected in it for the second edition (1800). Mr. Lowes, no doubt rightly, assumes (p. 521) that the criticism was given and accepted. The result, however, was not merely the removal of "archaisms"; matter was excised, and yet more of it in subsequent editions, with great benefit to the poem—though undesirable qualities inherent in the excised portions were inherent in the whole, and still color what remains. Helpful strictures, of course, came from other sources; Coleridge's own taste as a critic likewise improved.

We may now take up some minor details. P. 14. In Coleridge's note, "commit with Devils," no noun "is wanting" (as Mr. Lowes thinks); see *King Lear* 3.4.79–80, and *N.E.D.*, s.v. *commit* 6.c. P. 17. The word here appearing as "D[u]pp[e]—" may be a memorandum for *Doppelgänger*. P. 128. The identification of "breeze" (*Rime* 103), originally "breezes," with the Brises—Trade-winds—is illuminating, but Coleridge had to give up the identification not merely for the sake of clearness; the Trade-winds do not blow near Cape Horn, where "the fair breeze blew." Compare his marginal gloss: "The fair breeze continues; the ship enters the Pacific Ocean." P. 160. The "electric contact of one mind with another" which produced *The Rime* seems to have been that between Coleridge and Wordsworth, and not so much the contact here suggested.

P. 171. Mr. Lowes thinks that Dorothy Wordsworth "was more closely akin, through the exquisite delicacy of her perception, and through something aerial and spiritlike in its property, to Coleridge than to her brother." Compare Wordsworth in *Ethereal Minstrel, She Was a Phantom of Delight*, and *Waterfowl*, with Coleridge:

> *His* bones were black with many a crack,
> All black and bare, I ween;
> Jet-black and bare, save where with rust
> Of mouldy damps and charnel crust
> They're patch'd with purple and green.

P. 172. In *She was a Phantom of Delight*, Wordsworth refers, not to his sister, but to his wife. P. 176. "The moving moon," etc. "That is no moon of the books." It is the moon both of Alfoxden and the poets, including Spenser. And, like Spenser's moon, it now certainly is a moon "of the books." P. 192. "It is trifles, as everybody knows, . . . which are apt to be most potently suggestive." But on page 160 we understood that vital thoughts were likely to arise from the "electric" contact of gifted minds; this appears to be the more reasonable view. P. 199. Note Wordsworth's "obtuseness." P. 200. "Sometimes a-dropping from the sky, I heard" (*Rime* 358–9). Note the "hanging" or "dangling" participle. P. 214. In *The Rime* 529–30, "The planks looked warped! and see those sails, How thin they are," etc., "looked" seems to be a late, but

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now traditional, oversight in the printing. The reading in 1798, 1800, 1802, 1805, and 1817, was "look"; the situation, and the verbs "see" and "are," show that Coleridge intended the present tense. "Looked warped" is cacophonous; cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXIV (1909), 34. P. 228. Wordsworth suggested the "Tutelary spirits." "Precisely what Wordsworth may have had in mind," says Mr. Lowes, "I do not know." Why not look into his reading, Browne's *Religio Medici* 1. 35 to begin with? P. 231. The reference to "a farmer" is said to be "not pertinent," but left in as "quintessential comedy." It might take us to Crèvecœur's *American Farmer*, which belongs in the sphere of Coleridge's reading of travels. P. 314. The passage from *Ruth* is not to be commended until it is read as the utterance of a dubious character who, in Wordsworth's view, exaggerates.

P. 327. The diction of *The Rime* is mainly "determined by the words and phrases taken over from the travel-books." Mr. Lowes on the whole underestimates the draft upon other sources. In the unsigned Advertisement to the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798, Wordsworth says: "*The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere* was professedly written in imitation of the style, as well as of the spirit, of the elder poets; but, with a few exceptions, the Author believes that the language adopted in it has been equally intelligible for these three last centuries." The parallel statement of Coleridge (Hazlitt, *My First Acquaintance with Poets*), that he and Wordsworth were about to make use, in *Lyrical Ballads*, "only of such words as had probably been common in the most ordinary language since the days of Henry II," is less trustworthy. If Coleridge said or meant Henry VII, his date and Wordsworth's agree; if Henry IV, he included, not three, but four, centuries, taking us back to Chaucer and Gower. The Advertisement to *Lyrical Ballads* is not referred to in the Index (pp. 607–39) compiled by Mr. Walden for Mr. Lowes; the latter clearly has not made due use of it. Another thing he seems to have missed, among the sources, is the *Orchestra* of Sir John Davies, which powerfully influenced both Coleridge and Wordsworth; see the parallel, cited by Mrs. Humphry Ward, between *The Rime* 414–21 and Davies, stanza 49. See also Coleridge, *The Dungeon* 27, *Christabel* 50, *The Rime* 127–8; and Wordsworth, *I wandered*, *Waterfowl*, and other passages to be found in the Concordance under *dance, danced, dancing*. Of course many words and phrases in *The Rime* are of a currency earlier than the year 1500. Here we may notice a recent small discovery of my own. The "lavrock" (=*lark*) in line 348 of *The Rime* as issued in 1798 may be more definitely assigned to Gower, *Confessio Amantis* 5. 4100, than to the Chaucerian *Romaunt of the Rose*, though Coleridge and Wordsworth doubtless knew this too. Coleridge writes:

> Sometimes a dropping from the sky
> I heard the Lavrock sing;
> Sometimes all little birds that are

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> How they seem'd to fill the sea and air
> With their sweet jargoning.

And Gower (of Medea):

> Sche made many a wonder soun,
> Sometime lich unto the cock,
> Sometime unto the laverock; . . .
> And riht so as her jargoun strangeth,
> In sondri wise her forme changeth.

One must compare, too, the formula "Sometimes . . . sometimes" of Caliban describing the mysterious music of his island, in *Tempest* 3.2.141 ff.; see also "drop," *ibid.* 148, and William Bartram's account (*Travels*, London, 1794, p. 284) of the sudden appearance in spring of small birds in Pennsylvania: "At once the woods, the groves, and meads, are filled with their melody, as if they dropped down from the skies." Here, then, for a single passage in *The Rime* are two, or three, reminiscences from "the elder poets" as against one from a book of travels. Coleridge mentions Gower "in some lines I wrote at Stowey" (Lowes, p. 471); for Wordsworth's interest in Gower, see De Selincourt's ed. of *The Prelude*, p. xxiii, and the Catalogue of Wordsworth's library, No. 674.

P. 328. Coleridge's poetical "vocabulary" is strange rather than "huge," at least in comparison with that of Wordsworth; see Arnold, *On Translating Homer* (ed. of 1902, p. 150), and *Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX (1904), 223. P. 354. "There are no variants whatever" in *Kubla Khan*. This is not strictly true. "There" in line 8 has a variant reading "here"; "Enfolding," line 8, appeared in 1816 as "And folding"; and perhaps we may add Charles Lamb's "ordain" for "decree" in line 2. This last would be reminiscent of *Paradise Lost* 4. 215: "His far more pleasant Garden God ordained." P. 359. "Goings on" is a locution of Wordsworth as well as Coleridge, and perhaps is rather Wordsworthian. P. 427, chapter-heading. For "Imagination Creatrix" read *Imaginatio Creatrix?* P. 434. "Forever Voyaging." Wordsworth wrote "for ever" (two words); see Calverley's lines entitled "*Forever.*"

We come to the Notes, pp. 451–603; they contain a vast body of detailed information that will always be of great interest to the student of Coleridge. I can but warmly recommend these Notes to the thoughtful student; they could not be treated in detail within reasonable limits. But it is unfortunate that they are not adequately represented in the Index.[6] Nor are they free from a bias that diminishes the value of the

[6] I naturally tried to see how much use had been made of my own study of Coleridge's reading in books of travel, demonology, and so on, and at first thought that my youthful articles of many years ago had mostly escaped the attention of Mr. Lowes, though in the text he shows some enthusiasm for the queerest of them, *The Power of the Eye in Coleridge*. To judge from the Notes, however, and not from

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text. On page 516 Mr. Lowes is too sure that Wordsworth could have had no hand in the writing of *Lewti*; he has not fathomed the poet's adolescence and young manhood. Again, on page 521 he calls Wordsworth *disingenuous* and *obtuse*—the last uncomplimentary references to Coleridge's friend that I have noted in the volume. There are too many of them to balance the occasional praise. For an understanding of the two poets in their life at Stowey and Alfoxden it is necessary to sympathize with both of them. Their relations then and later are a difficult theme, in part because of the fragmentary evidence. Yet long study of all the evidence there is should convince a reasonable mind of Wordsworth's forbearance in his treatment of Coleridge, that loving, and lovable, but exasperating soul. For admirers of *The Rime* there is no juster criticism than that of Wordsworth when he says of the revised version for the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1800:

> The poem contains many delicate touches of passion, and indeed the passion is everywhere true to nature; a great number of the stanzas present beautiful images, and are expressed with unusual felicity of language; and the versification, though the metre is itself unfit for long poems, is harmonious and artfully varied, exhibiting the utmost powers of that metre, and every variety of which it is capable. It therefore appeared to me that these several merits (the first of which, namely that of the passion, is of the highest kind) gave to the poem a value which is not often possessed by better poems.

Something must now be said of Mr. Lowes' own style and method of composition. There is far too much of the author in his book (for example, p. 55); too much of the way in which he secured his results, instead of, thanks to him, the most direct means to them; too much extraneous matter, brought in by the author's fortuitous mental associations; too much strain and stress in his language; and too much redundancy—too much repetition of phrase and substance. The line, or the passage containing the line, "A still and awful red," which is not very good sense or poetry, appears on pp. 64, 65, 71, 89, 208, 328, 329; the word "phantasmagoria" on pp. 65, 82, 120, 376, 401, 408, 597.

If any part of the foregoing criticism should seem captious, let it be remembered that the book has been fulsomely praised by writers who

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the Index, he has not missed much. Still, on page 453 he is unaware that any one but E. H. Coleridge (1906) and Bersch (1909) was ahead of him in comparing Wordsworth with Bartram's *Travels;* there should be a reference to the *Athenæum*, London, April 22, 1905, pp. 498 ff. And possibly (p. 517, Note 102) one may learn more from my *Glance at Wordsworth's Reading* as it appears in *Methods and Aims in the Study of Literature*, 1915, than in its original shape of eight years before. For a small item that I had myself forgotten, see the *Athenæum*, Sept. 5, 1903, p. 328. As for the parallel noted by Mr. Lowes (p. 526) between *The Rime* 446–51 and Dante, *Inferno* 21. 25–30, it *has* been suspected before; I caught it twenty years ago while following up Charles Lamb in *Witches and other Night-fears* (see Macdonald's ed. of Lamb I, 135).

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know nothing of the subject. Mr. Lowes has worked hard, and knows more of it in detail than the present writer ever knew. As it seems to me, his defects chiefly arise from a relative ignorance of Wordsworth, and some traditional animus against this great originating poet. The animus still interferes with the advance of purity and restraint in English style. Even so, I would have given the book more praise, were there not a strong likelihood that it will have another edition. In that case Mr. Lowes will profit more from the compliment of an article evincing at least some investigation.

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XXXII

DAS SCHWACHE PRÄTERITUM ALS MISCHBILDUNG

DAS schwache Präteritum ist hinsichtlich seines Ursprungs und seiner Entwicklung in vorhistorischer Zeit vielleicht die am heissesten umstrittene Formengruppe der germanischen Grammatik. Dass es den Forschern schwer fällt, sich völlig miteinander zu verständigen, daran sind wir ja auch sonst gewohnt. Aber beim schwachen Präteritum scheint der Gegensatz der Ansichten grösser und die Einigung demgemäss schwieriger als bei anderen Problemen. Was hilft es, hier von einem dentalen Präteritum zu sprechen, wenn der eine in dem Dental eine idg.Tenuis, der andere darin eine idg. Aspirate oder Spirans sieht? Und wie können wir auf Einigung hoffen, wenn wir die Wahl haben, dieses Präteritum mit dem griechischen Passiv-Aorist, dem idg. Passiv-Partizipium, dem idg. Aktiv-Aorist oder medialen Aorist, dem idg. medialen Perfekt oder gar dem Präsens lateinischer Factitiva zu verbinden? Es wird nicht nötig sein, diese Vorschläge hier des Näheren vorzuführen und zu prüfen. Man findet die Erklärungsversuche, welche bis dahin gemacht waren, einigermassen vollständig in meiner Monographie *Das schwache Präteritum und seine Herkunft*[1] aufgezählt. Das Verzeichnis ist bis auf die Gegenwart weitergeführt von A. W. M. Odé in der Abhandlung "Das schwache Präteritum in den Germanischen Sprachen."[2] Ich kann mir Odé's Urteil über die neueren Theorien in vielen Fällen zu eigen machen. Auch trifft der neue Erklärungsversuch, den er vorlegt, meiner Meinung nach wenigstens bis zu einem gewissen Grade das Richtige. Aber es bleibt doch ein beträchtlicher Rest von Meinungsverschiedenheit, der zu dem Versuche weiterer Verständigung einlädt.

Ein Hauptgrund, der bisher der Einigung im Wege gestanden

[1] *Hesperia*, I, Göttingen, 1912.

[2] *Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Deel 61, No. 6, Amsterdam, 1926.

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hat, liegt in dem Vorurteile, das schwache Präteritum müsse sich aus einem einzigen Tempus der indog. Ursprache herleiten oder sonstwie durch eine einfache Formel erklären lassen. Ich selbst muss mich in dieser Hinsicht schuldig bekennen, indem ich versuchte, sämtliche Formen an das idg. mediale Perfekt anzuknüpfen. Mit den von andrer Seite aufgestellten Theorien, einschliesslich der neuesten, steht es schwerlich besser. Schon seit einer Reihe von Jahren aber hat sich mir die Überzeugung aufgedrängt, dass das schwache Präteritum, ähnlich wie das lateinische Perfekt, als hybride Bildung gelten muss, d.h. eine Mischform aus Elementen, die von Haus aus nicht zusammengehörten. Der Vergleich mit dem lateinischen Perfekt liegt besonders nahe, weil letzteres in einigen Formen (namentlich in der 1. sing.) eine alte Medialendung neben sonstigen Aktivendungen und zugleich ein buntes Gemisch von alten Perfekt-und Aoriststämmen aufweist. Nur müssen wir uns hüten, hier eine geschichtliche Gemeinschaft anzunehmen. Die Art der Mischung ist im Germanischen eine andre als im Lateinischen, und das schwache Präteritum bleibt der Hauptsache nach eine dem Germanischen eigene Bildung.

Auf Grund der Endungen sowohl wie auf Grund der Stammbildung lassen sich deutlich zwei Formenschichten beim schwachen Präteritum unterscheiden. Der ersten Schicht gehören nur zwei Formen an, aber Formen, die an Wichtigkeit und Häufigkeit allen übrigen weit voranstehen, nämlich die 1. und 3. Singularis des Indikativs. Sehen wir von der 1. sg. des Altnordischen mit ihrer Konjunktivendung ab, so stimmen alle germanischen Sprachen hier im wesentlichen überein. Überall (ausser im Altnordischen) haben die beiden Formen dieselbe Endung, und überall wo Passivformen sich zum Vergleiche bieten, stimmt die gemeinsame Endung der 1. und 3. sg. des schw. Prät. zu der gemeinsamen Endung der 1. und 3. sing. des Passivs. Das Passiv ist im Germanischen bekanntlich auf den Präsensstamm beschränkt. Von diesen Präsensformen unterscheiden sich die entsprechenden Formen des schw. Prät. nur durch den Mangel des "thematischen" Vokals (z.B. im Gotischen 1. 3. sg. pass. *nasj-a-da*, 1. 3. sg. prät. *nasi-da*), ganz wie im Griechischen λύ-ο-μαι, λύ-ε-ται im Präsens (pass.) und λέ-λυ-μαι, λέ-λυ-ται im Perfekt (pass.) neben einander liegen. Alles weist darauf hin, dass in der 1. und 3. sg. des schw. Prät. die alten zum Mediopassiv gehörigen Perfektformen erhalten sind. Der Übertritt dieser Perfektformen aus dem Mediopassiv in das Aktiv hat an der 1. sing. des lateinischen Perfekts eine genaue

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Parallele. Auffällig könnte zunächst der Mangel der Reduplikationssilbe im schw. Prät. erscheinen. Aber sie mangelt ja nicht völlig, denn sie hat sich in dem westgerman. Präteritum **deda* bis ins heutige Englische (*I did, he did*) und im älteren Neuhochd. (*tät* = mhd. *tet, tete*) erhalten. Auch beim starken Präteritum und beim latein. Perfekt steht ja die Reduplikationssilbe auf dem Aussterbeétat. Alles in allem sehe ich keinen Grund von der Erklärung dieser Formen abzugehen, welche ich vor nahezu vier Jahrzehnten vorgeschlagen habe.[3] Ich sehe in der Tat nicht, wie man vernünftigerweise und ohne den Tatsachen Gewalt anzutun, eine andre Erklärung geben kann. Nur insofern war der Widerspruch gegen meine Theorie berechtigt, als die Herkunft der 1. und 3. sing. aus dem Mediopassiv nicht genügt, um das schwache Präteritum völlig dem indog. Medioperfekt gleichzusetzen.

Einer Bemerkung bedarf nur noch die eigenartige Endung der 1. sing. ind. des schw. Prät. im Altnordischen. Die Annahme, dass sie auf Übertragung aus dem Konjunktiv beruht, rührt von Konr. Gislason her, dessen Auffassung ich schon mehrfach[4] gegen abweichende Ansichten in Schutz genommen habe. Wie jedermann weiss, liegt dem altnord. *-a* zunächst ein (ursprünglich langes) *-o* zugrunde, das sich in den Runenschriften der älteren Gattung tatsächlich vorfindet. Man muss sich hüten, dieses "urnordische" *o* als urgermanisch anzusehen und es unmittelbar einem griech. oder latein. ausl. *-o* gleichzusetzen. Die Sache liegt ähnlich wie bei dem Zahlworte für 8, wo dem *átta* der altnord. Literatursprache (= ags. *eahta*) ahd. u. alts. *ahto* und got. *ahtau* entsprechen. Auch hier könnte man sich versucht fühlen, das zwischen dem altn.-ags. *-a* und dem got. *-au* in der Mitte stehende *-o* des Ahd. und Altsächs. unmittelbar mit ὀκτώ und lat. *octo* zu verbinden, während doch indog. *-ō(v)* oder *-ō(u)*, d.h. ein langvokalischer Diphthong mit flüchtigem Auslaut (oder, anders ausgedrückt, ein langer Vokal, gefolgt von halbvokalischem Gleitelaut) zugrunde liegt.[5] Der in got. *ahtau* bewahrte urgermanische Diphthong ist

[3] *Am. Jour. Philol.*, IX, 42 ff. Es liegt diesem Aufsatze, der mit wenigen Zusätzen in Bezz. Beitr. XVII, 227–244 abgedruckt ist, ein Vortrag zugrunde, den ich bei der Jahresversammlung der Mod. Lang. Assn. zu Philadelphia im J. 1887 hielt. Eine englische Uebersetzung findet sich in den *PMLA* III, 22–35.

[4] Vgl. z. B. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, IX, 56 und *Hesperia*, I, 130 ff.

[5] Siehe namentlich R. Meringers Aufsatz "Ueber den Dual der o-Stämme" *KZ.*, XXVIII (1887), 217 ff. (speziell über aind. aṣṭāu, S. 228) und vgl. meine Bemerkungen im *Am. Jour. Philol.*, IX (1888), 47 u. 55 = BB. XVII, 233 u. 242.

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im Ahd. und Altsächs. zu *o* kontrahiert. Es liegt kein Grund vor, das Verhältnis des got. *-au* in der 1. sing. des Konjunktivs (z.B. *bairau*, *tawidēdjau*) zu runischem *-o* in Formen wie *tawido*, *worahto* (1. sing. praet.) und zu altnord. *-a* in der 1. sing. der Konjunktivformen und der 1. sing. praet. anders zu beurteilen als das von got. *ahtau*: ahd. *ahto*: altnord. *átta*. Es mag genügen, einstweilen auf Bezzenberger's Aufsatz "Got. *bairau*, Konjunktiv von indogerm. *bhêrō(u)*," *BB.* XXVI (1901), 152–154, zu verweisen.

Prof. Odé meint (S. 20), Sverdrūp habe in seiner Besprechung meiner Monographie über das schw. Prät.[6] nachgewiesen, dass es unmöglich sei, die as. ahd. Endung *-a* der 1. und 3. sg. des schw. Prät. auf idg. *ai* zurückzuführen. *ai* erscheine "zwar im Got. als *-a*, aber im Nordischen und Westgerm. als *-e*." Ich kann in Sverdrūp's Rezension keinen "Nachweis" dieser Art finden, sondern nur (S. 14) eine Wiederholung eines verjährten Irrtumes, den ich schon im J. 1890 in meinem Aufsatze "Die Behandlung des auslautenden *ai* im Got., Ahd. u. Altsächsischen."[7] widerlegt zu haben glaube. Ich habe dort gezeigt, dass der Wandel des ausl. *-ai* zu *-a* im freien Auslaut nicht eine gotische Eigenheit, sondern gemeingermanisch ist. Dieses *-a* ist ausserhalb des Gotischen ebenso behandelt wie jedes andre germanische *-a*, z.B. wie das aus *-ām* entstandene *-a* im Acc. sing. der femininen ā-Stämme (Got. *giba*). Es bleibt im Ahd. erhalten, während es im Nordischen, Angelsächsischen und Friesischen zu *e* wird. Die Handschriften des *Heliand* und der altsächs. Genesis schwanken zwischen der ahd und der friesischen Weise. Beim Nom. sg. der schwachen Deklination muss man einen alten Formenunterschied zwischen Ostgermanisch und Westgermanisch berücksichtigen. Hier decken sich die ags. Formen nicht mit den nordischen, weil das Nordische mit dem Gotischen, das Ags. dagegen mit dem Ahd. zusammengeht. Sverdrūp's Meinung also, dem aus *-ai* entstandene got. *-a* entspreche westgerm. *-e*, ist mit dem Tatbestande nicht vereinbar, und ich muss bedauern, dass Odé sich durch den folgenschweren Irrtum Sverdrūp's an der richtigen Auffassung der urgerm. Medialformen im Singular des schw. Prät. hat verhindern lassen.

Weit grössere Schwierigkeiten als die beiden bisher besprochenen Formen, bietet die zweite Schicht, der alle übrigen Formen des schw. Präteritums angehören. Die Schwierigkeit liegt vor allem

[6] *IF*, XXXV, Anz. 5–17.

[7] *Beiträge zur Kunde der idg. Sprachen*, hg. von Bezzenberger, XVII, 1–53.

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darin, dass das Gotische, die älteste germanische Sprache, die uns genau bekannt ist, hier im Gegensatze zu allen übrigen germanischen Sprachen steht. Rein äusserlich angesehen besteht der Unterschied darin, dass der eigentlichen Endung im Gotischen überall die Silbe *-ēd-* vorausgeht, während dem Nordischen und Westgermanischen dieses "Mittelstück" fehlt. Also z.B. in der 3. pl. ind. Got. *wissedun* "wussten": westgerm. *wissun*; in der 3. sg. opt. Got. *(and-)hausidēdi*, westg. *hauz(i)di* usw. K. F. Johansson suchte das "Mittelstück" mit Hülfe der vedischen medialen Dualformen auf *-āthē*, *-ātē* zu erklären. Seine Theorie erschien mir früher überzeugend, während es mir jetzt fraglich erscheint, ob wir Eigenheiten der Medialflexion irgendwo anders als bei der 1. und 3. sing. (also da wo die gotischen Formen zum Westgermanischen stimmen) erwarten dürfen. Ist es nicht am natürlichsten, eine Form wie westgerm. *dēdum* "wir taten" möglichst ähnlich zu erklären, wie das Subst. *dēd-s* (Stamm *dē-di-*) "die Tat"? Dann erscheint *dē-* als die Wurzelsilbe, und das zweite *-d-* als ein aus idg. *t* entstandenes Suffix. Natürlich kann es sich bei einer Verbalform nicht um das Nominalsuffix, sondern nur um ein Element handeln, das etwa mit dem *k* in griech. *ἔ-θη-κα* und lat. *fē-cī* (nebst *fe-fa-k-ed*) zu vergleichen wäre. Allerdings aber mag das Nominalsuffix *-ti* zusammen mit dem *-t-* des Partiz. pass. und dem anlautenden *t* mehrerer Personalendungen zur Schaffung eines "Tempuscharakters" *t* bei Verbalstämmen mit ursprünglich vokalischem Auslaut beigetragen haben. Eine ganz ähnliche Bildung, auf die ich schon früher[8] hingewiesen habe, weist das Irische in seinem *t-* Präteritum auf. Jedoch bin ich auch jetzt noch der Meinung, dass zwischen dem keltischen und dem germanischen *t-* Präteritum kein unmittelbarer Zusammenhang besteht. Ebensowenig kann ich für die oskisch-umbrischen Verbalformen, auf die seinerzeit Brugmann Gewicht legte, und für die lateinischen Präsentia, die neuerdings Prokosch[9] zum Vergleich heranziehen wollte, einen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit dem schwachen Präteritum zugeben. In bezug auf Brugmann's Theorie möchte ich auf Sverdrūp a. a. O. S. 18 und Odé S. 20 verweisen. Als Belege für die Verwendung einer dentalen Tenuis bei der Schaffung neuer Verbalformen bleiben derartige Parallelen aus den verwandten Sprachen gewiss von Interesse.

[8] *Am. Jour. Philol.*, IX, 43 = BB. XVII, 223.
[9] *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 331–38.

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Um an dem Aufsatze von Chr. Rogge "Die Entwickelung des schw. Prät. im Germanischen als psychologische Formangleichung"[10] nicht vorbeizugehen, so möchte ich glauben, dass der Verfasser in der Annahme von Analogiebildung zu weit geht und dass das Präteritum *deda* die Last, die er ihm aufbürdet, nicht zu tragen vermag. Sollen wir uns wirklich dazu verstehen, die *t*- Präterita, so zu sagen, auf psychologischem Wege in *d*- Präterita umzuwandeln? Ohne die Annahme mannigfacher und tief eingreifender Neubildungen kommen wir ja beim schw. Präteritum nicht aus. Aber ob grade der von Rogge eingeschlagene Weg zum Ziele führt, ist eine andre Frage.

Odé sieht in dem schw. Präter. einen ursprünglichen medialen Aorist. Insofern sie einen Zusammenhang mit ursprünglichen Medialformen und dem idg. einfachen Aoriste voraussetzt, ist mir seine Theorie sympathisch. Aber wie verträgt sie sich mit den tatsächlich vorliegenden Endungen? In der 1. und 3. sing. eine mediale Primärendung, in den übrigen Formen Endungen, die mit denen des starken Perfekts stimmen, also doch wohl aus einem idg. Aorist mit *Aktiv*endungen stammen. Ein medialer Aorist scheint in beiden Fällen ausgeschlossen, falls wir nicht annehmen wollen, die Medialendungen seien ausserhalb des Singulars nachträglich durch Aktivendungen ersetzt. Das wäre keineswegs unglaublich. Aber liegt es nicht näher, die Formen mit Aktivendungen ohne diesen Umweg zunächst auf einen idg. einfachen Aktiv-Aorist zurückzuführen? Am leichtesten erklärt sich, scheint mir, der germanische *t*-Aorist (um diesen Namen für die Formen des schw. Prät. mit Aktivendungen zu gebrauchen), wenn wir von dem idg. Wurzel-Aorist ausgehen, wie er in Formen wie aind. *á-sthā-m*, *á-sthā-s*, *á-sthā-t*, *á-dā-t*, *á-dhā-t*, *á-bhū-t* usw.[11] sowie griech. ἔ-βη-ν, ἔ-στη-ν, ἔ-φῡ[12] vorliegt. Hier nämlich findet er sich nicht nur bei den Präterito- Präsentia und den schwachen Verben, sondern auch in dem Plural **stōdum*, **stōduþ*, **stōdun*, den man zur 6. Ablautreihe der starken Verba zu rechnen pflegt. Im Gotischen ist das *d* dieser Formen, infolge der Abneigung dieser Sprache gegen den Konsonantenwechsel ("Verner's Gesetz") im Verbum, durch *-þ-* ersetzt, so dass nun *stōþun* zur 3. sg. *stōþ* stimmt. Im Westgerm. herrscht umgekehrt die Neigung, das *-d-* der Pluralformen auf den

[10] *P. B. Beitr.* L (1926), 34–331.

[11] Whitney, *Sanskr. Gram.*, 829 ff; A. Macdonell, *Vedic Gram.* = *Grundr. d. Indo-ar. Philol.*, I, No. 4, 498 ff.

[12] G. Curtius, *Verbum d. griech. Spr.*, I, 186 ff.

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Singular auszudehnen (wie in Engl. *I stood, we stood*). Aber es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass als urgerm. Formen 1. und 3. sg. *stōþ*, 1. pl. *stōdum*, 3. pl. *stōdun* anzusetzen sind. Die Pluralformen stehen auf einer Linie mit westgerm. Formen wie *salbōdun* und *dēdum*. Im Gotischen fehlt *dēdum* als selbständige Verbalform, während es anscheinend in Pluralformen wie *salbō-dēdum*, *hausidēdum* usw. (also dem regelrechten Paradigma der schwachen Verba) enthalten ist.

Man kann versuchen, die tiefe Kluft, welche hier zwischen dem Gotischen und den übrigen altgermanischen Sprachen gähnt, auf dreierlei Weise zu überbrücken.

(1) Man sieht die gotische Weise als die ältere an, und erklärt die nordisch-westgerm. Formen durch Kontraktion.

(2) Man nimmt an, die Neuerung liege auf Seiten des Gotischen, in der Weise, dass Aoristformen wie *dēdum*, *dēdjau* usw. an die Stelle der Endungen *-dum*, *-djau* usw. traten.

(3) Man sucht zwischen den beiden Extremen zu vermitteln.

Alle drei Erklärungsweisen haben Verteidiger gefunden. Die erste herrschte früher allgemein und wurde neuerdings namentlich von R. Loewe befürwortet. Auch ich glaubte mich ihr in meiner Schrift über die Herkunft des schw. Prät. (wenn auch nicht ganz mit Loewe übereinstimmend)[13] anschliessen zu müssen. Der zweiten Weise gab W. Scherer in seinem Buche *Zur Geschichte d. deutschen Sprache* (Berlin, 1868) den Vorzug, indem er zugleich an die Stelle der alten Zusammensetzungstheorie die Ansicht setzte, das schw. Prät. entspreche im wesentlichen dem griech. Passivaorist. Als Vertreter einer vermittelnden Ansicht ist namentlich K. F. Johansson zu nennen, der die gotischen Formen dem Dual, die westgerm. -nordischen dem Plural zuwies. Aber auch z.B. Brugmann und Sverdrūp versuchten (wenn auch in andrer Weise als Johansson) eine Vermittlung. Für nähere Angaben möchte ich auf meine eben erwähnte Schrift (=*Hesperia*, Bd. 1) sowie Sverdrūp's ebenfalls schon zitierte Anzeige derselben (*IF* XXXV, Anz. S. 5–17) verweisen.

Ich glaube jetzt, dass die hier vorliegenden Unterschiede zwischen den altgermanischen Dialekten sich aus einseitiger Regulierung der ursprünglichen Formen nach rhythmischen Rücksichten erklären. Mit rhythmischer Regulierung gingen formelle Neuerungen Hand in Hand. Im Gotischen sucht man ausserhalb

[13] Vgl. meine "Bemerkungen zum schw. Prät." *IF* XXXIV (1914/15), 209 f.

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der alten Medialformen möglichst immer zwei Dentale und Annäherung an die Flexion von *dēdum*, Opt. *dēdjau* zu gewinnen, während man im Westgerm-Nordischen eher weiterer Ausgleichung zwischen den Medial- und den Aoristformen zustrebt. An Ausgleichungen letzterer Art fehlt es freilich auch im Gotischen nicht. Die Herausbildung dieser Unterschiede mag schon vor der Zeit begonnen haben, als die Goten sich durch ihren Abzug nach dem Südosten (etwa zwischen den J. 180 bis 230 nach Chr.) von dem Kerne der germanischen Bevölkerung trennten. Der endgültige Abschluss fällt zwar im Gotischen vor Ulfila's Zeit, wird aber schwerlich vor Ablauf des dritten Jahrhunderts erfolgt sein.

Das verschiedene rhythmische Prinzip besteht darin, dass im Gotischen die Plural- (und Dual-) formen des schw. Präteritums um eine Silbe länger sind, als die zugehörigen Singularformen. Daher z.B. 1. pl. *wissēdum* gegen 1. sg. *wissa*, 1. pl. *ga-hausidēdum* gegen 1. sg. *ga-hausida*, 1. pl. *salbōdēdum* gegen 1. sg. *salbōda*, und ähnlich durchweg. Mit den Pluralformen des Indikativs gehen die Optativformen Hand in Hand. (Gewisse Optativformen sind natürlich um eine Silbe länger als die Pluralformen, z.B. 1. sg. *us-daudida*, 1. pl. **us-daudidēdum*, 3. pl. opt. *us-daudidēdeina*). Es herrscht hier also ein ähnlicher Unterschied wie beim starken Präteritum zwischen 1. sg. *nam*, 1. pl. *nēmum*, 3. pl. opt. *nēmeina*. Im Westgerm.-Nordischen dagegen haben Singular und Pluralformen dieselbe Silbenzahl: 1. pl. *wissum* wie 1. sg. *wissa*, 3. pl. asächs. *gi-hōrdun* und 3. pl. opt. *gi-hōrdin* wie 3. sg. *gi-hōrda*; 3. pl. ahd. *salbōtun* wie 1. sg. *salbōta*, usw.

Beide Rhythmusformen beruhen auf einseitiger Weiterbildung der urgermanischen Verhältnisse. Das Urgermanische kannte sowohl gleichsilbige wie ungleichsilbige dentale Präterita. Die gleichsilbigen sind im Gotischen entweder zu ungleichsilbigen umgestaltet, z.B. 3. pl. *salbōdun* (gebildet wie westgerm. *stōdun* = got. *stōþun*) zu *salbōdēdun*; oder sie sind gänzlich unterdrückt, wenn die einseitige Einfügung in die rhythmische Schablone sich nicht durchführen liess. Zu der Medialform *kunþa* lautete der zugehörige Aorist in der 1. pl. *knēdum*. Im Westgerm. stellte sich dazu der Sing. *knēda* (wohl eine Neubildung nach der Weise der Medialformen) ein; oder man fügte zu *kunþa* den Plural *kunþum*. Das Gotische liess den Aorist gänzlich fallen, um ihn im Plural durch 1. p. *kunþēdum*, 3. p. *kunþēdun* zu ersetzen. So wenig wie *kunþa*: *knēdum* fügte sich *dēda*: *dēdum* dem rhythmischen Schema des Gotischen. So erklärt es sich wohl, dass das Substantiv *dēd*-s

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wenigstens noch in dem Worte *missa-dēd*-s erhalten ist, während das zugehörige Verbum bei Ulfila gänzlich den Synonymen *taujan* (Prt. *tawida*) und *waurkjan* (Prt. *waurhta*) gewichen ist.

Ähnlich, wie das Gotische, nur in entgegengesetzter Richtung, führen die westgerm. Dialekte zusammen mit dem Nordischen eine Regelung der Silbenzahl durch. Wir haben allen Grund, das gotische Präteritum zu *gaggan*, 1. 3. sg. *iddja*, 3. pl. *iddjēdun* als eine sehr altertümliche Bildung mit ungleicher Silbenzahl anzusehen. Dass der Plural dreisilbig war, wird verbürgt durch den ags. Plural *ēodon*, der auf **ijjōdun* weist. An Stelle von *iddja* würden wir westgerm. eine Form ohne die Endung *-don* erwarten. Statt dessen hat man, um die Gleichsilbigkeit mit dem Plural zu wahren, die Form *ēode* geschaffen.

Die dem Gotischen und dem Westgerm. vorausliegende Flexion zu reconstruieren, ist unter diesen Umständen schwierig. Wenn im Westgerm.-Nordischen der Plural meist nur *einen* Dental gegenüber den zwei Dentalen des Gotischen (z.B. *salbōdun* gegen got. *salbōdēdun*) aufweist, so möchte man in dem einfachen Dental das ältere sehen. Andrerseits machen die gotischen Formen in Fällen wie *nasidēdun* gegen westgerm. *neridun* den Eindruck höheren Alters, insofern der Endung *-dun* im Gotischen ein langer Vokal voraufgeht. Denn der lange Vokal, der im Gotischen (wenn wir von *stōþun* absehen) stets als *ē* erscheint, wird in der Regel auf alter Überlieferung beruhen. Im Einzelnen bleibt hier noch manches Rätsel zu lösen.

Ich kann meine Ausführungen dahin zusammenfassen, dass es sich beim schwachen Präteritum um eine komplexe Formengruppe handelt, die durch Verschmelzung ursprünglich nicht homogener Bestandteile zustande gekommen ist. Wollen wir die bunte Menge der Formen mit dem Tempussystem andrer idg. Sprachen oder der idg. Ursprache verknüpfen, so kommen wir mit keiner Einspännertheorie aus, sondern haben mindestens ein Zweigespann nötig.

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XXXIII

HAD DANTE READ THE *POLITICS* OF ARISTOTLE?

IN HIS prose writings Dante refers to the *Politics* of Aristotle in such a way as to make natural the assumption that he was well-acquainted with the work.[1] Further examination, however, suggests that this opinion has but a slight foundation; in fact, it is not impossible that Dante never saw a manuscript of the *Politics*.

Dante's method of referring to the *Politics* when apparently quoting is unusual. In no instance does he give the number of the book from which the passage he cites is taken, though in quoting from other works of Aristotle he normally does so. For example, in a large number of references to the *Ethics* by name, he fails to indicate the book but once; the same is true of the *Physics*; in referring to the *Metaphysics* he fails to give the number of the book four times. But among seven references by name to the *Politics* there is not one in which the number of the book appears. It is curious that in the same work, the *Convivio* or *De Monarchia*, Dante should follow one practice for the *Politics* and another for the other works of Aristotle. Moreover, the number of apparent references to the *Politics* without the name of the work, but merely with the remark that the Philosopher says a certain thing, is disproportionately large, four in all. If Dante had been familiar with the work or had referred to a manuscript when writing, it seems likely that he would have given the number of the book at least once.

The impression made by Dante's far more numerous references to the *Ethics* is quite different. He seems to have consulted a familiar manuscript as he wrote. Some such belief fits the tone of Virgil's words to Dante:

> Non ti remembra di quelle parole,
> Colle quai la tua Etica pertratta
> Le tre disposizion che il ciel non vuole?[2]

The words "la tua Etica" suggest intimate knowledge.

If we abandon at least provisionally the simple and natural explanation that Dante mentioned the *Politics* because he had read the work it is necessary to show how he did obtain his knowledge of it. At present three works may be mentioned from which some of his quotations may have come.

[1] Edward Moore, *Studies in Dante, First Series*, pp. 92–156, 342–3.
[2] *Inferno*, ll. 79–81.

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The first is the *De Regimine Principum* of Egidio Colonna. In the *Convivio* 4.24.97 Dante refers to him as Egidio Eremita and mentions the discussion of youth in the first part of his work. The title is given in Italian, but in the same paragraph the titles of the *Æneid* and of Cicero's *De Senectute* also appear in Italian. There is no reason to suppose that Dante did not read the original Latin though there were early translations into both French and Italian. The work is based chiefly on the *Ethics* and the *Politics* and contains many references to them. It is dedicated to Philip the Fair and supports the French monarchy, yet is not avowedly anti-imperial. Its discussions of the good ruler would surely have been interesting to the author of the *De Monarchia*. In a recent article R. R. Ugo Mariani says that Dante respected Egidio and yet directed against him his treatise on nobility in the fourth book of the *Convivio*.[3] Possibly Dante was less opposed to Egidio than this writer believes, but at any rate the discussions of Dante and of Egidio have points of contact. It is reasonable to assume that part of Dante's knowledge of the *Politics* came from Egidio.

A second source is the commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas on the *Ethics* of Aristotle. Dante twice cites this work in the *Convivio* and there is internal evidence of his familiarity with it.[4] He may be supposed to have observed the references to the *Politics* it contains.

A third source is the commentary of Aquinas on the *Metaphysics*. Dante nowhere refers to this commentary though he often mentions the *Metaphysics* itself. Familiarity with any work of Aristotle need not imply knowledge of the commentary on it, yet this commentary is surely one Dante would have wished to read, and there is a little internal evidence suggesting that he did so.

It is natural to assume that other works by Aquinas furnished Dante with knowledge of the *Politics*. The *Summa contra Gentiles* has a few references to it and contains some Aristotelian matter not acknowledged. Yet though Dante mentions the work I am not able to feel that it is the source of his knowledge of passages from the *Politics*. In the *Summa Theologica* there are a considerable number of quotations from the *Politics*, yet it too seems not to have served as a source for Dante's quotations. Indeed it is possible to doubt whether he had read the *Summa Theologica*—a

[3] *Il Giornale Dantesco*, XXIX, 1926, p. 136.

[4] *Convivio* 2.15.126; 4.8.4. See Mariani, *op. cit.*, p. 137, and Gilbert, *Dante's Conception of Justice*, pp. 20, 115, 148, 183. There are also further unpublished parallels.

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work which at least he nowhere mentions. It has been suggested that he heard lectures on it,[5] but there is no indubitable evidence of familiarity.

To the three sources mentioned may be assigned most of Dante's references to the *Politics* and attributions to the Philosopher of sentiments found in the work. In the *De Monarchia* Dante writes:

> Non solum singulares homines, quin etiam populi, apti nati sunt ad principari, quidam alii ad subici atque ministrare: ut Philosophus adstruit in iis quae de Politicis; et talibus, ut ipse dicit, non solum regi est expediens, sed etiam iustum, etiamsi ad hoc cogantur (2.7.52 ff.).

By the *ipse dicit* Dante strengthens his assertion that Aristotle thought force might be used against those who should serve. Aristotle, however, does not say exactly that, though Egidio infers that it is his opinion:

> Videtur tamen velle Philosophus, quod non solum hominis ad bestias, sed etiam hominis ad barbaros sit iustum bellum: homines enim barbari sylvestres, quia ab usu rationis deficiunt, naturaliter debent esse subiecti hominibus pollentibus subtilitate & prudentia. Videtur enim velle, quia sapientes naturaliter debent dominari insipientibus, iustum habere bellum contra ipsos, si eis nolint esse subiecti. Secundum quem modum loquendi, cives, qui magis vigent prudentia & intellectu, iustum habent bellum contra rusticos, si recusent subijci illis (2.3.7).[6]

In the *Convivio* Dante discusses the necessity of human society and the manifold needs of man, and continues:

> E però dice il Filosofo, che 'l'uomo naturalmente è compagnevole animale' (4.4.9).

The word *compagnevole* is obviously Aristotle's πολιτικόν, which in the mediæval translation of the *Politics* used by Aquinas is rendered *civile*[7]. Egidio frequently mentions this familiar doctrine, as in the words:

> Philosophus l.Politicorum inter alias rationes . . . . probantes hominem naturaliter esse sociale animal, etc. (2.1.1).

As synonyms of *sociale* Egidio uses *civile*, *politicum*, and *communicativum*.[8] In the Italian translation of his work dated 1288, *sociale*

[5] Ugo Mariani, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[6] From the Rome, 1556, edition.

[7] L. 1, ed. Frettè, Paris, 1875.

[8] E.g., 3.1.3, 4; 2.1.1. The word *communicativum* was perhaps suggested by such a sentence in the mediaeval *Politics* as "Horum autem communicatio facit domum et civitatem" (1.1).

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is rendered *compagnevole*.[9] Possibly Dante took the word into the *Convivio* directly from the translation, or it may have been the word commonly used in referring in the vulgar tongue to one of Aristotle's best known ideas.

In another reference to the same conception in the same book of the *Convivio*, Dante takes directly over the standard Latin word, *civile*:

> Aristotle dice, l'Uomo è animale civile, per che a lui si richiede non pur a sè, ma ad altrui essere utile (4.27.29 ff.).

The word *civile* occurs in this sense in the mediæval text of the *Ethics* of Aristotle, and in the comment of Aquinas are the words: "Homo naturaliter est animal civile" (1.9). One is tempted to infer that Dante's first reference to the doctrine came from Egidio, and that the second had its source in the passage in the *Ethics*. In the *Summa contra Gentiles*, for example, where the idea several times appears, the words *politicum* and *sociale*, rather than *civile*, are used.[10]

In the *Convivio* Dante gives the familiar Aristotelian series of man's organizations, the family, village or neighborhood, and city;[11] but he goes a step farther and adds the un-Aristotelian division of the kingdom, made up of a union of cities:

> E siccome un uomo a sua sufficienza richiede compagnia domestica di famiglia; così una casa a sua sufficienza richiede una vicinanza, altrimenti molti difetti sosterrebbe, che sarebbono impedimento di felicità. E perocchè una vicinanza non può a sè in tutto satisfare, conviene a satisfacimento di quella essere la città. Ancora la città richiede alle sue arti e alle sue difensioni avere vicenda e fratellanza colle circonvicine cittadi, e però fu fatto il regno (4.4.10 ff.).

In the *De Monarchia* (1. 3. 34) is a similar but briefer passage. As might be expected from a supporter of the French monarchy, Egidio also adds the kingdom to the Aristotelian series, giving one of his chapters the title: "Quod praeter communitatem civitatis, utile fuit in vita humana esse communitatem regni." (3. 1. 5). As these words suggest, his argument is avowedly taken from the

[9] E.g., 2.3.11; the Florence, 1858, edition.

[10] *Contra Gentiles*, 3.85.10; 118.3; 128.1; 129.4; 131.3. But in none of these passages is Aristotle mentioned; perhaps it was assumed that the idea would be recognized as his.

[11] *Politics*, 1.2.

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Politics. Dante's two reasons for the kingdom, the carrying on of necessary arts and defense, are both to be found in Egidio:

Vicus, in quo exercetur ars fabrilis, indiget vico alio, in quo exercetur ars textoria, eo quod homines ad sufficientiam vitae indigeant tam operibus fabrorum quam textorum. . . . . Tertia via ad investigandum hoc idem, sumitur ex parte defensionis & remotionis impedimentorum hostium. Videmus enim quod cum aliqua civitas impugnatur confoederat se civitati alij, ut melius possit resistere impugnationem hostium: cum ergo regnum sit quasi quaedam confederatio plurium civitatum, eo quod uniantur sub uno rege, cuius est quamlibet partem regni defendere, & ordinare civilem potentiam aliarum civitatum ad defensionem cuiuslibet civitatis regni; si contingat eam ab extraneis impugnari, propter faciliorem defensionem & tuitionem utile fuit ex pluribus communitatibus politicis constituere communitatem unam regni (3.1.5).

The earlier part of this passage and other similar passages illustrate the reference to Aristotle, "il maestro vostro," in *Paradiso* 8. 120, where he is invoked to justify diversity of occupations. Dante's words "diversi offici" echo Egidio's "diversitas officiorum" (3. 1. 8).[12]

Dante attributes to the Philosopher in the *Politics* the saying that the individual is part of the state: "Homo sit pars quaedam civitatis, ut per Philosophum patet in suis Poticis" (*De Mon.* 2. 8. 13). The word *patet* perhaps indicates that Dante is drawing an inference rather than quoting; Aristotle says that the man who has no need of human society is either a god or a beast and "nulla pars est civitatis" (1. 2). Egidio more than once makes use of this, as for example, when he writes:

Quicunque non civiliter vivit (nisi ex paupertate, vel ex fortuna hoc accidat) vel est bestia & sceleratus & sine iugo, non valens legem & societatem supportare, vel est quasi deus idest divinus, eligens altiorem vitam, propter quod scribitur primo Poli[ticorum] quod non potens alijs communicare, nulla est pars civitatis, sed vel est bestia vel est deus (3.1.3)

In the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* 1. 2 Dante says that speech characterizes man, in distinction from the angels and the lower animals; for the latter, "non solum non necessaria fuit locutio, sed prorsus damnosa fuisset, quum nullum amicabile commercium fuisset in illis." The last clause is a reference to the social nature of man, which Aristotle proves in part from man's power of speech (*Politics* 1. 2). The argument is taken over and developed by Egidio:

[12] In the Italian translation occur the words "diversi uffici" (3.2.3).

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Probatur enim in principio secundi libri, ex parte sermonis hominem esse naturaliter animal sociale, eo quod per sermonem acquirimus instructionem & disciplinam. Hoc autem ex parte sermonis ostendere possumus hominem esse naturaliter animal politicum & civile, ex eo quod vox humana, quae dicitur sermo, est aliter significativa, quam vox brutorum. Unde Philos[ophus] ait I. Pol. quod in alijs animalibus ab homine, usque ad hoc eorum natura pervenit, ut vox sit eis signum delectabilis & tristabilis: ut habeant sensum delectabilem & tristabilem: hoc enim sibi invicem per vocem significant. . . . . Si natura dedit homini sermonem, naturalis est illa communitas quae ordinatur ad illa, quae sunt apta nata exprimi per sermonem: iustum enim & iniustum non proprie habet esse in communitate domestica, sed in communitate civili. . . . . Utraque tamen communitas erit naturalis tam domestica quam civilis, eo quod per sermonem nobis datum a natura repraesentatur conferens & nocivum, & iustum & iniustum (3.1.4).

Though in *De Vulgari Eloquentia* Dante does not attribute the argument to Aristotle, he probably knew that it was derived from the Philosopher; he certainly did if his source was the *De Regimine Principium.*

In the *De Monarchia* Dante writes that

Monarcha . . . . vult omnes homines bonos fieri, quod esse non potest apud oblique politizantes. Unde Philosophus in suis Politicis ait quod in politia obliqua bonus homo est malus civis; in recta vero, bonus homo et civis bonus convertuntur (1.12.64 ff.).

The last statement is not the opinion of Aristotle, who writes, and reiterates:

Quoniam impossibile similes esse omnes cives, non utique erit virtus una civis et boni viri (*Politics* 3, lect. 3).

In his commentary on the *Ethics* Aquinas refers as follows to this passage:

In tertio enim libro *Politicae* ostenditur quod non est idem simpliciter esse virum bonum, et esse civem bonum, secundum quamcumque politiam. Sunt enim quaedam politiae, non rectae, secundum quas aliquis potest esse civis bonus, qui non est vir bonus; sed secundum optimam politiam non est aliquis civis bonus, qui non est vir bonus (5, lect. 3).

The last part of the second sentence, which is a less inclusive form of Dante's statement, is Aquinas' own addition to the analysis in the *Politics.* There can be little doubt that he understood the Philosopher; at least, in the *Summa Theologica*[13] he follows Aristotle

[13] E.g., II. I. 92.1.3.

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closely, and in the commentary on the *Politics* he writes: "Relinquitur ergo, quod non sit eadem virtus boni civis et boni viri." Egidio, on the other hand, misrepresents Aristotle:

> In recta enim Politia (ut vult Philosophus circa principium 3. Polit.) eadem est virtus boni civis, & boni viri; & per idem sive per eosdem mores, est aliquis bonus civis, & bonus homo (3.2.34).[14]

Because of the verbal similarity, this passage rather than that in the commentary on the *Ethics* is probably to be considered Dante's source.

In the *De Monarchia* Dante asserts that politics and the practice of the arts are both handmaids of speculation; "ex quo iam innotescit illud Politicae: intellectu scilicet vigentes aliis naturaliter principari" (1. 3. 91). In the mediæval *Politics* it is quite differently worded: "Quod quidem enim potest mente praevidere, principans natura et dominans natura" (1, lect. 1). In the Procœmium of his commentary on the *Metaphysics*, Aquinas sets forth the same idea almost in the words of Dante:

> Nam sapientis est alios ordinare. Quae autem sit haec scientia, et circa qualia, considerari potest, si diligenter respiciatur quomodo est aliquis doneus ad regendum. Sicut enim, ut in libro praedicto [i.e., in *Politicis*] iPhilosophus dicit, homines intellectu vigentes, naturaliter aliorum rectores et domini sunt: homines vero qui sunt robusti corpore, intellectu vero deficientes, sunt naturaliter servi.

In Egidio also the word *vigere* occurs:

> Nam ille proprie est dominus, qui viget intellectu: ille vero est proprie servus (ut patet per Philosophus I. Politic.) qui deficiens intellectu, pollet fortitudine corporali. Servus ergo, quia seipsum nescit dirigere, expedit ei ut obtemperet & serviat ei, qui viget prudentia & intellectu (2.1.5).

In the same chapter occur the words "vigentes intellectu." It should be observed, however, that the word *principari* occurs in Dante and Aristotle, and not in Aquinas and Egidio. On the whole, Aquinas seems the most probable source, especially since the next quotation is obviously from the brief Procœmium of the *Metaphysics*.

In the *De Monarchia* Dante says that the need for an emperor

> potissimis et patentissimus argumentis ostendi potest; quorum primum ab auctoritate Philosophi adsumatur de suis Politicis. Adserit enim ibi

[14] I have corrected the incorrect reading *4. Polit.*, which appears in all the texts I have seen, to *3. Polit.* The words *circa principium* do not appear in the 1473 (Augsburg) edition.

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venerabilis eius auctoritas, quod quando aliqua plura ordinantur ad unum, oportet unum eorum regulare seu regere, alia vero regulari seu regi (1.5. 12 ff.).

In a similar context he writes in the *Convivio*:

A queste ragioni si possono riducere le parole del Filosofo, ch' egli nella *Politica* dice, che, quando più cose a uno fine sono ordinate, una di quelle conviene essere regolante, ovvero reggente, e tutte l'altre rette e regolate da quella (4.4.44 ff.).

The original passage in the *Politics* runs as follows:

Quandocumque enim ex pluribus constituta sunt, et fiunt unum aliquod commune, sive ex conjunctis, sive ex divisis, in omnibus videtur principans et subjectum (1, lect. 3).

But the first sentence of the Proœmium of the commentary on the *Metaphysics* reads thus:

Sicut docet Philosophus in *Politicis* suis, quando aliqua plura ordinantur ad unum, oportet unum eorum esse regulans, sive regens, et alia regulata, sive recta.

Dante is clearly following this passage, rather more closely in the *Convivio* than in the *De Monarchia.*

In the *De Monarchia* 2. 3. 15 Dante remarks that the Philosopher in the *Politics* says: "Est enim nobilitas virtus et divitiae antiquae." In the explanation that follows he shows that Æneas was virtuous and that his ancestors and wives were of noble stock and wealthy. In the *Convivio* 4. 3–15 he contests vigorously the belief that wealth is connected with nobility, and holds for virtue alone, assigning to the Emperor the words in the *De Monarchia* attributed to Aristotle. These passages have been used as proof that the *Convivio* is earlier than the *De Monarchia*, on the ground that if Dante had known the saying as Aristotle's when he composed the earlier work he would have mentioned the Philosopher in it. This is perhaps not so certain as it first appears. Egidio must have been familiar with Aristotle's dictum, yet he does not mention it in his discussion of nobility. He even combats Aristotle to the extent of asserting that to make nobility dependent on wealth is a popular error. There is a nobility according to vulgar opinion, but "vera nobilitas est secundum excessum virtutum & bonitatem morum" (2. 3. 18).[15] Egidio allows more to riches

[15] I have followed the editions of 1473 and 1482 in reading *virtutum* rather than *virtutem.*

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than does Dante, but he still furnishes an example of a devoted Aristotelian who differs from the Master in somewhat the same manner as Dante. This is one more bit of evidence showing that it is an error to assume that any first-rate mediæval mind was in bondage to Aristotle. Possibly Dante, like Egidio, was not ignorant of Aristotle's saying when he wrote the *Convivio*.

In this quotation about riches and nobility, Dante's wording is practically that of Aristotle, except that Dante uses the word *nobilitas* instead of *ingenuitas*.[16] The commentator on the passage, not Aquinas but Peter of Alvernia, uses the word *nobilitas*. Even he weakens Aristotle by saying that riches are not of the *ratio* of nobility, but are necessary to virtue. In the *Convivio* Dante, as it were, follows both text and comment by explaining that *gentilezza* and *nobilità* mean the same thing.[17]

In the *De Monarchia* Dante says that the king exists for the people, and continues:

> Quia quemadmodum non politia ad leges, quinimo leges ad politiam ponuntur, sic secundum legem viventes, non ad legislatorem ordinantur, sed magis ille ad hos, ut etiam Philosopho placet in iis quae de praesenti materia nobis ab eo relicta sunt (1.12.77).

This smacks of the text of the *Politics* itself, which reads:

> Ad politias enim leges oportet poni, et ponuntur omnes: sed non politias ad leges (4, lect. 1).

Dante has changed the order of the clauses, but the characteristic words are there. Dante's reference to the legislator seems to be an inference from Aristotle's objection to the tyrant, who considers his private ends rather than the good of the people. Here also Egidio is a possible source, for he writes:

> Ideo dicitur 4. Politicorum quod non oportet adaptare politias legibus, sed leges politiae, quas leges oportet diversas esse secundum diversitatem politiarum (3.2.26).

The order of clauses is as in Dante, but *adaptare* is used instead of *ponere*; *ponere* does, however, occur in the context.

There remains one instance in which I can suggest no possible source except the *Politics* itself. Speaking in the *De Monarchia* 1. 5. 33 on the necessity for one ruler, Dante quotes exactly,

[16] *Politics*, 4, lect. 7.
[17] 4.14.67.

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except for the omission of *enim*, the saying: "Omnis enim domus regitur a senissimo."[18] The quotation is referred merely to the Philosopher, without mention of the *Politics*; possibly Dante found the reference in that form in some such writer as Egidio.

On the ground of verbal similarity alone, not more than one-third of Dante's apparent quotations may be held to come directly from the *Politics* rather than from one of the other sources mentioned. The evidence I have given does not prove that Dante had never read the *Politics*, but it does show that he often quoted at second hand; hence that he did not commonly refer to a manuscript of Aristotle as he wrote. Moreover, it seems probable, or at least possible, that all of his quotations are at second hand, for since the majority of them can be traced to three mediæval books, the remainder may well have come from other mediæval writings or from lectures to which Dante listened in the schools.

There are reasons why Dante should have been less familar with the *Politics* than with some of the other works of Aristotle. There were no versions from the Arabic; in fact, according to Professor Grabmann, the only version possessed by the scholastics was that by William of Moerbeke.[19] He also gives evidence that St. Thomas did not become acquainted with the *Politics* until well on in his career, and agrees with von Hertling in dating the Latin translation about 1260, five years before Dante's birth. Hence in Dante's lifetime knowledge of the *Politics* and circulation of manuscripts of it probably were less general than if it had appeared earlier and in more than one translation.

St. Thomas began a commentary on the *Politics* but carried it only through the first two books and the first six *lectiones*, that is, the first eight chapters, of the third book.[20] Correspondingly, in the *Summa Theologica* his citations from books later than the third are very few. Something of the same sort is true of Dante's references; only three are from books later than the first. Two of these,—both from the fourth book of the *Politics* and both found in the *De Monarchia*,—are also among those which, so far as the present evidence goes, seem to have come directly from Aristotle. This condition confirms the view that the *De Monarchia*

[18] *Politics* 1, lect. 1.

[19] Martin Grabmann, *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotlesübersetzungen des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Münster i. W., 1916), pp. 238–40.

[20] Martin Grabmann, *Die echten Schriften des hl. Thomas von Aquino*, pp. 206–7.

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was written after Dante gained more knowledge of the *Politics* than he possessed when he wrote the *Convivio*. Egidio seems to have been familiar with the entire *Politics*, though in the *De Regimine* he quotes more frequently from the earlier than from the later books.

According to Professor Grabmann, the *Politics* often appears in thirteenth-century manuscripts which also contain the *Ethics*, though the two texts are also found separately. It was possible also to have a text of either work without the commentary by Aquinas, or a commentary without the work itself. Either text or commentary could be combined with other works. For example, the comment on the *Ethics* and the *De Regimine* are found together in a manuscript of Dante's time in the library of Caius College, Cambridge.[21] Hence, even if Dante had a manuscript of the *Ethics* we cannot therefore assume that he also had one of the *Politics*.

Moreover, it can hardly be asserted that apart from acknowledged quotations Dante's writings show greater familiarity with the *Politics* than can be accounted for by his knowledge of Egidio, Aquinas, and other writers or lecturers. Altogether, my inclination is to believe that the poet had never studied the work itself.

This, if true, would support the wide-spread belief that mediæval authors seldom had opportunity or even desire to read extensively in the books they cite—a belief that obviously springs from the assumption that the middle ages were very "dark." Professor Thorndike may be taken to represent a contrary belief:

> Modern writers concerning mediæval learning have too often proceeded upon the gratuitous assumption that mediæval writers seldom were directly acquainted with the authorities which they cite. But . . . . why should mediæval scholars take their citations at second hand? The original works were fairly accessible; the earliest manuscripts we have of them are almost invariably mediæval, and probably they had many, many more copies that are now destroyed, and possibly some originals that are now forever lost. . . . . On the whole, I am inclined to think that mediæval writers had read quite as much of the works listed in their bibliographies as modern writers have of those listed in theirs.[22]

[21] Montague Rhodes James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College* 2.578, ms. no. 508.

[22] Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 404–5.

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The argument from Dante is not a refutation of Professor Thorndike; in fact if he had cited only from the *Ethics* Dante would appear unimpeachable in his use of passages from Aristotle. Obviously he preferred direct quotation. On the other hand, there must have been some reason why he did not make direct use of such a work as the *Politics*, for which he had, or was prepared to have, the highest esteem, and which he must have endeavored to obtain. One is tempted to find the reason for his failure not in his own negligence but in the scarcity and high price of mediæval books, to believe that there were no copies in the collections available to Dante and that he was too poor to secure one for himself. Mediæval conditions forced him to be content with such scraps as he found in the books he could obtain. It need not be supposed, however, that such conditions always prevailed against the scholar. Aquinas apparently was able to overcome them; so far as I have observed, his habits in the use of sources do little violence to the ideals of the present. But Dante was not producing formal treatises; the *Convivio* may be called popular and the *De Monarchia* occasional. Above all his temperament was that of the poet. It is true that in his theory of art aesthetic qualities seem to reside chiefly in "lo bello stile," and that he considered the matter of serious poetry to be sound learning and good doctrine. Yet his erudition and his manner of employing it even in his prose are those of a man who is first a poet and afterwards a scholar. Study of his methods of work illuminates the conditions of authorship in the middle ages, but can hardly furnish examples of its best scholarly practice.

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XXXIV

DANZA DEL SANTISSIMO NACIMIENTO, A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PLAY BY PEDRO SUÁREZ DE ROBLES

OF THIS little play two editions have been recorded. Moratín alone, as far as I know, has seen a copy of the earliest known edition, Madrid, 1561. He reproduced the initial stage-directions and gave a short summary of the text,[1] and upon this are apparently based whatever accounts of the play have appeared in later works on the Spanish stage.[2] The second edition, Madrid, 1606, which is here reprinted, has been briefly described by Salvá (nr. 1426), Heredia (nr. 2349) and Gallardo (nr. 3993). When the latter examined it, it was a part of Böhl de Faber's library.

The copy owned by Salvá was acquired by the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, where it is now preserved under the signature *R.4048*. It is bound in blue morocco, gold-tooled, with Salvá's mark, the two clasped hands, on both covers.

A full and exact description, especially of the title-page, has not yet been given:

DANZA DEL SANTISSI-/mo Nacimiento de nuestro Señor/ Iesu Christo, al modo Pastoril./ Compuesta por Pedro Suarez de Robles Clerigo de Euangelio[3], /natural de Ledesma[4]./Son interlocutores. Vn Angel, y ocho Pastores, el primero se llama/ Anton, y el segundo Rebanado, y el tercero Pasqual, el quarto To-/ ral, el quinto Pelejon, el sexto Pelayo, el setimo Rebollo, el/ octauo Tereso, y S. Ioseph, y Nuestra Señora, y el niño/ Iesus. Y otros quatro Angeles que estaran con/ vnos quatro Ciriales junto al Naci-/ miento y a su tiempo canta-/ ran vn Villancico./ Y lo que mas se ha

[1] *Orígenes*, *Obras*, I, 202–204.

[2] Cf. *e.g.*, Schack (Mier's tr.), I, 381–383; Álvarez Espino, *Ensayo histórico del teatro español*, Cádiz, 1876; La Barrera, *Catálogo*, *s. v.*; Crawford, *Spanish drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 138 *f.*

[3] The function of the *lector* (the third of the minor orders) in the early hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which consisted in reading the Gospel, was early in the Middle Ages taken over by the deacon, ordained to the second of the major orders, and designated generally as *diácono*, more rarely as *evangelistero* and here as *Clerigo de Euangelio*. The reading of the epistles was the task of the immediately inferior *subdiácono* or *epistolero*, while the singing of the Mass was the privilege of the immediately superior *sacerdote* or *misacantano*. Cf. "ala puerta macarena/ encontre con vn ordenado/ ordenado de vn euangelio/ que missa no auia cantado" (*Romance de Don Fadrique maestro de Santiago* in *Cancionero de Amberes*, s.a., ed. Menéndez Pidal, fol. 167 ro. *Read* "de euangelio."

[4] Probably the town of that name in the province of Salamanca.

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de hazer, a la buelta desta hoja se vera./ [Small rectangular woodcut representing the adoration of the Christ-child, tighty bundled up, in the manner of Della Robbia babies, attended by Mary (in a flowing cloak) and Joseph, one on each side of the child, both praying. They are shown outside a building, under a highly conventionalized small thatch, surmounted by the star. Rolling fields are visible in the distance. The ass looks on through a high romanesque window at the right.] Impresso cō licēcia, en Madrid, en casa de Miguel Serrano/ de Vargas en este Año de. 1606. //4°, 142×194 mm., 8 pp., no sigs., roman letter, text in two columns. The last page is in larger type, and its lower part is taken up by an elaborate ornamental block-design.

Beyond the indication on the title-page nothing thus far is known of the author.

With the exception of three *villancicos*, the metrical form is the octosyllabic *quintilla*, on three rhyme-schemes: (1) *abbab*, (2) *abaab*, (3) *ababa*, distributed as follows:

Lines	1– 50	*abbab* (10 stanzas)	
	51– 86	*Villancico*	
	87–126	*abbab* (18 stanzas)	
	127–146	*Villancico*	
	147–176	*abbab* (6 stanzas)	
	177–201	*abaab* (5 stanzas)	
	202–241	*abbab* (4 stanzas)	alternating
		abaab (4 stanzas)	alternating
	242–246	*ababa* (1 stanza)	
	247–266	*abaab* (4 stanzas)	
	267–291	*abbab* (5 stanzas)	
	293–331	*Villancico*	

The three rhyme-schemes are thus represented with the relative frequencies: (1) 33 stanzas; (2) 13 stanzas; (3) 1 stanza. The first two *villancicos*, in octosyllabic lines, are similar in construction, but of different length. They may be schematized as follows, the heavy-faced letters referring to identical or nearly identical lines: 1. *abba//cddc/abba//effe/abba*. 2. *ab/ab//cd/dc/abab//ef/fe/ab/ab*. The second *villancico* is sung in alternating groups of two lines by the angels and the shepherds. The third, in six-syllable lines, is less regular, but in spite of a number of waif-rhymes, represented by *x*, it shows the main features of the other two, namely a *redondilla* for the first *cuarteta* of each group (except in the first *cuarteta* of the first eight-line group) and the

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refrain at the end of each group: *xaxa//xaxa//xxxx/dexa// fggf/faxa//hiih/haxa//jkkj/jaxa.*

There is nothing notable about the rhymes. The apparent irregularity of 102 *eran*-105 *hizieron* is probably due to a misprint. The words *Belén* (292), *María* (294, 306, 314, 322, 330) and *Christo* (302), all in the last *villancico*, are treated as waifs.

There is syneresis in *Simeon* (35), *veo* (228), *çapatearas* (318). *Ruido* occurs with three (88) or two (151) syllables. Hiatus before mute *h* not justified by the pause in the line occurs in 235 (*Dios y/hombre Iesu Christo*). There is, however, no hiatus before *h*<Latin *f*, before accented syllable in 91 (*se hizo*), 125 (*de higos*); before unaccented syllable in 167 (*eso haremos*) and 177 (*mi hazedor*), but hiatus is observed in one case, 160 (*de/ hierros*). A few rather strong cases of synalepha are found: 171 (*sea intercessora*) (cf. the above mentioned cases of syneresis of *eo*, *ea*), 287 (*tu Anton*) and 303 (*quanto a humanidad*).

The play was probably performed in or about 1561,[5] or earlier, in a church, possibly in a Southern Spanish town. At least 87 and 96 suggest a town, while the figs (125) may indicate a southern origin.[6] It was apparently expected that it might also be performed elsewhere: "si huuiere aparejo."

Apart from their interest in describing minutely what might be called ritual dancing in a Roman Catholic church in the sixteenth century, the stage-directions are probably unique in their indications for effective grouping and for mimicry and expression in the individual actors: Mary and Joseph "de rodillas . . . . puestas las manos como contemplando;" the angels "repartidos a vn lado y a otro los rostros bueltos vnos a otros, y mirando hazia el Niño;" the shepherds hearing the voice of the angel "mirando para arriba a vna y otra parte." When the actors must not change their places or their grouping, this is expressly indicated (after 86 and 146). Some latitude was left, however, to indi-

[5] The year 1561 is a late but by no means improbable date for a performance in a church. Elsewhere I shall publish before long an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding dramatic performances in Spanish churches and convents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[6] The elaborate dancing might point to some Catalan town near the eastern seaboard, such as Gerona or Vich, in whose cathedrals extra-liturgical developments have flourished exuberantly.

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vidual dancing talent (after 176 "desque ha hecho alguna mudança"). The movements of parallel dancers are synchronized, their starting cue and final position given (after 186) and the dancing of the last *villancico* is duly correlated with its *coplas*, divided between shepherds and angels.

Scenery is not mentioned, but perhaps 286 (*alredor deste portal*) suggests that there may have been some representation of the stable, possibly over the altar steps. As to the actors, they were probably either persons connected with the church or clerics with lower orders.[7] Mary and Joseph enter the church, probably from the sacristy, under the consecrated *palio del santíssimo Sacramento*. The angel's announcement to the shepherds, from the pulpit, has some of the features of a prologue[8] and indicates the official nature of the occasion with the final words: "a Dios que la Ierarchia haze fiesta singular."

It is very likely that the Infant Jesus was represented by a doll. Thus, in the cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, to celebrate the Assumption of the Virgin, it was a medieval custom to place a human likeness on a bed in the middle of the church, and at lauds twelve priests, representing the apostles, would be seated around it, all in deacon's vestments, except John, who wore a chasuble and carried a palm in his hand.[9] In Valencia, at Pentecost of 1463, an image of the Virgin was used in a spectacle in which the parts of the Jews were taken by priests who wore

[7] In the little eclogue which forms a part of Iñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi* (*ca.* 1480) (*Cancionero del siglo xv*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, I, 19) the shepherd Juan Pastor, upon seeing the angel who announces the birth of Christ, recognizes the vestments he had seen when a cleric ("*el untado*") took the part of the angel in a Saint John-play.

[8] The prologue is spoken by an angel in Pedro Altamira (or Altamirando)'s *La aparicion que hizo Jesu Christo a los dos discipulos que yvan a Emaus* (1523) (*Romanic Review*, XIII, 228), in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Historia de Deos* (1537) and in Francisco de las Cuebas' *Representacion de los martires Justo y Pastor* (1568) (*Revue hispanique*, XIX, 428).

[9] Villanueva, *Viaje literario á las iglesias de España*, XX, 199 *f.* This ritual was still in use in 1511. Magnin (*Histoire des marionettes*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1862, p. 112 *f.*) describes a somewhat similar ceremony, followed by the 'assumption' of an articulated doll representing the Virgin, in the 'Mitouries de la mi-août,' instituted at Dieppe in the fifteenth century and which were celebraed until 1647. Also pertinent is an ordinance by the Synod of Orihuela in 1600, quoted by Magnin: "Jubemus imagunculae parvae, fictili opere confectae et fuco consignatae, si vanitatem praebeant, ad altare ne admoveantur in posterum." (*Collect. maxim. concilior. Hispaniae et Novi Orbis*, Romae, 1693, IV, 718 *f.*)

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masks.[10] And still to-day, in the mystery-play of Elche, the soul of Mary, when it ascends to Heaven at the end of the first day, is represented by a small doll.[11] In the middle of the sixteenth century (1553) the German reformer Naogeorg (Thomas Kirchmeyer) described a Roman-Catholic Christmas-celebration which may fairly be taken as representative for Spain as well as for northern countries:

> Three Masses euery Priest doth sing upon that solemne day,
> With offrings vnto euery one, that so the more may play.
> This done, a woodden childe in clowtes is on the aultar set
> About the which both boyes and gyrles do daunce and trymly iet,
> And Carrols sing in prayse of Christ, and for to helpe them hear
> The Organs answere euery uerse, with sweete and solemne cheere.
> The Priestes do rore aloude, and round about the parentes stande,
> To see the sport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande.[12]

One century later, in 1659, a Christmas performance at Valladolid, witnessed without much sympathy by François Bertaut, developed in the following manner: Among the probably masked priests who acted it

> Il y en avoit . . . . qui portoient deux images bien habillées, l'une de la Vierge & l'autre de saint Ioseph, qu'ils faisoient danser, en suite en venoit un autre qui portoit un petit lit où estoit l'enfant Iesus, aprés avoir fait bien des folies ils placerent l'Enfant sur les marches de l'Autel, où tous les Cordeliers les uns aprés les autres le furent adorer, puis les Masques s'en allerent. On mit l'Enfant, la Vierge avec saint Ioseph sur l'Autel, & on commença la Messe.[13]

Modern Christmas festivities in Spain still preserve elements of the older Church performances. Thus in the celebration in the house of the 'Tía Pavona' described by Fernán Caballero, there was, of course, an elaborate *Nacimiento*,[14] but not all the characters were inanimate. While the *villancicos* and *canciones* were being

[10] H. Mérimée, *L'art dramatique à Valencia*, pp. 5, 6.

[11] Pedrell, *La Festa d'Elche*, Paris, 1906, p. 25.

[12] *Regnum papisticum*, quoted here in the translation by Barnaby Googe, London, 1570, ed. R. C. Hope, 1880, fol. 45 ro.

[13] *Jovrnal du voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, p. 191. Cassan's reprint, *Revue hispanique*, XLVII (1919), p. 168.

[14] The descriptions of such *Nacimientos*, for instance by Emilia Pardo Bazán (*Obras completas*, XXV, 65) and Galdós (*Noche Buena; La Mula y el Buey*) will be recalled.

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sung and the packed audience in the small room joined in the refrains, two children danced before the *nacimiento*:

Cada vez que concluía una copla, los dos niños que habían bailado se acercaban con sus mejillas encendidas y sus brillantes ojos al retablo, y abriendo sus bracitos, se arrodillaban y exclamaban:—Por Ti![15]

In the second part of Caballero's tale, Manolito, the little foundling of the first part, splendidly arrayed as a wingéd angel, is taken to church on Twelfth Night:

Allí se había puesto el misterio al pie del altar. La Virgen y San José eran dos hermosas efigies, y entre ambos estaba el recién nacido echado sobre paja. A cada lado se colocaba un niño vestido de ángel, de rodillas, con sus manitas cruzadas en señal de adoración. . . . . Entraron entonces gravemente muchos hombres vestidos de pastores, trayendo sus ofrendas al recién nacido, bailando luego al pie del altar con movimientos lentos y graves. . . . .[16]

The general use of inanimate figures, due sometimes to a certain reluctance against seeing divine characters impersonated by laymen, may also be noted, perhaps still at the present day, in the popular religious festivities of country-towns during Holy Week.

Thus, in Burguillos, for the traditional representation of the *via dolorosa*, the image of Christ, taken from the church, is stopped in the Plaza del Llano de la Fuente, where 'la buena muger,' that is Veronica, after singing two *cantares* to the image, pretends to dry its face.[17] In Marchena (Andalusia), on Good Friday, the image of Christ is 'arrested' by the *sayones*; later, the bearers of the image pretend to stumble with it three times, and Veronica, here also, performs her traditional office.[18] A similar spectacle was noted in 'Villalegre,' the Andalusian village where Juan Valera placed the story of Juanita la Larga:

"todos los momentos del alto misterio de la redención se [figuran] por medio de imágenes que se llevan en andas, y cuyos movimientos silenciosos y solemnes va explicando un predicador desde un púlpito erigido en medio de la plaza. . . . ."[19]

[15] Caballero, *Obras completas*, XI, 386 *f.*

[16] *Ibid.*, 408 *f.*

[17] M. M. Martínez, *Apuntes para un mapa topográfico-tradicional de la villa de Burguillos (prov. de Badajoz)*, in *Bibl. de las tradiciones populares*, VI, 10 *f.*

[18] Montoto y Sedas, *Representaciones populares*, Seville, 1904, pp. 41–43.

[19] Juan Valera, *Obras completas*, IX, 266.

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In Mexico City figures of Mary and Joseph are still carried in the Christmas-ceremony of the *posadas*[20] and in the Christmas-*pastorelas* in the rural districts of Mexico "the infant Jesus, represented by a doll, is rocked in a cradle or swung from the ceiling," while "a little girl, dressed in white, with wings attached to her shoulders, represents the angel" and "the shepherds beat time to their chanting with their crooks."[21]

The spontaneity of dancing is perhaps most evident in the south of Spain or on the seacoast and in the islands of the Mediterranean. When Fr. Juan Exameno took the doctor's hood in theology in 1397, in Palma de Mallorca, "all orders of monks danced . . . . in the church of St. Francis" and in 1392, when Mosen Dorta celebrated his first Mass, the priests danced in the Church at the offertory.[22] Dancing in churches, of course, came in general use all over Europe during the Middle Ages[23] and in Spain, even more than in other countries, the struggle of the Church to abolish the custom has been a difficult one. It was prohibited, for instance, by *Capitulares* in the sixth century[24] and the third Council of Toledo (589) forbade it on the vigils of saints' days. The Council of Auxerre (573–603) prohibited dances together with songs and banquets in church,[25] but the Council of Avignon still found it necessary in 1209 to ban "theatrical dances and secular songs."[26] Yet the abuse continued, countenanced, no doubt, by the admission of masked dancing groups in the processions, against which the Synod of Segorve fulminated as late as 1644.[27] In 1690, indeed, the suppression of the Corpus-dances in Seville was proposed by D. Andrés Herrera on the ground that the dancers (in this case not the *Seises*) wore their headdress in

[20] Starr, *Folklore of Mexico*, p. 93 ff. On the festivities in honor of the home-image of the Christ-child in the River Plate district (*fiesta del Niño*) see Ciro Bayo, *Vocabulario criollo-español*, Madrid, 1910, p. 152.

[21] F. C. G. Iglehart, *Christmas in Old Mexico*, n.p.n.d., p. 8

[22] "De totes les ordes dels frares ballaren en aquesta jornade dins la Igleya de Sent Francesch." Villanueva, *Viaje*, XXII, 37 *f.*—"Dicmenge, lo desser dia de juni, canta missa novella mossenn Bn. Dorta, é ballaren preveres dins la Igleya, com vengueren offerir." *Ibid.* On religious dancing in Catalan territory see also Milá, *Obras completas*, VI, 205–379.

[23] Cf. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, I, 161 ff.

[24] Schack, I, 131.

[25] Gröber, *Zur Volkskunde aus Concilbeschlüssen und Capitularien* [Leipzig, 1893], nr. 55.

[26] *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., vo. *carol.*

[27] Villanueva, *Viaje*, III, 128.

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church, and that, mingling with them, went men and women in masks.[28] Probably the custom died only very slowly, since in 1777 the need was still felt for a *Real Cédula* of Charles III, which also suggests that at least one method had been devised to outwit existing prohibitions: "No toleren bayles in las Iglesias, sus atrios y cementerios, ni delante de las imágenes de los Santos, sacándolas á este fin á otros sitios con el pretexto de celebrar su festividad."[29] Nowadays the only well-known survival is the annual dance of the *Seises* in the cathedral of Seville,[30] a dignified minuet danced before the high altar, to the click of castanets, originally by six, now by ten boys in the varicolored doublet, white stockings and long-feathered hats of pages of Philip II.[31]

In the sixteenth century the problem was complicated in various places by the introduction of professional or, at least, paid dancers into the precincts of the church. In 1553, for instance, in Toledo, Augustín Beltrán was paid 150 maravedís "para ayudar al gasto de una danza que anduvo la fiesta de Nuestra Señora de Agosto por la Iglesia"; and in 1580 rustic dancers brought from Sonseca by Francisco Gómez and Nicolás Salcedo performed in the choir as well as in the procession.[32] Five years later Diego de la Ostia contracted to furnish a dance of eleven participants, who would enter the choir with an artificial elephant "muy bien hecho, de buen tamaño, tan grande como al natural, y encima un mono natural ó si no contrahecho . . . . !"[33] Non-professional dancers belonging to local or-

[28] Sánchez Arjona, *El teatro en Sevilla*, p. 74.

[29] *Novissima Recopilación*, L. I, Tit. I, Ley XI.

[30] The dancing which was a part of the Mozarabic Mass (partially re-established by Cardinal Jiménez in the sixteenth century) is said to have subsisted after 1750. Cf. *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.), VII, 796.

[31] The dance takes place during the Octave of the Immaculate Conception (Dec. 8–15), on the last three days of Carnival and at Corpus Christi. Cf. R. Ford, *Handbook*, 1892, p. 322 (Pt. II); S. de la Rosa, *Los Seises de la Catedral de Sevilla*, Sevilla, 1904; M. Serrano y Ortega, *Bibliografía de la Catedral de Sevilla*, Nr. 97, §25, 29, and especially Nr. 166. There is a photograph in Bensusan, *Home Life in Spain*, p. 72, and a recent description by J. B. Trend, *The Dance of the Seises at Seville*, in *Music and Letters*, London, Dec. 1920. This author also mentions a dance by boys and girls on August 15 (Assumption Day) in the church of a village near Vigo (*The Music of Spanish History to 1600*, 1926, p. 85). There were "seises" in the cathedral of Toledo (cf. J. Moraleda, *Los Seises de la Catedral de Toledo*, Toledo, 1911) and N. Díaz de Escobar (*Anales del teatro español*, 1600–1613, p. 6) speaks of "seises" in Granada in 1600.

[32] Milego, *El teatro en Toledo*, pp. 61–65.

[33] Cf. Cotarelo, *Entremeses*, I, clxxiii.

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ganizations would sometimes merely take part in local processions; but sometimes, perhaps through the intermediate stage of the procession, they would find their way into the church, as did the *cantaderas*, whom the 'Pícara Justina' watched in the Cathedral of León, led in at one gate by the *sotadera*, dancing up to the high altar, and leaving by another gate.[34]

In the seventeenth century dancing in churches was probably quite as frequent as before. Cervantes' *Gitanilla*, it will be remembered, danced with her companions before the image of the Virgin in the Church of Santa María in Madrid.[35] About 1617 a traveler reported having witnessed, in churches of Lisbon and Seville, performances by masked dancers.[36] In 1623 a dance was performed by adults in the Cartuja de Portaceli in Valencia.[37] In 1659 François Bertaut went to the Midnight Mass in the Church of the Franciscan Friars in Valladolid and witnessed the following startling spectacle:

aussi-tost qu'on ouvrit les portes de l'Eglise, où une infinité de peuple attendoit, j'entendis les tambours de Basque qui s'accordoient avec les

[34] The reader may imagine the magnificent background. Cf. *La Pícara Justina* (written about 1575–80?), ed. Puyol, II, 40, 44, 293 *ff.* There are indications that certain local organizations, now excluded from the church, may once have had some connection with it. Thus in Asturias, the *bardancos* of Campo de Caso formerly performed on Twelfth Night, and the *guirriones* (cf. the *guirrios* or *birrios* in León) in Pola de Lena annually presented "The Flight into Egypt." (Llano, *Folklore de Asturias*, p. 215 f.) A group of local dancers near Segovia, called *botargas*, who at one time were allowed to do their *Danza de palos* in the church, are directed by a *zarragón* (Vergara Martín, *Vocabulario de palabras usadas en Segovia*, p. 84) whose designation, like that of the *zamarrones* of the Valle de Pas (Santander: Ontaneda, Alceda, etc.; cf. Tobar, *Consultas al diccionario*, 2nd ed., pp. 167 ff.) may be directly connected with the *facedores de zaharrones* mentioned in the *Siete Partidas* and classified by Menéndez Pidal (*Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, p. 29) as professionals.

[35] *Novelas ejemplares*, ed. Rodríguez Marín, I, 8. The action of the story is placed between 1606 and 1613. A few years earlier, little Guzmán de Alfarache, asleep on a bench in the portal of the Church of San Lázaro after the first day of his flight from home, was awakened by "los panderos y bailes de unas mujeres que venían a velar aquel día" (Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599), Pt. I, L. I, Cap. 3.)

[36] The report of this traveler, a certain N.N., was used by Martin Zeiller for his *Itinerarium Hispaniae*, Nürnberg, 1637 (Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibl. d. voyages en Esp.*, nr. 63). I am quoting from the Dutch translation, *Monarchia Hispanica*, Amst., 1659: "op hooghe Vierdagen plegen se in de kercken te danssen, en grynsen voor 't aengesicht te doen, gelyck onsen meer-gemelden N.N. . . . . binnen *Lisbona* en *Sevilien* beooght hebben." For dances in Lisbon churches more especially, see the *Cancionero da Ajuda*, ed. Michaelis de Vasconcellos, II, 864 *f.*

[37] La Rosa, *Los Seises*, Appendix, p. 364 *ff.*

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Orgues qui joüoient une *Chacone*. Ce fut là le préparatif des Matines, aprés lesquelles enfin je vis vn Moine qui avoit son surplis & qui aprés avoir fait ce qu'il avoit affaire à l'Autel osta ce surplis & s'enfuit dans la Sacristie pour montrer une cazaque d'habit de masque qu'il avoit dessous. Peu aprés on ouvrit la porte d'enbas de l'Eglise, par où, en suite de la Croix & des Chandeliers de la Procession, entrerent quantité de Moines avec des masques aussi ridicules comme ceux des jours gras de Paris, de gros nez, de fausses barbes, & des habits grotesques, dansans & sautans avec des tambours de Basque, & des Violons qui s'accordoient avec les Orgues."[38]

Worst of all, no doubt, was the playing of the lascivious *chacona*, a dance to which the moralists objected as much as to the notorious *zarabanda*.[39]

Evidently, the scattered references adduced in this brief sketch of less than two centuries, can produce only a very fragmentary image. Much more evidence might be easily gathered, much more was never recorded, but this may be sufficient to paint a background, against which dancing in religious plays will appear neither so exceptional nor so startling as it otherwise might.

However, plays in which dancing has so preponderant and essential a part as in the one reprinted here, must still be considered as a special group, not by any means restricted to Christmas-plays. To this group also belong, perhaps, the *Farsa del juego de cañas* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, probably performed in the cathedral of Badajoz,[40] and certainly the same author's *Danza de los pecados*.[41] There is also a *Danza para el Santísimo Sacramento* in the manuscript of school-plays belonging to the Academy of History in Madrid;[42] and the seventeenth century

[38] *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, p. 190 *f.* Pp. 167–168 of Cassan's reprint in the *Revue hispanique*, XLVII (1919).

[39] Cf. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, pp. 72, 74, n. 1.

[40] *Recopilación en metro*, ed. Barrantes, II, 273.

[41] This play, although differently conceived, invites comparison with the *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* in Catalonia, as described by D. Francisco Curet. "The dance," says J. B. Trend (*Modern Spain*, p. 119) "began with a dialogue between the Angel and the Devil. The Deadly Sins appeared, and each entered into a discussion with the corresponding Virtue. The Virtues were victorious, and the dance ended with the departure of the Angel, who extolled the piety of the audience and wished them prosperity." Pérez Pastor (*Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español*, p. 11) records under date of April 23, 1579, an "Obligacion de Jusepe de las Cuevas de presentar en la fiesta del Corpus una danza en que haya 7 virtudes y 7 pecados."

[42] Pedroso, *BAE*, LVIII, 141, *n.* 2; J. Garcia Soriano, *El teatro de colegio en España*, *BRAE*, XIV (1927), 260.

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had a *Danza para la fiesta del Santísimo*, a *Sarao sacramental* and a *Sarao al Santísimo Sacramento*.[43] An interesting eighteenth century *Danza del caballero peregrino*, which is really another *Danza de los pecados*, has been described by Sr. Cotarelo.[44]

The *Danza del Santíssimo Nacimiento* by Suárez de Robles is here printed in exact reproduction of the original, with the following exceptions: the names of the characters are spelled out and italicized, as well as the stage-directions: abbreviations in the text are solved and indicated by italics. All long ſ's are printed s. All other changes, including those in punctuation, are specifically mentioned in the notes.

TEXT

[*V° of title-page*] *Han de salir los pastores en dos hileras repartidos delante/ dellos el que tañe el Psalterio o Tamborino; al son yran dan/ çando hasta en medio de la Iglesia, y alli haran algunos laços, y/ tras los pastores yran los Angeles con los ciriales, y si huuie-/ re aparejo, ocho Angeles, que lleven el palio del santissimo/ Sacramento, y deuaxo yra nuestra Señora, y san Ioseph, y lle/ garan hasta las gradas del altar mayor, y alli estarà vna cuna/ al modo de pesebre, y alli pondran al Niño Iesus, y de rodi-/llas nuestra Señora, y san Ioseph, puestas las manos como/ contemplando, los Angeles repartidos a vn lado y a otro/ los rostros bueltos vnos a otros, y mirando hazia el Niño, y/ estando desta manera acabaran los pastores de dançar, y lue/ go saldra vn Angel al pulpito, y dira lo siguiente, y los pasto/ res oyendo la voz mostraran espantarse mirando para arriba/ a vna y otra parte./*

[*Col. 1*] *Angel.* No temais de mi venida,
pastores, que alla del cielo
vengo con ligero buelo
con nueuas de alegre vida
para los hombres del suelo.
Sabed que Dios ha nacido,
en la ciudad de Belen,
es el Mesias, por quien
serà el hombre redemido,
y alcançara el sumo bien.
Por otro nombre Emanuel,
es el que llamo Mesias,

11–16. Cf. Isaiah 7, 14–15.

[43] These last three are mentioned by Rocamora among the Osuna manuscripts, *Catálogo abreviado*, nrs. 454, 1167, 1168.

[44] *Colección de entremeses*, I, ccxvii *f.*

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es por quien dize Isaias,
comera manteca y miel
en sus sanctas profecias.
La serpiente que Moysen
ante todos leuantò,
a mi Dios significo
y el hara en Hierusalem
[*Col. 2*] lo que alli se figurò.
Y en señal de ser verdad,
que nacio Dios verdadero,
vereysle como refiero
junto con la humanidad
qual mansissimo cordero.
En vn portal destejado,
y embuelto en pobres pañales
por remediar vuestros males,
y allareysle rodeado
de dos brutos animales.
Aquella çarça que ardia
en fuego y no se quemaua,
vna Virgen figuraua,
que sin lesion pariria
al que Simeon esperaua.
Esta donzella vereys
o caso jamas oydo,
con el niño que ha parido,
[*Fol.* [2] *r*^{0}, *col. 1.*] tan virgen como sabeys,
que lo es el que ha nacido.
Es Virg*en* sagrada y madre,
segun la Escritura dixo,
hija de su propio hijo,
y madre del que es su padre,
luz del mundo y regocijo.
Y porque la melodia
Angelica oygo sonar,
no me puedo mas parar,
a Dios que la Ierarchia
haze fiesta singular.

20. *se figuró = se prefiguró.*

29. *y allareysle.* The *y* is superfluous unless this stanza is to be connected syntactically with the preceding, in spite of the full stop after *cordero.*

46–47. *la melodia Angelica = la salutación angélica.* Thus in the second "iornada" of the medieval Catalan *Assumption of the Virgin*, reprinted by Alcahalí (*La música en Valencia*, p. 90), as the Virgin arises from the "moniment" "los angels diguen agenollats mayres de deu quets de gracia plena."

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Aqui desaparece el Angel; y/ los que estan con el Nacimien/ to, cantan este villancico./

Gloria a Dios en las alturas,
Demos como a Rey del cielo,
y tenga en el baxo suelo
Paz el hombre y criaturas.
Himnos de mil alabanças
celestial Rey te cantamos,
y assi mismo te adoramos,
por la gran gloria que alcanças.
Pues por tales auenturas
te cubres de humano velo,
tengan en el baxo suelo
paz el hombre y criaturas.

Sagrado Rey celestial,
hijo de Dios verdadero,
paciente y manso cordero,
[*Col. 2*] que al mundo librais de mal,
Quitadnos nuestras tristuras,
aunque tiemble, y en el yelo,
y tenga en el baxo suelo
paz el hombre y criaturas.
Cordero de Dios, que quitas
los pecados deste mundo,
quita con valor jocundo
sus culpas tan infinitas.
Ya que en las entrañas puras
de la Virgen hazeis cielo,
tengan en el baxo suelo
paz el hombre y criaturas.

Aquesta deprecacion
recebid vos, que assentado
estais al derecho lado
del Padre sin dilacion.
Por quanto alla en las alturas
teneis la gloria del cielo,
tengan en el baxo suelo
paz el hombre y criaturas.

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Aqui dexan de cantar los An-/ geles, y dizen los pastores, em/ peçando Anton, que es el pri-/ mero, sin mudarse donde estan./

Anton. Alla junto a la ciudad
musica suena y ruido,
no se que podra auer sido,
porque tal festiuidad
jamas se hizo a hombre nacido.

[*Fol.* [2] *v°, col. 1*] *Rebanado.* Digo que quando aluoraua
era tanto el resplandor,
que estuue con gran temor
pensando que se quemaua
la ciudad con tal ardor.

Pasqual. Yo tambien vi decendir
Angeles con luz muy clara
y resplandeciente cara,
y aun tornauan a subir
del suelo a la patria cara.

Toral. No se yo si Angeles eran
vnos, que esta madrugada
andauan con luz sobrada
en el aire, a do hizieron
vna dança concertada.

Pelejon. No vistes las trompetillas,
que essos mancebos tañian,
que tan dulce son hazian,

92. *Rebanado* = the sliced one, the scarred one (?).

97. *decendir*. Both *decender* and *decendir* are in Nebrija (cf. Menéndez Pidal, Manual, §111) and Covarrubias still gives *descendir* as an alternate form.

102. *Toral*. A reference to his complexion? (*toral* = yellow wax in cakes, unbleached).

105. *hizieron*. R. *hizieran*. For the use of the pluperfect in *-ra* with the value of a preterit cf. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica*, p. 577.

107. *Pelejon*. The text has *Pele.*, here and in 217. The title-page and 175 substantiate the form *Pelejon* for *Pellejon*. Cf. in Salamanca *falencia* along with *fallencia* (Lamano).
vistes. Cf. 211 *hizistes* and Cuervo, *Romania*, XXII, 82–83.

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que corderos, ni aun cabrillas
por escuchar no pacian.

Pelayo. Pues no penseis ora vos,
que pardiobre yo tambien
oy vozes en Belen,
diziendo que el niño Dios
oy nace por nuestro bien.

Rebollo. Pues si quereis compañeros,
a Belen todos lleguemos,
y al niño Dios le daremos
entre todos dos corderos,
y algo de lo que tenemos.

[*Col. 2*] *Tereso.* Pardiobre vamos amigos
que tambien yo le he de dar
vna cosa singular,
que serà vn bue*n* prato de higos
para que aya de almorçar.

Aqui hazen vn laço de dança,/ y van dançando para adonde/ está el Nacimiento, y antes que/ paren, hazen alli delante el mismo/ laço, y en acabando cantan los/ Angeles este villancico, y res-/ ponden los pastores./

Angeles. Pastores lindos serenos,
adonde venis dezi?

Pastores. Venimos de gozo llenos
a buscar a Dios aqui.

Angeles. Dezid como aueis venido
por aca tan a desora?

Pastores. Porque vna bella pastora
a nuestro Dios ha parido.

Angeles. Y vuestros prados amenos
como los dexais dezi?

110. For this effect of the angel's appearance on the cattle, cf. *Aquí se contienen tres maneras de coplas en loor del Nascimiento, ca.* 1540 (?) Salvá, I, 8: "Las ouejas, y mastines/ eleuadas daquel son/ no pacian con las crines/ altas como el herizon,/ . . . ". In Bartolomé Aparicio's *Obra del santissimo nacimiento* (*ca.* 1530 (?), *ap.* Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, 237) this behavior, through a confusion of terms (*Las Cabrillas* also designates the constellation of Pleiades) is transferred to the heavenly bodies: "Las cometas y cabrillas/ Señalan gran alegría."

111. *por escuchar.* T. *Por escuchar.*

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Pastores. Por venir de gozo llenos
a buscar a Dios aqui.
Angeles. Si guardauais el ganado,
como tal aueis sabido?
Pastores. A dezirnoslo ha venido
vn Angel del cielo embiado
Angeles. Y pensamientos tan buenos
como los teneis dezi?
Pastores. Viniendo de gozo llenos
A buscar a Dios aqui.

[*Fol.* [3] *r*°, *col. 1*] *En acabando de cantar, estan-/ do en el orden que hasta alli han/ estado, dize el primero pastor,/ que se llama Anton./*

Anton. Soberana compañia,
dezidnos que causa ha sido
la que assi os ha mouido
a hazer tal alegria,
y tan placentero ruido?

Rebanado. Vino por ventura al suelo
el Mesias prometido?
porque si acaso es nacido,
en la tierra estara el cielo,
y en el el hombre admitido.

Ioseph. Vengan muy en hora buena
la buena gente al señor,
vengan, y no ayan temor,
pues de hierros y cadena
los quita mi criador.

Adora al omnipotente,
pues para nos restaurar
quiso del cielo baxar
hecho hombre entre la gente
por modo tan singular.

Anton. Eso haremos nos de grado
y empecemos luego al hora,
que al niño y a la señora

147. *Soberana.* T. *soberana.*
162. *Adora.* R. *Adoro* (?).

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despues auremos bailado,
porque nos sea intercessora.

[*Col. 2*] *Rebanado.* Alto sus empieça Anton,
y luego dirà Pascual,
y en acabando Toral
dira Martin Pelejon,
y siguiendo cada qual.

Aqui sale Anton dançando, y/ desque ha hecho alguna mudan/ ça, queda hincado de rodillas,/ y dize:/

Anton. Adorote mi hazedor,
de pastores mayoral,
adorote Redentor,
pues quisiste por mi amor
nacer oy en vn portal.
Perdona mi atreuimiento,
y recibe este presente,
q*ue* muy de grado os presento
recebilde con contento,
aunque no muy suficiente.

Aqui puede ofrecer vn sonage/ ro, o otra alguna cosa, y luego/ tocaran el instrumento al son,/ del qual se leuantara Anton dan/ çando, y juntamente saldra Re/ banado, y a vn mesmo son pue/ den dançar ambos, el vno has-/ ta ponerse en su lugar, y el o-/ tro hasta ponerse en el lugar,/ adonde Anton se hincò de ro-/ dillas, y pararan iguales, y lo mis/ mo haran los demas por el mis-/ mo termino./

[*Fol.* [3] *v*^{0}, *col. 1*] *Rebanado.* Sujeto, q*ue* e*n* si co*m*preh*e*nde
el ser diuino y humano,
yo te adoro, y tu me entie*n*de
y e*n* mi pecho fuego encie*n*de
de sacro amor soberano.

170 *f.* The meaning of these two lines is not clear to me and the second is metrically difficult.

172. The text here says *Reb.*, instead of either the usual *Reba.*, which is clearly *Rebanado*, or *Rebo.*, for *Rebollo.*

177 *ff.* It may be noted that three of the Shepherds—Antón, Rebanado and Pasqual—curiously mingle *vos*, traditionally used in addressing the Deity, and the affectionate *tú* used with children. Antón has both in the same sentence (183 *f.*: *recibe* and *os presento*); Rebanado and Pasqual have a first stanza with *tú* (186 *ff.*, 196 *ff.*) and a second with *vos* (192 *ff.*, 202 *ff.*) but, beginning with Toral, the five other shepherds, apparently in an atmosphere of increasing awe, employ only the second person plural.

Stage-direction before 187. The text has a comma after *son.*

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Y pues sois galan donzel,
recebi, aunque no muy buena,
aquesta ollica de miel,
y si gustaredes del,
otra os traerè mas llena.

Pas qual. Adorote mayoral
el mayor de los pastores,
pues por quitar nuestro mal
tomaste carne humanal
aca entre los pecadores.

Recebi este pobre don,
que aunque no muy suficiente,
es poco, y de buena mente,
tomà tambien el çurron
con este torta reciente.

Toral. Sagrado señor del cielo
ante vuestro acatamiento
no me llego sin rezelo
Viendo que la tierra y cielo
hizistes, y el firmamento.
Mas de quien sois confiado
me atreuo a os adorar,
y a vuestra madre he de dar
aqueste cinto labrado,
con que os pueda engalanar.

Col. 2] *Pelejon.* Aunque sois niño chiquito,
os adoro por mi Dios,
porque ser vos tan bonito
es de valor infinito,
al qual cierto alcançais vos.

Y pues ya se va llegando
la hora de almorçar,
recebid esta cuchar,
porque quando esteis yantando
de mi os querais acordar.

Pelayo. Por fe alcanço que sois Dios
por los ojos veo sois hombre,
no se por qual de los dos

216. *con que.* T. *Con que.*

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os pueda nombrar a vos
para acertaros el nombre.

Mas mi bien, pues tan al visto
me demostrais que sois Dios,
yo confiesso que sois vos
Dios y hombre Iesu Christo
de naturalezas dos.

Rebollo. Adoroos claro luzero
gouierno de los pastores,
adoroos manso cordero
por alto Dios verdadero
Redentor de pecadores.
Y si heis de guardar ganado,
yo os quiero dar desde aora
este çurron y cayado,
y al viejo y a la señora
este bollo mantecado.

[*Fol.* [4] r°, *col.* 1] *Tereso.* Aunque yo soy el postrero
de todos los mayorales,
serè en seruiros primero,
pues sois vos, de quien espero
el remedio de mis males.
Y porque en este portal
no podeis estar sin fuego,
tomad yesca y pedernal,
y pues haze frio tal,
encendereis lumbre luego.

Ioseph. El señor os gratifique,
y os aumente aquestos dones,
y su gracia os comunique,
y el ganado os multiplique,
desde oi mas siempre a montones.

245 *al viejo.* This reference to Joseph in his presence may be more respectful than it would seem, for the old Castilian formula "señor el viejo" was equivalent to "the master." Cf. Cervantes, *Coloquio de los Perros*, ed. Amezúa, p. 309 and *note* on p. 502 *f.* Also *Comedia de la Entretenida*, ed. Schevill-Bonilla, II, 40.

250 *vos.* T. *vos.*

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Maria. Hijo y padre poderoso,
acordaos destos pastores,
que con animo gozoso
cada qual muy codicioso
os da gracias y loores.
Que yo contino he de estar
ante vuestro acatamiento,
pidiendoos, q*ue* en gra*n* aumento
les querais comunicar
vuestro diuino contento.
Y vosotros los pastores
tenedme por abogada,
que no serà mal pagada
la diligencia y loores
de la Magestad sagrada.
Y pues ya Dios ha venido
a librar al pecador,
[*Col. 2*] todos con sincero amor
le seruid como es deuido
al que es vuestro criador.

Anton. Digamos vn cantarcillo
En loor deste çagal,
y pues quita nuestro mal,
dançaremos vn poquillo
alredor deste portal.

Rebanado. Pues empieçalo tu Anton
que todos te seguiremos,
y en acabando iremos
en buena conuersacion,
a do el ganado tenemos.

Aqui cantan los pastores este/ villancico, empeçando prime/ ro Anton y Rebanado, y lue-/ go los demas, y en diziendo la/ copla, cantarle han los Ange-/ les, diziendo, Aca en Belen, y/ en quanto hazen vn laço los pas/ tores, y en parando dizen la co/ pla, y responderan los Ange-/ les, y ellos tornaran a dançar,/ y esto haran hasta que ayan a-/ cabado las coplas, las quales can-/ taran al tono de vnas, que di-/ zen, A puertas del Rey nacio/ vna flor, &c./

Alla en Belen
nace nuestro Dios,
[*Fol.* [4] *v*°, *col. 1*] nace de Maria

286. *alredor.* May be added to the instances of "desdoblamiento silábico" quoted in *Modern Philology*, XXIII, 442. Still current in Salamanca (Lamano).

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para bien de nos.
Angeles.
Aca en Belen
nace nuestro Dios,
nace de Maria
para bien de nos.

Pastores.
Alla en Belen
junto a la ciudad
nace Iesu Christo
quanto a humanidad,
la suma bondad
el Hijo de Dios
nace de Maria
para bien de nos.
Nacio vn çagal
hermoso y bonito,
q*ue* aunque es tan chiquito,
es Dios celestial.

[*Col. 2*]

Es quien quita el mal,
por ser como es Dios,
nace de Maria
para bien de nos.
Mi fe te doy Pabro,
si alli te hallaras,
como çapatearas,
aunque fuera al diabro,
de duelos retabro
lo ha hecho Dios,
nace de Maria
para bien de nos.
Por muy cierto entiendo,
que es Dios soberano
el niño loçano,
de quien voy diziendo,
a el me encomiendo,
que es hijo de Dios,
nace de Maria
para bien de nos.

299. *para.* T. *Para.*
312. *Es.* T. *es.*

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XXXV

A SOURCE FOR SPENSER'S STORY OF TIMIAS AND BELPHEBE

IT SEEMS incredible that the analogues and sources for the "gentle bird" of reconciliation between Timias and Belphebe in the *Faerie Queene* (Bk. IV, 8, 3–12)—one of the loveliest guiding beasts in literature—should have escaped investigation. But, though a few scattered notes have been published on the passage in question, no one, so far as I am aware, has yet pointed out a satisfactory source or parallel.

According to Professor Neil Dodge,[1] Spenser derived the story of Timias and Belphebe from the Angelica-Medoro episode in *Orlando Furioso* XIX, 16–30, "with interesting changes" which quite transform its tone. However, the Angelica-Medoro episode gives merely the first part of Timias's and Belphebe's story—that in which the youth grows sick for love of his nurse as he grows well of his wound. It does not give the reconciliation or the messenger; and it would not concern us here at all did it not contain one minor property which Spenser may have taken over and turned to other uses. Angelica and Medoro are sheltered in the forest by a "kindly couple," to whom, as they finally leave, Angelica gives

> an armlet, gay
> With costly gems, in witness and in sign
> Of love to her by count Orlando borne,
> And which the damsel for long time had worn.[2]

Spenser clearly does not need, and so does not use, this armlet when he borrows the dalliance of Angelica and Medoro in the forest. But it may very well have left its suggestion in his mind and so led to the recollection of a lovely incident in the Old French romance of *Violette* which seems to me likely to have provided the conclusion for the transformed story.

I quote the passage in the *Faerie Queene*, beginning with the description of the sorrow of Timias, and for convenience in the following discussion I display the significant phrases in italics:

[1] R. E. N. Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto, Addenda," *PMLA*, XXXV (1920), 91–92.

[2] Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, tr. William Stewart Rose, London, 1823, v. 4, XIX, 37, 5–8.

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this vnhappy boy,
Whose tender heart the faire *Belphebe* had
With one sterne look so daunted, that no ioy
In all his life, which afterwards he lad,
He euer tasted, but with penaunce sad
And pensiue sorrow pind and wore away,
Ne euer laught, ne once shew'd countenance glad;
But alwaies wept and wailed night and day,
As blasted bloosme through heat doth languish and decay;

Till on a day, as in his wonted wise
His doole he made, there chaunst *a turtle Doue*
To come, where he his dolors did deuise,
That likewise late had lost her dearest loue,
Which losse her made like passion also proue.
Who seeing his sad plight, her tender heart
With deare compassion deeply did emmoue,
That she gan mone his vndeserued smart,
And with her dolefull accent beare with him a part.

Shee sitting by him as on ground he lay,
Her mournefull notes full piteously did frame,
And thereof made a *lamentable lay,*
So sensibly compyld, that in the same
Him seemed oft he heard his owne right name.
With that he forth would poure so plenteous teares,
And beat his breast vnworthy of such blame,
And knocke his head, and rend his rugged heares,
That could haue perst the hearts of Tigres and of Beares.

Thus long this gentle bird to him did vse,
Withouten dread of perill to repaire
Vnto his wonne, and with her mournefull muse
Him to recomfort in his greatest care,
That much did ease his mourning and misfare:
And *euery day for guerdon of her song,*
He part of his small feast to her would share;
That at the last of all his woe and wrong
Companion she became, and so continued long.

Vpon a day as she him sate beside,
By chance he certaine miniments forth drew,
Which yet with him as relickes did abide
Of all the bounty, which *Belphebe* threw
On him, whilst goodly grace she him did shew

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Amongst the rest *a iewell rich* he found,
That was a Ruby of right perfect hew,
Shap'd like a heart, yet bleeding of the wound,
And with a litle golden chaine about it bound.

The same he tooke, *and with a riband new,*
In which his Ladies colours were, did bind
About the turtles necke, that with the vew
Did greatly solace his engrieued mind.
All vnawares the bird, when she did find
Her selfe so deckt, her nimble wings displaid,
And flew away, as lightly as the wind:
Which *sodaine accident him much dismaid,*
And looking after long, did marke which way she straid.

But when as long he looked had in vaine,
Yet saw her forward still to make her flight,
His weary eie returnd to him againe,
Full of discomfort and disquiet plight,
That both his iuell he had lost so light,
And eke his deare companion of his care.
But *that sweet bird departing, flew forth right*
Through the wide region of the wastfull aire,
Vntill she came where wonned his Belphebe faire.

There found she her (as then it did betide)
Sitting in couert shade of arbors sweet,
After late weary toile, which she had tride
In saluage chase, to rest as seem'd her meet.
There she alighting, fell before her feet,
And gan to her her mournfull plaint to make,
As was her wont, thinking to let her weet
The great tormenting griefe, that for her sake
Her gentle Squire through her displeasure did pertake.

She her beholding with attentiue eye,
At length did marke about her purple brest
That precious iuell, which she formerly
Had knowne right well with colourd ribbands drest:
Therewith she rose in hast, and her addrest
With ready hand it to haue reft away.
But the swift bird obayd not her behest,
But swaru'd aside, and there againe did stay;
She follow'd her, and thought againe it to assay.

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And euer when she nigh approcht, the Doue
Would flit a litle forward, and then stay,
Till she drew neare, and then againe remoue;
So tempting her still to pursue the pray,
And still from her escaping soft away:
Till that at length into that forrest wide,
She drew her far, and led with slow delay.
In th'end she her vnto that place did guide,
Whereas that wofull man in languor did abide.

Eftsoones she flew vnto his fearelesse hand,
And there *a piteous dilty new deuiz'd,*
As if she would haue made him vnderstand
His sorrowes cause to be of her despis'd.
Whom when she saw in wretched weedes disguiz'd,
With heary glib deform'd, and meiger face,
Like ghost late risen from his graue agryz'd,
She knew him not, but pittied much his case,
And wisht it were in her to doe him any grace.[3]

There follows the reconciliation, in which Belphebe receives the squire into "former favours state." It is not necessary to quote the stanzas, nor to interpret the little story. Raleigh is here exiled from Elizabeth's court; but to make connections with romance one need not go into the circumstances of that exile.

Upton's note on the episode is useful:

Doves (which Horace calls *fabulosae palumbes*, L. iii, Od. 4) are friends to poets. Sir Walter Raleigh, ὁ τιμιος, was a poet; hence the dove in stanzas 3 and 4 accompanies him. The dove too is the emblem of love and friendship. It is the bird of Venus, which conducted Æneas to the Golden Bough, just as Belphoebe is conducted to the gentle squire. I believe Spenser had his eye on Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 191 ff.[4]

Hunting out the Virgil, which I will give in translation, I find two flitting doves:

Scarce had he spoken, when a pair of doves
Before his very eyes flew down from heaven
To the green turf below; the prince of Troy
Knew them his mother's birds, and joyful cried,
"O *guide me on*, whatever path there be!
In airy travel through the woodland fly,

[3] The text is quoted from the one volume edition by J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt, Oxford, 1912.

[4] *The Faerie Queene*, ed. J. Upton, 2 v. London, 1758, note on F. Q. IV, 8, 3–4.

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To where yon rare branch shades the blessed ground.
Fail thou not me, in this my doubtful hour,
O heavenly Mother!" So saying his step he stayed
Close watching whether they should signal give;
The lightly feeding doves flit on and on
Ever in easy ken of following eyes
Till over foul Avernus' sulphurous throat
Swiftly they lift them through the liquid air,
In silent flight, and find a wished-for rest
On a twy-natured tree.[5]

One other note I have discovered, connecting the "weary eie" of IV, 8, 8, 3 with the "return of the Dove which Noah sent out of the ark, Gen. 8, 9."[6] But the association, though perhaps justified, is little pertinent here. Besides these two notes I have come upon nothing except pleasant "appreciations" of the pretty episode.

Yet if ever a passage deserved comment this deserves it. For none could more delicately illustrate Spenser's enchanter's use of commonplaces. If it may also reveal that among various reminiscences one in particular was predominantly in Spenser's mind, so much the better. For Spenser's method is often—one would like to know how often—to fuse with one sublimated borrowing, or, indeed, with several, literary or popular reminiscences of the most varied character.

In the few stanzas I have quoted from the *Faerie Queene* several familiar themes appear. Those structurally most important I list below:

1. The sorrowing lover, by mistake or misunderstanding parted from the beloved.
2. The bird, here a turtle dove, which is—
   (a) a sympathetic companion (suffering here a like sorrow),
   (b) a talking beast (here *almost* articulate),
   (c) a messenger, and especially a bearer of a recognition token,
   (d) a guiding beast,
   (e) a means of reconciliation.
3. The recognition token, a gift from the beloved, here a jewel.

In this list one readily recognizes many conventional elements from fairy-tale, folk-tale, lyric, and romance. The sorrowing lover separated from the beloved is too frequent a situation to

[5] Virgil, *Æneid*, tr. T. C. Williams, Boston, 1908, 6, 191 ff.
[6] *Faerie Queene*, ed. R. Church, London, 1758.

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require comment. For the sympathetic bird, or at least for the bird suffering a like sorrow, one can find companions enough, though those that come readily to my mind are not doves. I think of Sidney's "Philomela fair," and Richard Barnefield's "Philomel." Perhaps they form feeble enough parallels, with their obvious suggestion of classical story, but at least they present the talking bird with whom the lover may mourn. The talking bird is frequent in both ballad and fairy-tale (where he may be enchanted), as well as in debates and other forms to which Spenser is not nearly kin. The messenger bird is nearly as common. The gay goss-hawk combines the two motives:

> O well's me o my gay goss-hawk
> That he can speak and flee;
> He'll carry a letter to my love,
> Bring back another to me.[7]

And in such Elizabethan lyrics as Heywood's *Message* and *Matin Song* the lovers attempt to set like tasks to the birds of springtime. The bird bearing the recognition token is harder to find, though the gay goss-hawk with the letter is his cousin. The great birds of the romances, which carry off children, as in *Isumbras*, are created primarily for this purpose, and only incidentally make off with something which later proves to have recognition-value.

Spenser's gentle dove, though it exhibits so many conventional traits, is not very like any of the birds here listed. Considering the evidence gathered so far, the dove most resembles the doves of Virgil, as Upton's brief note suggests. They are two, indeed, and they lead Æneas to a goal which, unlike Belphebe, he hopes through them he may find. The likenesses in the situation are these: both episodes concern birds as guiding beasts; Virgil's doves guide a human being through a wood to a goal; so does Spenser's dove; and with both poets the manner and motion of leading is much the same. In Virgil,

> The lightly feeding doves flit on and on
> Ever in easy ken of following eyes;

their task is easier because they have no need of beguilement. In Spenser,

> euer when she nigh approcht, the Doue
> Would flit a litle forward, and then stay

[7] F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Boston, 1886, IV, 357.

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> Till she drew neare, and then againe remoue;
> So tempting her still to pursue the pray
> And still from her escaping soft away.

Each poet has caught the gentle irregular movement; each has to a degree delicately rationalized the guiding beast of folk and fairy-tale. These passages do not, however, present a close parallel. The second is so far from close that it may not constitute a parallel. When Virgil's doves have led Æneas through the wood,

> over foul Avernus' sulphurous throat
> Swiftly they lift them through the liquid air
> In silent flight.

When Spenser's "turtle" flies from Timias,

> That sweet bird departing, flew forth right
> Through the wide region of the wasteful air
> Vntill she came where wonned his Belphebe faire.

In each poem, at any rate, there is the flight to reach the goal the watcher desires, though in Spenser he neither sees it nor knows the messenger's destination.

These comparisons, however urged, leave most essentials unparalleled. Spenser's bird passes between the beloved and the sorrowing lover. Virgil's doves do not. Neither do they bear a recognition token, nor speak, as Spenser's almost does, nor effect a reconciliation. Did Spenser, then, create his dove, except in its rôle of guiding beast, from dispersed materials alone, or had he somewhere else another primary suggestive source?

In the Old French romance of *Violette*, which Spenser may very well have read, since Brunet lists editions of 1520 and later, there is a bird which may have given Spenser suggestions which he then combined with his recollection of the Virgilian doves and with his store of current poetic bird-conventions. The story of *Violette* is in outline a story like that of *Cymbeline*, of the maiden unjustly defamed and cast off by her lover, but ultimately righted through the unmasking of the villain who found the false evidence. In this version of the story occurs the following incident:[8]

Euriant, *the defamed and abandoned maiden*, is *sorrowing* for the loss of her lover. To her in her chamber *in the midst of lamentation* a little serving-boy brings *a pet lark*, which he has taken and *taught to sing*.

[8] Gibert de Montreuil, *Roman de la Violette, ou de Gérard de Nevers*, Paris, 1834, 186–199.

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Euriant receives the bird, *feeds it*, and listens to its singing. But its music increases her sadness, and as she sighs and feeds the little creature she *inattentively drops from her finger a ring which she has had from her beloved in earlier and happier days.* Attracted by the *rich stone* the lark *slips its head through the ring* and *at once flies* through the window, *leaving the poor maiden distracted.*

The bird flies to the distant spot where Gérard, Euriant's lover, forgetful through the magic of a love-potion, has relinquished his penitent quest for her. *Hunting*, his falcon brings down the lark which he hears singing above his head. *He recognizes the ring*, is recalled to his senses, learns in the market-place of his lady's danger (for now the theme of the spurned traitor has complicated her misfortunes, and she must die if not speedily championed), and discovers and is reconciled to her in time.

Is it forced to see in this incident in *Violette* a suggestion for the bird in Spenser's story? In one case, it is true, the bird is a lark, in the other a dove; in one the desperate lover is a maiden, in the other a youth.[9] But in each the bird flies from a lover who has been unjustly—by mistake or misunderstanding—parted from the beloved. In each case the bird has sung to its companion for comfort and has been rewarded by food. In each case, too, the bird is almost the talking beast of fairy-tales, though the motif is rationalized (as in Spenser also the motif of the guiding beast). There is a difference in the means by which the two birds acquire the recognition token: Timias binds the jewel with a "ribband" of Belphebe's colours about the neck of the turtle dove, Euriant, on the other hand, bears no part in attaching her token to the person of her messenger. But in each case the token appears by chance.[10] In each case, finally, the token is a "rich gem," and it is worn by the messenger in the same fashion, as a ring, though in *Violette* the jewel is in actual fact set in a ring, and in the *Faerie Queene* it is tied by Belphebe's ribband about the turtle dove's neck. Perhaps the fact is worth noticing that both birds find the beloved hunting. Certainly it is significant that both birds on feeling the token about their necks fly away immediately, and that each leaves a distracted lover behind.

However marked the likenesses, there are a few points to be made that may diminish the significance of the parallel. The story

[9] It is to be observed that if Spenser borrowed Timias and Belphebe from Ariosto he had already effected one transformation from maiden to youth, for in *Orlando Furioso* it is Angelica who waxes ill of love as Medoro waxes well.

[10] *F.Q.*, IV, 8, 6: "By chance he certaine miniments forth drew." And in *Violette* Euriant's ring falls without being noticed.

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of the messenger-bird, to offer the first objection, is not, as it occurs in *Violette*, quite so continuous as I have made it appear in the summary. Two sorts of narrative material enlarge and interrupt it. The plot of the spurned traitor is interwoven with it, and the common romance-digression of incidental adventure in the course of a quest extends it and delays its conclusion. I do not think these facts unduly disturbing to my assumption of a relationship between the story and Spenser's story; the theme as one remembers it from *Violette* seems all of a piece. Yet in fairness I should lay the narrative out here as it actually appears.

The account of the bird's flight with the ring covers in *Violette* ll. 3851–3955, pp. 185–189. Then before the hunt and the taking of the bird there intervenes a passage, ll. 3956–4023, pp. 189–196, in which Euriant is defamed by the repulsed traitor, accused, and imprisoned. From line 4024 to line 4345, pp. 196–205, comes Gérard's hunt and the taking of the bird; and from then on to the end Gérard goes seeking Euriant, only finding her at line 5184, p. 241, as she prays at her funeral pyre. The interval of Gérard's search, though a long one, filled with the usual succession of chivalric interludes, keeps the object of his search so emphatically to the fore that it can hardly be considered an interruption in the story. Nor, I think, can the theme of the spurned traitor be so considered; it merely increases suspense and adds dramatic force to the outcome: it strengthens and does not obscure the interest of the other episode.

The story of the messenger-bird seems sound, then, as a possible source. But it must stand by itself in establishing a connection between *Violette* and the *Faerie Queene*. For the rest of the long romance gives no essential parallel. The narrative is extended to spacious lengths by Gérard's deeds of knight-errantry in group-action or single combat; but none of these martial exploits distinguish themselves from the many such in French romance; none of them in phrase or incident seem to me to link themselves at any point with Spenser: beautiful borrowed armor, ladies at windows, giant blows glancing aside and burying themselves a foot in the ground, false accusations, ladies as leeches, knights by fountains in glades, great castles in waste lands—there is nothing to be done with all *Violette's* romance-paraphernalia. Nor is there any connection to be made between Euriant in the forest and Spenser's forest-wildered maids.

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Two themes, however, I hoped at first to find much more significant parallels in—the theme of arrival in time, and the theme of nurse and love-sick maiden and the brewing of a potion. There are at first real likenesses between the episode in which Spenser studies Britomart's love-sickness and Glaucé's care for her, and the episode in which Gibert de Montreuil reveals the ardour of the less admirable Aiglente and the assistance of her *maistresse*. But in the end the differences in character and temper so set apart the two heroines, and the differences in situation so set apart the two stories, that the few conventional likenesses, unsupported by any similarity of phrase or notable detail, establish nothing at all. The same negative result is revealed by a study of Arthegall's rescue of Irena and Gérard's of Euriant. Nothing by way of confirming evidence is to be found. *Violette*, if Spenser read it, fused in his mind with romance-literature in general; only the lark with the jewel about its neck remained distinct; only that stands clear to mark his likely knowledge of the Old French romance.

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XXXVI

ARTHUR GORGES, SPENSER'S ALCYON AND RALEGH'S FRIEND

Daphnaida. An Elegie vpon the death of the noble and vertuous Douglas Howard, Daughter and heire of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Byndon, and wife of Arthure Gorges Esquier. Dedicated to the Right honorable the Lady Helena, Marquesse of Northampton. (Title to the *Daphnaida.*)

> And there is sad Alcyon bent to mourne,
> Though fit to frame an euerlasting dittie,
> Whose gentle spright for Daphnes death doth tourn
> Sweet layes of loue to endlesse plaints of pittie.
> Ah pensiue boy pursue that braue conceipt,
> In thy sweet Eglantine of Meriflure,
> Lift vp thy notes vnto their wonted height,
> That may thy Muse and mates to mirth allure. (*Colin Clout*, 384-391.)[1]

TO THESE lines by Spenser, and to the fact that he once held "the greatest house at Chelsea," Sir Arthur Gorges owes the slight modern notice that he has received.[2] Less well known than his picturesque cousin, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, he has yet been recognized as a "notable figure in the background" of the Elizabethan pageant, attending his cousin Ralegh on the Islands Voyage, and standing, among the writers, in touch with Spenser and Bacon. But the current biographical sketches are scanty and at points incorrect: this paper attempts the complete story of his life, leaving for another occasion the full account of his literary work.

Spenser's two mentions of Gorges, quoted above, touch on the two outstanding points of his career, which will be made the centers of the following account: (1) his marriage with the Howard heiress, Douglas (Spenser's Daphne), and his long struggle over their child, Ambrosia, with the Howards and with the Queen; and (2) his association with Ralegh in rise and fall alike. Incidentally, as the Gorges-Howard story takes shape, it establishes the fact that Spenser's dedication of the *Daphnaida*, as of January 1, 1591, is to be taken to mean 1591 new style, not 1592.[3]

[1] References are to the one-volume Oxford edition.

[2] *D.N.B.*; Malone, ed. Shakespeare, 1821, II, 245 ff.; Randall Davies, *Chelsea Old Church*, 1904, *Greatest House at Chelsey*, 1906, 1914, Introduction to ed. of Gorges' *Olympian Catastrophe*, Kensington, 1925.

[3] Below, p. 650.

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I

Early Years. Marriage: Douglas Howard and Ambrosia Gorges

Arthur Gorges must have been born not later than 1555–1560, for 1574 finds him recorded with admission to the A.B. at Oxford[4]; moreover, by about 1576 he was established in service at court.[5] His father was William Gorges, a younger son of Sir Edward, of Wraxall in Somerset; this Edward was son to Ann Howard, daughter of the first Duke of Norfolk.[6] Thus young Arthur, who was to marry the great Howard heiress, was great grandson to a Howard, as Spenser establishes, with gratifying particularity, in the dedication to the *Daphnaida*. Arthur's father, William, was a soldier, a gentleman pensioner, and a seafarer, and was knighted in 1579 when serving as admiral against pirates off the Irish coast. He married Winifred Budockshead, of St. Budeaux, near Plymouth, who was first cousin to Walter Ralegh, since her mother was Frances Champernowne, sister to Ralegh's mother.[7]

Arthur Gorges' college at Oxford is not recorded, nor is the "determination" which would complete the degree; but he was counted a faithful son of the University when Sir John Benet solicited him, among many of greater name, for funds for the fabric of the Bodleian Quadrangle, about 1612; his reply deserves quoting for kinship with other loyal, if evasive, alumni responses:

[4] *Register Univ. of Oxford*, II, pt. iii, 43.

[5] In 1596 he refers to twenty years spent in the Queen's service; in 1601 three times to twenty-four years, twice to twenty. *Hatfield MSS Cal.*, VI, 481; XI, 194, 222, 310; 116, 165. (Hatfield papers are referred to for convenience by the Calendar, when it exists, but have been consulted in the original.)

[6] J. P. Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, 1890, II, 151 ff., 163 n. For the family Thorne George (*Pedigrees of . . . . Gorges*, priv. pr., 1903) offers a large collection of material requiring identification and testing; its unreliability is exposed by O. Barron, *The Ancestor*, IX. On William Gorges see also *Acts Privy Council*, 1578–84, indices.

[7] T. Westcote, *View of Devonshire in 1630*, 466, 536; F. Brown, *Pedigree of Sir F. Gorges*, Histor. and Genealog. Register, 1875. Baxter records the marriage of William and Winifred Gorges as of 1565, without reference; since a legal record in Addit. MS 38170, f. 245b, speaks explicitly of Arthur Gorges as born after marriage, we must assume an earlier date.

Brown gives Tristram and Robert as the first and second sons. Tristram (d. 1607) was the literary executor of Thomas Cavendish, who sends a last message to him and his brothers at the end of the 1591 voyage (Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, 1907, XVI, 151, 176).

The Arthurian names crop out only in this branch and at this moment.

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Non deero quoad vires me Academiae Oxoniensis et amicum et alumnum studiosissimum praebere; et etiam virum illum egregium Johannem Benetum Equitem in hac largitione obseruare, cui sum deditissimus et amicissimus.

A Gorges[8]

Not long after, two of his sons were at Oxford.[9] Arthur Gorges' education provided him with a proficient use of French and a translator's knowledge of Latin, at least; and service with his father, searching the seas for the traitor Stukeley, gave him practical experience of seamanship while he was but young, if we can accept as evidence a remark in one of his later treatises.[10]

Thus equipped, Gorges appeared at Court, and was serving as gentleman pensioner certainly as early as 1580. He was perhaps introduced by the Marchioness Helena, wife of his uncle, Sir Thomas Gorges, and "next in nobilitie" to Cynthia, as Spenser wrote.[11] Very soon the story of Gorges and Douglas Howard, the great heiress and his distant kinswoman, opened. Spenser gives the idyllic version. Alcyon, wont to keep his flock on western downs, not far from Sabrina's stream,[12] met there the fair young lioness,[13] his Daphne, and won her "with mildnes and with paine";

[8] Bodl. MS Add. C. 206, f. 26. Gorges' reply (catalogued wrongly as F. Gorges', Summary Cat. 29080) is in his own hand at the bottom of the soliciting letter. His name is not inscribed in the official or informal lists of donors to the Bodleian fabric, which are, however, doubtless incomplete: *Registrum Donationum*, MSS Top. Ox. b. 41, Arch. Seld. A. 75, Wood D. 32.

[9] Arthur and Timoleon, matric. Christ Church, 1616; Timoleon det. B. A. 1618/19, inc. M. A., All Souls, 1622. *Register Univ. of Oxford*, II, pt. ii, 348; pt. iii, 368. For Arthur jr. as Eubulus in the Christ Church production of Burton's *Philosophaster*, 1617, see *Hist. MSS Com.* IV, 356, Lord Mostyn's MS 197. For a diverting anecdote concerning his attendance at a Lenten play at Trinity, 1632, see Gardiner, *Cases in Star Chamber*, Camden Soc., 112.

[10] *Observations . . . . for a Seafight*, unprinted. The variant account in his *Islands Voyage* pr. 1625 (Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, 1907, XX, 52) does not suggest the boy Arthur's presence and assigns the part given his father in the MS version to Sir John Parrot.

[11] *Acts Privy Council*, XI, 422.—His relations with Sir Thomas and Lady Helena were evidently friendly: *Hatfield MSS Cal.*, VII, 395; Sir Thomas' will (with token and affectionate reference), George, *Pedigree . . . . of Gorges*, 172; *Daphnaida* dedication.—On Lady Helena see *Colin Clout*, 508–515; London *T.L.S.*, Sept. 8, 1927; *Queen Elizabeth and a Swedish Princess*, ed. Seaton, 1926, 31.

[12] Deductions that Gorges' youth was spent in Cornwall, in friendship with Ralegh and Spenser, are purely speculative: Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*; *D.N.B.* ("friend" of Spenser); Davies, *Olympian Catastrophe*, 11.

[13] Cf. dedicatory letter; the white lion is the badge of the Howards.

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they were ideally happy till a satyr wounded her, and "she fell away in her first ages spring"; with her she took "great hope," robbing "her race of bountie quight," but left to the disconsolate Alcyon a pledge of their late love in their "yong Ambrosia."

Behind this story of happy love and of loss lie the uglier facts, recorded in various complaints, accusations, and answers.[14] Nothing in the stormy tale suggests misfortune to the love of Douglas Howard and Gorges; but all the rest is discord.

Douglas was sole heir to Henry Howard, second Viscount Byndon, who held lands at East Lullworth and elsewhere in Dorsetshire. She was still in her thirteenth year when she was formally betrothed to Arthur Gorges on October 13, 1584, and on the next day was married to him in the presence and with the consent of her mother.[15] Her father, whose debts and outrages were a persistent trouble to the Lords of the Council, had tried during the summer to thwart the match; defeated, with the power of Queen and Council against him, he entered complaint in Star Chamber against "one Arthur Gorge gent" for theft of the heiress while her father was under restraint by royal order, and for winning her consent to marry though she was under age. Asserting himself robbed of his comfort and joy, and rehearsing his care "for her vertuous educacou*n* duringe her tender age"—a claim at variance with every discoverable fact—he betrays his true motive in the description of her as "the onely hope [he] had for the increase and propagacou*n* of his bloud and famylye," who was being nurtured towards the time when she might be matched "accordinge to her byrth and degree in some . . . . noble or honorable howse."[16] Gorges' formal answer in Star Chamber may be quoted as the prose parallel to Spenser's idyl:

> . . . . Abowt halfe a yeare synce at suche tyme as . . . . douglas . . . . was in the custodye of her father. . . . This def^{t} was determyned and fully

[14] Star Cham. Proc. Eliz. H. 20/3 (betrothal and marriage).—Lansd. MS 43, ff. 53, 56, before Oct. 13, 1584 (Howard's effort to retain Douglas).—*Acts Privy Council*, XII, 205, 234; State Papers Dom. Eliz. CXLIII, 4, 12, 13, 14, 31, 32 (his maltreatment of wife and daughter, 1580).—Lansd. MS 54, nos. 81, 82; Pleadings, Ct. of Wards, 57, Mich. 42–43 Elizabeth, Gorges vs. Cheverell (his debts and outrages in general).—Howard's behavior betrays dementia.

[15] Frances Meautys, lady in waiting to Elizabeth, 1562, *Complete Peerage*, VI, 584. Her brother was the Queen's messenger in the episode recorded in n. 16.

[16] Ordered at Whitsuntide, 1584, by Queen and Council to deliver his wife and daughter, Howard grossly replied to the effect that the Queen might have done him a favor to take his lady a dozen years before, "but it was his grief to depa*r*te with his daughter, ... his onelye Ioye." Lansd. MS 43, f. 53.

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resolved for the good will he bare vnto the said gentlewoman to become a suter vnto her by waye of maryage And . . . . in or abowt September laste vnderstanding of the greate Iarre and mislyke that was betwene the said compl^{t} and the Ladye ffraunc*es* Vicountesse Howarde his wyffe, and hearing that by especiall com*m*aundem^{t} and order from her Maiestie or some of her moste honorable p*r*ivye Counsell vppon complaint made on the behalfe of the said Ladye of greate abuse offred vnto her by . . . . her husbande The said Ladye wth her said daughter weare sep*a*rated from the howse . . . . and the said dowglas com*m*itted to the chardge and custodye of her said mother, This def^{t} following his fyrste determyned purpose, thought it best for the obteyninge of the gentlewoman to p*ro*cure and sue for her good will, ioyninge therevnto the consent of the said Ladye her mother, thinking it a matter almoste Impossible to obteyne the good will and consent of bothe the parent*es* in suche theire discord and discontentment of mynd*es* And therevppon by the earnest suyte and meanes of this def^{t}, he . . . . had and obteyned the goodwill of the said douglas to be his wyffe wth the consent & agreament of the said Ladye her mother, in whose custodye she remayned: w^{ch} goodwill . . . . this def^{t} . . . . the rather obteyned for y^{t} both the said Ladye and the said dowglas greatly feared that the said Vicounte sought rather to matche her . . . . for his pryvate gayne of money then otherwyse to bestowe her in maryage to theire lyking or contentacions, not forgetting wth all in what hard and vnnaturall sorte the said compl^{t} had before tyme delt wth his said daughter at suche tyme as she was vnder his . . . . gou*er*nement. And the said def^{t} . . . thought it best to be betrothed vnto the said dowglas, w^{ch} was p*er*formed on Tuesdaye the thirtenth daye of October laste past in the p*re*sence and wth full consent of . . . . her mother, After w^{ch} contract . . . . the next daye, ... the fowretenth daye of . . . . October the said Ladye Vicountesse and the said dowglas her daughter of theire owne free will*es* and disposition came to a friend*es* howse of this def^{tos} in the white fryers neare fleete streate where this def^{t} and the said dowglas weare wth theire mutuall assent*es* maryed in the p*re*sence of the said Ladye and others according to the order of the Churche of Ingland. . . . .

There is no sign of royal displeasure at this marriage; in fact, the Queen's patent aid and encouragement may be explained by her kinship with Douglas and by the influence of Ralegh and of the Marchioness in behalf of Gorges.

But when on Christmas night in 1588 a daughter Ambrosia was born to Douglas and Arthur, the seed of twelve years' bitter dissension was sown. And yet the auspices were high: the child was born in her father's dwelling in St. Martin's in the Fields, in the presence of the two grandmothers, Lady Howard and Lady Gorges, and of Lady Jane Stafford and various ladies of the Cooke family;

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at the baptizing, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, and the then Lady Elizabeth Carew gave the child the name Ambrosia—her actual name, and no Spenserian idealization.[17] This circumstantial account we owe to her father's resistance to the desperate charges that were brought against her legitimacy by her great-uncle, Thomas Howard, when he succeeded to the Byndon title, in December 1590.[18] Probably the grandfather had lent his tongue before he died to the slander that she was a "forged or changed childe," never conceived or borne by Douglas. On August 13, 1590, Douglas had died, after long sickness, when she was not yet nineteen; and now, in December, Ambrosia, aged two, was left as heir to the Howard estate, but with her legitimacy assailed.

This brings us presumably to the very moment when Spenser, newly introduced to London by Ralegh, was commissioned to write an elegy on Douglas Gorges. The poet's reference to young Ambrosia, left as a pledge of the love of Alcyon and Daphne, gains sharp point as a defiance to the Byndon enemies. His stress on the unassuaged agony of Alcyon, who looked even at the end of the consolatory discourses "as if that death he in the face had seene," would seem to fix the facts that Spenser wrote the poem soon after the death of Douglas, and that he dedicated it to her aunt, the Marchioness, on the following New Year's Day, that of 1591, new style (not 1592, as has been argued). The reason may in brief digression be given: *Colin Clout*, dedicated to Ralegh on December 27, 1591, summons the same Alcyon, now only pensive, to turn from tears to mirth; it is practically inconceivable that Spenser would present Gorges, through his aunt, with a lament picturing the black depth of grief, five days *after* dedicating to Gorges' cousin and intimate an appeal that he abandon woe for mirth and poesy[19]; therefore the "first of Ianuarie. 1591" of the

[17] Whitman's *Subject Index* assumes it to be a typifying name; Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, surmised that it was taken from Ambrose Dudley's.

[18] Chancery Proc. Series II, C. 3, 225/41, endorsed Nov. 1590 (Gorges' complaint); Harl. Soc. *Registers*, vol. 25, St. Martin in the Fields, baptism Jan. 2, 1588/9; Lansd. MS 43, f. 59; Chancery Inq. Post Mortem, II, 231, 89, Henry Howard, Oct. 6, 1591. (Ct. of Wards, Misc. Bk. 109, f. 40, corrects the date of his death from 1589 to 1590).

[19] This appeal cannot be a late insertion *c.* 1594–5, for Alcyon is still too "bent to mourne" to allow for healing years.

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Daphnaida letter cannot mean 1592, and can mean only 1591.[20] The elegy was written, then, and presented to Lady Helena by New Year's 1591, while the legitimacy of Ambrosia was still unvindicated; Spenser's mention of her as a pledge is a bold challenge to the Viscount's party.

But the unscrupulous slander was soon defeated; the Lords conveyed to the Dorset officials orders from the Queen's own mouth that extraordinary care be taken against frivolous practices prejudicial to her Majesty's ward and to the father, who was held in attendance during the progress.[21] On October 6, 1591, Ambrosia was established by inquisition as the true heir, and when her great-uncle defied the finding, she was declared by the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral (her kinsman) and other great nobles appointed by the crown to have such proof of her claim "as that no man in England can make more for any childe that ever was borne." Continued slander by the Viscount led to his imprisonment, and threat of severer censure in Star Chamber.[22]

Peace refused, however, to envelop the small heiress. Quarrels raged over the Howard lands, over the dower rights of Frances, Lady Howard, who soon after Henry Howard's death had married Edmund Stansfield—for worse, if such were possible[23]—and over the alleged waste by Stansfield of the lands due Ambrosia by reversion. Both sides complained to Cecil; neither, probably, was clear of the trickery that was freely charged; in a last sordid episode Gorges had to answer the accusation of laying riotous siege to dispossess Stansfield of the house at East Lullworth, on Easter

[20] Cf. Long (N. Y. *Nation*, Nov. 1, 1906, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 530 f.) who assumes a writing late in 1591, or a circulation in manuscript till January 1, 1592. To allow for the dedication on New Year's 1592 in London, he argues away Kilcolman as the genuine setting for the letter to Ralegh on Dec. 27, 1591—an ingenuity rendered needless if 1591 is fixed for the London letter. Of the possible explanations of 1591 printed to mean 1591, our style (cf. de Sélincourt, *Spenser's Minor Poems*, Oxford, xxi f.) the most plausible is a misprint; if one thing is easier for a printer than to set up a 1 for a 0 in written copy, it is to slip in the date of the current year for the one just ended (as Spenser's printer would be doing if he set *Daphnaida* up after March 25, 1591).

[21] *Acts Privy Council*, XXI, 416. The precautions were needed; *ibid.*, 460; Lansd. MS 43, f. 59.

[22] Lansd. MS 43; *Acts Privy Council*, XXII, 335, Byndon in the Fleet.

[23] Gorges (Star Cham. Proc. Eliz. S. 27/25) tells of the lewd living and "Banckeroute and famished povertie" of Stansfield, who sank so low as to fetch "his bread and drinke from the Alehowses by the pennye worthes."

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Day in 1600, while Lady Frances, Ambrosia's grandmother, lay dead within.[24]

And yet these troubles were only background to Gorges' major struggle with the Queen over the wardship of Ambrosia. The complicated story, pieced together from letters, pleadings, and answers,[25] seems to be as follows. When Ambrosia in 1590 became heir to her grandfather, Viscount Henry, and heir apparent to her father, she at once stood as ward to the crown for her lands. These Gorges leased from the Queen. The child's marriage, as long as she was heir apparent to Gorges, lay in his care. But late in 1596, perhaps when he was already looking forward to sea service against Spain, and when he was entering on a second marriage (probably without the Queen's knowledge), he petitioned for the reversion of the wardship of the marriage, should his death bring it into the royal hands. He was probably then quietly arranging the marriage that occurred in 1597 between Ambrosia, aged eight and a half, and his first cousin, Francis Gorges, eldest son of Sir Thomas and the great Lady Helena; but during the continental tour which followed his degree at Oxford in 1597,[26] the boy died, when Ambrosia was ten and more—i.e., after Christmas, 1598. Meantime on March 8, 1598 a son had been born to Gorges and his new wife, Elizabeth Clinton; whereupon the Queen claimed Ambrosia, no longer heir apparent (or presumptive) to her father, as the royal ward. Gorges had to give £6000 bond not to contract her except by order of the Master of the Wards. This blow fell, as Gorges

[24] *Hatfield MSS Cal.*, IV, 370, V, 93, 233, 436 (*Cal.* wrongly ascribes to Ferdinando), 481—(1593–5); VII, 395 (from the Azores, 1597); X, 73, 82 (*Cal.* wrongly ascribes to Sir Thomas Gorges), 387; XIV, 128 (1600).—Lord Chamberlain's Papers 4/192, p. 297 (cf. 333), 1594, a bond between Byndon and Gorges for £4000, kindly called to my notice by Professor Leslie Hotson.—Lansd. MS 62, f. 215 (c. 1590).—Harl. MS 6997, f. 192 (1596).—*Acts Privy Council* XXIII, 222, 264, 265, 295, 360.—State Papers Dom. Eliz. CCLII, 47 (1595).—Star Chamber Proc. Eliz. S. 27/25, Stansfield vs. Gorges (1601).—Various Ct. of Wards documents for these years repeat details.

[25] Chancery Inq. Post Mortem, II, 231, 89, Henry Howard; 260, 139, Ambrosia Gorges.—*Hatfield MSS Cal.* (1596–1603) VI, 373, 410; VIII, 192 (*Cal.* wrongly ascribes this and VI, 373 to Ferdinando); IX, 421, X, 73, 110; XIII, 612; XIV, 196. —Lansd. MS 43, f. 59.—Ct. of Wards, Decrees 39–43 Eliz., Bk. 87, ff. 152, 184.—*Coke's Reports*, ed. Thomas and Fraser, 1826, III. 300, Pt. VI, 22a.

[26] *Register Univ. of Oxford*, II, pt. ii, 205; pt. iii, 197, det. B. A. 1596/7. License to travel granted him, April 28, 1597, *Cal. State Papers Dom. Eliz.* 1595–7, p. 398. —Sir Thomas' bond to Gorges for £8000 in Dec. 1596 probably relates to the marriage (L. C. 4/193, p. 187b, a reference I owe to Professor Hotson).

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complains later, when he was about to make a great benefit of his daughter's marriage, £6000 down, besides other considerations.[27]

Gorges speedily entered protest (June 4, 1598) at this extraordinary removal of "a great portion of his living"; but he had to endure a delay of some two and a half years—long enough to justify his assumption that the Attorney and the Chief Justices, to whom the complicated case had to be referred, saw the title none too clear. Towards the end he gave the Queen a rich gift for her favor,[28] only to learn finally in May 1600 that Ambrosia—at the birth of her brother, and in view of the death of Francis Gorges while their marriage was incomplete—had become the Queen's ward for her marriage.

Gorges' case seemed lost, and court gossip buzzed: Rowland White wrote on May 10 to Sidney of the judgment, and added of Ambrosia, "I beleue, yong Mr. Philip Harbert shall haue her, for my Lord of Pembroke offers the Queen 5000 *l.* in Money and Iewels"; but on May 31 White had heard that Gorges was persisting, and intended the ward for Lord Thomas Howard's son.[29] And in fact on June 16 the Queen granted him the wardship and marriage for £1000.[30] "Soe my Lord of Pembroke goes without her," writes White; Chamberlain later reported that Pembroke's offer for her was £8000, Lord Thomas', £10,000.[31]

Then, with no warning, the heiress died—on October 10, 1601, before the letters patent could be perfected, a "shrewde windfall," with "shrewd effects," as Chamberlain and Cecil similarly commented.[32] The lands passed to the old adversary Thomas, Lord

[27] *Hatfield MSS Cal.*, XI, 222, 1601; also *187*, 123 (uncalendared, 1603, printed below) where he says the complete offer was £10,000—the sum he was reported in 1600 to be about to receive from Lord Thomas Howard. Whether this concerns the marriage with Francis Gorges, or a fresh arrangement, is not clear. Probably in discretion, Gorges never mentions the marriage to Francis in his letters and petitions; it is referred to only in the Decree Book (87) and in Coke's Reports (both after the death of Francis). Lansd. Roll 9, showing Lady Helena's descendants (c. 1635), records the marriage.

[28] White to Sidney, *Sidney Papers*, II, 141: As the Queen passed by the faire new House in Chelsey, Sir Arthur Gorge presented her with a faire Iewell (Nov. 1599).

[29] *Ibid.*, II, 193, 197.

[30] Hatfield MSS *187*, 123, quoted below; the Queen allowed Gorges £80 a year for the keep of the child from March 8, 1598, Ct. of Wards Decree Book, 87, f. 184.

[31] *Sidney Papers*, II, 202; *Chamberlain's Letters*, Camden Soc., 92.

[32] *Chamberlain's Letters*, l.c.; *Letters from Cecil to Carew*, Camden Soc., 57. White reported also to Sidney, *Sidney Papers*, II, 218.

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Howard, and Gorges was left with about £200 as allowance for Ambrosia's keep since 1598, and a life annuity of £400 from Howard, enough, Cecil remarked to Carew, to "keepe the staff from the dore."

Gorges thought otherwise. Pleas for redress crowd in on Cecil and the other Lords during the next six years.[33] Though in nature "an yll crauer," he rehearses his long expense, his twenty-four years of service, exposing "my youth; my patrymonye; and my bloode," but ending with all "labors eyther lopte; or frostbytten." Without "soe muche as a house of myne owne; to put my heade in but what I hyer by y^e^ yeare," or means to attend her Majesty, he must live poorly abroad or beg and steal at home. He sees no difference in reward between his loyal service "and y^e^ late disloyaltie of most of those y^t^ haue moste vnnaturallye rebelled" (June 10, 1601), unless Mr. Catesby's fine, or £2000 out of any such, be allotted him. The £1200 allowed him from Catesby's fine[34] (a share equal to Bacon's) did not suffice, but Elizabeth did not grant more. Consequently appeals were directed to James, like the following typically expressive petition of October 1603, which may be quoted as Gorges' own summary of the prolonged futility:

> Whereas not longe since yo:^r^ suppliant S:^r^ Arthur Gorges had a daughter called Ambrosia, borne by her Mother to greate possessions, for whose match in marriage, her father was offered tenn thowsand pounds; and had concluded for y^e^ present receauinge of y^e^ greatest parte of y^e^ saide sum*m*, as a fortune y^t^ hym selfe; his wife, and children, must wholie depend vppon. Itt soe fell out, y^t^ . . . . by esspecyall com*m*aundment from her Ma:^tie^ our late Soueraigne; A letter was directed from M:^r^ Attorneye generall; and . . . . an Iniunction out of y^e^ court of wardes to y^e^ saide S:^r^ Arthur to deliuer vpp y^e^ bodie of his saide daughter to y^e^ M:^r^ of y^e^ wardes; or else to enter into six thowsand pound bonds not to contract her, but by leaue and order of y^e^ saide courte. To this her Ma:^tis^ will, hee humblie submytted hym selfe; entringe into this greate bonds, and relinquishinge y^t^ greate benefitt w:^ch^ by his childe, hee was presentlye to haue enioyed. And in this soarte for y^e^ space of two yeares, and a halfe, was hee helde vnder this greate penaltie. . . . . The president by y^e^ lawes of the Realme, beinge founde verie hard and doubtfull to determyne; if itt had not bynn betweene a Soueraigne and a subiect. But in

[33] Hatfield MSS *187*, 123, quoted on this page, *Cal.* X, 386, XI, 116, 165, 194, 222, 310, 311, XIV, 196, and (uncalendared, after 1603) *105*, 146, *108*, 98, 99, *86*, 65, *116*, 17.—State Papers Dom. Jas. I, XV, 33.

[34] *Acts Privy Council*, XXXII, 149.

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conclucion hee presented her Ma:ti w:th a braclett of greate pearles; fastned w:th a locker of Diamond and Rubyes, w:ch cost 500:li for her fauour thearein, and yet was afterward fyned to paye more vnto her Ma:ti 1000:li for ye wardshipp of her bodie (hauinge alsoe longe before for a fyne and yearelie rent; taken ye wardshipp of ye lands) ye w:ch thowsand pounds was in this soarte to bee payed 100:li in hande; and 400li more att fower seuerall dayes; and ye other 500:li att ye daye of her mariage: w:ch 500:li by her death was made voyde. For soe itt fell out, yt soone after S:r A: Gorges had geuen this bracelett, payed ye first 100:li and entred into bonds for ye rest; itt pleased god to take his childe from hym, before yt hee coulde make any benefitt of ye wardshipp. For after yt ye court of wardes had once entytled her Ma:ti vnto itt; and helde itt two yeares and a halfe in suspence; those yt weare before moste desirous of ye match; stoode nowe fearefull to deale w:th S:r A: Gorges in itt before they sawe her Ma:tis bill assigned; ye w:ch was neuer performed; for whilst hee was takinge out his assuraunce; and suinge out her Ma:tis bill assigned for ye same; his saide childe died; before itt coulde bee effected. And by this vnhappie course, a poore gentleman yt had longe and faithfullye serued her Ma:tie in his estate and fortune, was vtterlye ruyned, and w:th discomfort and sorrowe; cast into a longe and greeuous sickness: All which dulye considered; hee trustes y:t his Excellent Ma:tie in princly commyseration will nowe thinck itt fitt, yt hee bee freed of this 400:li and repute itt a calamytie more then enough; in this soarte to haue geuen soe greate a present and one hundred pounds for nothinge; loste his deare childe; and tenn thousande pounds to boote.

In 1606 the King finally granted Gorges in fee farm the manor of Pawton, in Cornwall, of £6:9:10 yearly value.[35] For ample reason, as will soon appear, he could hardly have hoped for more from King James, even with such intercessors as the Herberts and his kinsman, Lord Carew; yet the rankling of this and other disappointments is shown in his will (1625), where he remarks that never from James has he had reward or preferment, but rather "crosses and detractions . . . . to my great hinderance and impoverishing."

II

Public and Literary Career: Association with Ralegh

Gorges' ill success with James is fully explained by his close association with Ralegh, dating probably from their Devonshire

[35] Pat. Rolls 4 Jas. I, pt. 18 (cf. *Cal. State Papers Dom.* Jas. I, 1603–1610, p. 330, Sept. 6, 1606).—Hatfield MSS. *105*, 146 (a reversion of the lease of this manor secured from Lord Cobham *c.* 1600 for £3000), *117*, 74 (a letter of gratitude, Aug. 27, 1606).

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boyhood. Possibly their terms at Oxford touched, since Ralegh's name is on the Oriel books for 1572.[36] They appeared at court at about the same time.[37] At the outset of their careers, they were involved in the Oxford-Leicester quarrel, and, according to Charles Arundel's accusation, were both marked for death by de Vere: Gorges was to have been shot when returning at midnight to his lodgings across Richmond Green.[38] It may be only coincidence that when Ralegh went the next March to the Marshalsea, for a fray beside the tennis court, his kinsman followed him there the next day for giving the lie to Lord Windsor in the Presence Chamber.[39]

The year 1584—during which Gorges married Douglas—marks the first of his four terms in Parliament, all during Elizabeth's reign; in 1593, sitting for Dorset, he served with Ralegh, Drake, Bacon, his cousin Ferdinando, and others, on a committee for relief of maimed soldiers and mariners.[40] At Shrovetide, probably in 1587, occurred the "sumptuous shew" which Churchyard wrote celebrating Leicester's service in Flanders ("in as good verse as euer I made," the author asserts); in it appeared Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Robart Carey, M. Chidly, and M. Arthur Gorge, the Gentleman Pensioners proving "to be a great peece of honor to the Court."[41] In 1588—the year of Ambrosia's birth—Gorges, along with Ralegh, Robert Carey, and others may have joined the fleet in the Channel as a volunteer: Camden and other writers assert it, and the tale invites belief; but no official record attests it. Only specific corroboration, such as chances to exist for Carey's presence, could justify the assertion, in face of the silence of the State Papers;[42] a suggestion of such support for Gorges lies in a

[36] *D.N.B.*, Ralegh.

[37] Sir E. Gosse, *Raleigh*, 5 f. I know of no evidence for Miss Wilson's assertion (*Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honor*, 148) that Ralegh obtained introduction through Gorges.

[38] State Papers Dom. Eliz. CLI, 45, p. 4; John Cheke was to be shot with Gorges, St. John, *Life of Raleigh*, 1869, 35, 45.

[39] *Acts Privy Council*, XI, 421 f.

[40] *Members of Parliament*, 1878; *Hatfield MSS Cal.*, IV, 295. His other terms were for Yarmouth Borough (Southampton), 1584; Camelford Borough, Cornwall, 1588; Rye and the Cinque Ports, 1601.

[41] *Churchyards Challenge*, Printed by John Wolfe, 1593; Chamber's *Eliz. Stage*, III, 267.

[42] Camden, *Elizabeth*, Bk. III (ed. 1630, p. 140); *Copy of Letter to Don Bernardin Mendoza*, 1588, *Harl. Misc.* II, 78; van Meteran, in Hakluyt, ed Glasgow, 1904, IV, 217; I. L[ea] tr. *An Answer to the Vntruthes, Published . . . . in Spaine*, 1589,

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Privy Council order of October 16, 1589, restoring to him lands which he had mortgaged to furnish himself for her Majesty's service at the time of the rumor of the Spanish preparations.

From 1590 till 1600, as we have seen, Gorges was in bitter dissension with that Thomas, Viscount Byndon, who presided in 1594 at the Dorsetshire hearing on Ralegh's atheism, and was otherwise Ralegh's foe, and in his eyes a "pevishe foole."[43]

Next year Gorges' position as a politic pleader for his kinsman becomes clear in the racy letter he wrote to Cecil—with a more exalted audience obviously in mind—when the disgraced favorite lay in the Tower for the Throckmorton marriage:[44]

Honorable S:r I cannot chuse but aduertyse you of a straunge Trgedye y^t^ this d[ay] had lyke to haue fallen owte betweene the Captayne of the Guarde, and the Lyuetennaunt of the Ordenaunce; If I had not by greate chaunce cum*m*en a[tt] the very instant to haue turned it into a Com*m*edye. For vppon the re[port] of hyr Ma:^ts^ beinge att S:r George Caryes; S:r W. Rawly hauing gazed an[d] syghed a longe tyme att hys study wyndow; fro*m* whence he mygh[t] discerne the Barges and boates aboute y^e^ black-fryars stayers; soodayn[ly] he brake owte into a greate distemper, and sware y^t^ hys Enymyes hadd of purpose brought hyr Ma:^tie^ thethar, to breake hys gaule [in] sounder w^t^ Tantalus Torment; that when shee wentt a way he myght see hys deathe before hys Eyes; w^t^ many such lyke conc[eyts.] And as a mann transported w^t^ passion; he sware to S:r George Care[w] that he wolde disguyse hymeselfe; and gett into a payer of Oares to Ease hys mynde butt w^t^ a syght of the Queene; or els he p*r*otest[ed] his harte wolde breake. But the trusty Iaylor wold non of y^t^ for displeasing the hygher powers, as he sayde w^ch^ he more respect[ed] then the feading of hys humor; and so flatly refused to p*er*mitt hym[e.] But in conclusion vppon this disspute they fell flatt owt to collor[yq] outragius wordes; w^t^ stryuing and struggling att y^e^ doores, y^t^ al[l] lamenes was forgotten; and in the fury of the conflyct, y^e^ Iaylor [he] had hys newe perwygg torne of hys crowne./ And ye[t heare] the battle ended not, for att laste they had gotten ow[te theyr daggers;] w^ch^ when I sawe I played the styckler betwene theme, and [so] purchased such a rapp on the knockles, y^t^ I wysht bothe theyr [pates] broken; and so w^t^ much a doo, they stayed

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pr. Brydges, *Brit. Bibliographer*, I, 371. See Laughton, J. K., *State Papers Relating to the Armada*, Navy Records Soc., I, lxxvi. Gorges says in July, 1595 (*Hatfield MSS Cal.* V, 292) that he has served four or five times in the Queen's ships.

[43] Edwards, *Life of Ralegh*, I, 470 f.; State Papers Dom. Eliz. CCLIX, 97. Cf. L. C. 4/194, p. 154b, Henry Willoughby to Gorges, £1000, 1599 (Prof. Hotson).

[44] MS Ashmole 1729, f. 177, endorsed 26 July, 1592; a copy by Birch in Addit. MS 4106, f. 62. The letter is inaccurately printed in Birch's *Life* (Ralegh's *Works*, 1829, I, 594) and in Cayley's *Life*, 1805, I, 124.

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theyr brawle [to see] my bloodyed fyngers. Att the fyrste I was ready to breake w^th^ laughinge; to see theme too so scamble and brawle lyke mad[e] menn, vntyll I saw the Iron walkinge; and then I dyd my best to apease the fury. As yet I cannot reconcyle them by any p*er*swasions. for S:^r^ Walt: swears y^t^ he shall hate hyme for so restra[y]ning hyme fro*m* the syght of hys M^rs^ whylst he lyues; for y^t^ he knowe[s] not (as he sayd) whethar euer he shall see hyr agayne when shee is gonn the progress. And S:^r^ Georg, on hys syde swares y^t^ he had rather h[e] should lose hys longinge then y^t^ he wolde drawe on hyme hyr Ma.[ties] displeasur by such lyberty. Thys they contynew in mallyce and sn[ar]lynge, but I ame sure all the smarte lyghted on me/ [I] cannot tell wheare I should more alowe of y^e^ passionat lou[er] or the trusty Iaylor. But yf y^r^ selfe had seene it, as I dy[d] yow wold haue byne as hartely merry and sorry; as Euar yow weare in all y^r^ lyfe for so shorte a tyme. I praye y^u^ p*ar*do[n] my hasty wrytten narration; w^ch^ I acquaynt y^u^ w^t^ hoping [yow] wyll be the peacemaker; butt good S:^r^ lett nobody kno[we] thearof. for I feare S:^r^ W. Rawly; wyll shortely growe [to be] Orlando furioso; If the bryght Angelyca p*er*seuer agaynst [hyme] a l[y]tt[le] lon[ger.]

Y^r^ honors humbly to be com*m*aunded

London in haste this wensdaye.

A Gorges

If yow lett the Q: Ma^tie^ know hearof as y^u^ thinck good be it, butt otherwyse good S:^r^ keepe it secrett for theyr credytts; for they know not of my discourse w^ch^ I could wyshe hyr Ma:^tie^ knewe

Gorges' touch with Cecil, as patron and kinsman, is steady. In 1593 we find him at Southampton on confidential service for Cecil, promising such discreet prying on the Vidame de Chartres that it could be easily interpreted "as the vsuall Englyshe honorable courtesy to strangers." Next year he and Sir George Carew ask Sir Robert's furtherance of an "honest plawsyble" suit, from the benefits of which they gladly offer him £500; in 1595 Gorges, at Salisbury, sends him news of Ralegh, which has come from Plymouth through Lady Ralegh and Carew Ralegh, and which will reach the Lord Admiral, Gorges prays. It is worth noting that twice in 1595–6 his letters to Cecil are dated from Ralegh's Durham House.[45]

He was now feeling the tie of his pensioner's place. On July 28, 1595, he asked, evidently without result, for sea service with the Lord Admiral, doubtless incited by the news of the Spanish landing

[45] *Hatfield MSS Cal.* IV, 377 f. (1593); IV, 569 (1594); V, 161, 233 (1595); VI, 373 (1596); cf. VII, 143, 166 (1597).

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in Cornwall on July 23.[46] Late in 1595 White reports his application for the great Park at Windsor, and "speach that Mr. Arthur Gorge shalbe sent into France."[47] In the autumn of 1596 he laments his restraint from all foreign adventure, and the necessity to strike the sails of his poor ambition, converting himself to the lowly humour of quiet and content.

These virtues, he implies, he will find in the marriage he has just entered upon (being "plunged over the eares by that maistering disease of affection"), though it has reduced him to such disfavor that all he can hope is the grace usual to the dead,—a good word. "I mought no doubt haue taken a course more wor[l]dly wyse, and behooful for my selfe" he writes, but what he has done "is but a loue matter," and that "in the truest kynde, whiche is mariage." God himself, "whose Image our divyne Princesse emongst vs doth so gratiously represent," is slow in wrath; "but trueth is said to cutt the throate of him that caryes her": he asks only that the knife be not dull, that he may soon know whether his part be comical or tragical.[48] At this moment, probably, he was in the Fleet as a reward for his "trueth," whence he was released, on Elizabeth's order, after a short imprisonment, on January 2, 1597.[49] But he was still in April "a banished man from the Courte, and a straunger to that parte of the Towne," as he wrote from his house without Bishopsgate;[50] and not till July, when about to sail for the Azores, was he restored to the Queen's favor, evidently through Cecil's influence: devoted zeal, and, a week later, high elation pour upon Cecil "the incumber of my woordes," as Gorges puts it, in three letters from Plymouth, written while his ship lay awaiting sail.[51]

[46] *Ibid.*, V, 292. Gorges has just heard of the Lord Admiral's going to the seas. Immediately after July 23 Thomas Gorges or Ralegh would have been in position to drop a hint. (Cheyney, *Hist. of Engl. from Armada to Death of Eliz.*, I, 544, II, 43.)

[47] *Sidney Papers*, I, 381, 363. The M. Gorges acting as dispatch bearer for Essex and Cecil in 1595 (*Hatfield MSS Cal.* V, 178, 464, XIII, 530) is probably Edward Gorges; cf. *Edmondes Papers*, Roxburghe Club, 205, 221, etc. (For earlier service of a Mr. Gorge in connection with France, see *Hatfield MSS Cal.* II, 277, 1579; *Cal. State Papers Dom. Eliz.* Add. 1580–1625, 80, Nov. 14, 1582.)

[48] *Hatfield MSS Cal.* VI, 481.

[49] *Acts Privy Council*, XXVI, 410.

[50] *Hatfield MSS Cal.* VII, 166.

[51] State Papers Dom. Eliz. CCLXIV, f. 94 (July 21), f. 130 (July 29), *Hatfield MSS Cal.* VII, 347 (Aug. 12).

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His decision to marry was doubtless not devoid of ambition of a sort, since his new wife was the only daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, from whom his son-in-law, after incessant quarreling, eventually received in common with his wife the great house and lands that had been Sir Thomas More's, and that made Gorges for a time owner of the greater part of Chelsea. But if he had accomplished the almost unbelievable feat of finding a second father-in-law quite as unprincipled, contentious, and seemingly unbalanced as his first, he appears to have won in Elizabeth Clinton a wife of loyalty and of force, whom he speaks of always with loving consideration and admiration.[52]

The Islands Voyage of 1597 was his one great adventure. He served, he reports, as captain of Ralegh's ship, the Wastspight.[53] At the difficult Fayal landing he volunteered for the march on the town, and, when two of the party were killed, others hurt, and Ralegh himself shot through breeches and sleeves, Gorges received a shot, "but a flesh-wound, but the bullet did burne both my silke stocking and buskin." It is significant for the bond between the cousin that when Ralegh tells the tale, seventeen years after the event,sin his *History of the World*, he singles out Sir Arthur Gorges for mention as "shot in that march."[54] This reference makes practically certain the otherwise likely ascription to Ralegh of the "W. R." sonnet prefixed to Gorges' *Pharsalia* (1614):

> Had *Lucan* hid the truth to please the time,
> He had beene too vnworthy of thy Penne:
> Who neuer sought, nor euer car'd to clime
> By flattery, or seeking worthlesse men.
> For this thou hast been bruis'd: but yet those scarres

[52] *Hatfield MSS Cal.* X, 332; Gorges' will, below. See Davies, *Chelsea Old Church*, 125 (on which cf. Chancery C 2 Jas. I, G 3/12, 1622.)

[53] Though Gorges is not named as captain in any official list (Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts of Sir W. Monson*, II, 39, n.) he and Purchas put him forth as such (*Islands Voyage*, title and 70 f.) and White corroborates (*Sidney Papers* II, 74) with his "only 9 Knights made; Egerton, Arthur Gorge, Vavesor, ... but none of your other Captens."

"Warspite" is often the printed form of the ship's name, but the usual form in manuscript accounts is "Wastspite" (including Gorges' *Islands Voyage*, his and Essex's holograph letters—Hatfield MSS Cal. VII, 368, 439—and many other documents). Possibly an original *Wastspite* (*Wasp-spite*?) wore down to *Warspite*.

[54] *Islands Voyage*, Purchas, 88; Ralegh, *Hist. of World*, Bk. V, ch. 1, sec. 9.—Gorges wrote from Fayal to Cecil, *Hatfield MSS Cal.* VII, 395; the mentioned enclosure is missing.

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Do beautifie no lesse, then those wounds do
Receiu'd in iust, and in religious warres;
Though thou hast bled by both, and bearst them too.[55]

Gorges' fervency as interpreter and special pleader for his kinsman, in the several episodes that gave Ralegh's enemies their chance to undermine him with Essex, sounds clearly throughout the *Relation of the . . . . Iland Voyage* which he wrote (Purchas says in 1607), probably as an attempt to win favor for his fallen leader in the Tower. Despite his obvious partisanship, Gorges speaks always with sympathy and respect—probably only partly politic—for Essex: he emphasizes "our General's" friendly dependence on Ralegh even as the jealousies "buzd into his eares," and he regrets the "bright shining felicitie" that was eclipsed at Essex's death, "whereof I was a teary eye wittnes," as an unprinted version adds.[56]

To this venture Gorgès owes his knighthood, he being one of the nine so honored, in October, 1597.[57] To Essex's conspiracy he owes the £1200 granted him from Catesby's fine. Few public events mark the five years following his return from the Azores. He was still pensioner in 1598;[58] he served for the last time in parliament in 1601; in that year he helped Ralegh who was "laboring like a mule" to entertain Biron at the Beargarden and at Westminster among the monuments, and who recommended Gorges and Sir Arthur Savage for further service as guides, because they spoke French well.[59]

But when next these three appear together, it is to ruinous effect: Savage and Gorges are among those arrested in connection with the "bye plot" of 1603. Cobham, at Ralegh's trial, cleared Gorges, though with equivocal compliment: "Being examined of Sir Arthur Gorge, he freed him saying, they never durst trust him; but Sir Arthur Savage they intended to use, because they thought

[55] The sonnet is printed as Ralegh's in Hannah's *Poems of Raleigh*, 1892, 30, and other editions. Refusal to flatter is a favorite theme of Gorges; preface to *Islands Voyage*; Ballard MS 52; "To the Reader," *Olympian Catastrophe*; New Year's Verses, etc.

[56] *Islands Voyage*, Purchas, 69, 92, 116; Ballard MS 52.

[57] Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*; *Sidney Papers*, II, 74, Oct. 29, 1597. The fleet had arrived at Plymouth about Oct. 24–6, Cadwallader, *Career of Essex, 1597–1601*, 20; Tanner MS 76, f. 1 ff.

[58] Ct. of Requests, Proc. 28/54, Gorges vs. Sanderson concerning debt.

[59] *Hatfield MSS Cal.* XI, 382, pr. Edwards, *Life of Ralegh*, II, 233.

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him a fit man."[60] Some versions of the trial, printed and manuscript, here give the name of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, (who had had his own unhappy day at Essex's trial two years earlier); but Arthur Gorges is the man.[61] Evidently his part had been at least cautious: Copley reports that he, like George Brooke, "was turn'd cleane from vs to my Lord Graye awayting his daye;"[62] Edmondes described him as very obedient to Cecil's commandment when apprehended by Sir Richard Mompersons (Mompesson). After imprisonment and examination he was released, probably with Cecil's aid, for which Lady Elizabeth begged her kinsman in three agitated and affecting letters written between Friday and Sunday.[63] But even then Gorges was unable to breathe with the ease of them that have free souls; in a letter endorsed 1603, he wrote to the Council:

When I was att Richmond before yo:r honors; itt pleased my Lord Chamberlayne and my Lord Cecyll to will mee to sende for those papers that S:r Richard Monpenson tooke out of my Studye; whereof y^e^ greatest parte ar returned mee; . . . . but I doe fynde sum*m* wantinge w:^ch^ nowe

[60] Cayley, *Life of Ralegh*, II, 28, 36; State Papers Dom. Jas. I, IV, 83; *State Trials*, ed. Stephen, 1899, I, 24. Edward's *Life*, I, 396, here reads "Sir Ferdinando Gorges" as does Harl. MS 39, 277b.

[61] State Papers Dom. Jas. I, II, 46 (Edmondes reports Sir Arthur Gorges apprehended); *Cal. State Papers Venetian* X, p. 71 (Scaramelli, July 30, reports among the imprisoned "Artur Gorgeartur Selvago"); Addit. MS 6787, f. 111b (a list in one of Harriot's papers, seemingly in his hand): S.W.R., L. Gray, L. Cobham, M. G. Brooke, S. Ar. Gorge, S. Ar. Sauadge, S. Griffin Marcum.

[62] State Papers Dom. Jas. I, II, 43 (Gorges' first name omitted); III, 7; Dodd-Tierney, *Church History of Engl.*, 1841, IV, App. I, xv.—Grey was holding off.

[63] Hatfield MSS *102*, 103, 103a, 104, probably mid-July; Edmondes' report of the arrest is dated July 13. Friday morning she writes: "I humblly beseeh you that If any of m^r^ Gorges frendes or kine w:^o^ I heyr ar in trobll; be fonde mor deslouall then the owet or shold be to ther kinge and contrye Let that be no case of geleysy to his trueth or lowallty which I troust in God none shall euer haue pouer goustly to ackuse he hath not byne a faueret of anie of ther fortense and I trost he shall not tast of ther desgrases: If he haue ofended your honor any way I beseh you forgeyt and forgeue it I haue hard him often sayey and wouey that he was hartely sorry for yo:r disfauor towardes him; and the more sorry If he haue giuen Iust cause of ofence to your lo: I should thinck my selfe highly bound to you if yo:r honor wold yelde my sorrowfull and opresed hart that comfort . . . . that by my menes he myght obtayne this his wished desire." She next writes that she will pawn her life for him and begs that he may be a prisoner in his own house by reason of this contagious time of infection; on Sunday she repeats the request, thanking Cecil from her heart for a favorable letter comforting her sorrow, "which hath byne greater out of loue to m^r^ Gorges, then any cause of feare."

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ar of smale moment, havinge relation to former goverment; and beinge in deed but needlesse remembraunces of matters farr better Considered of and ordred since, then my weaknes Could then Comprehend. And as they weare written in a tyme vnsettled when y.e authoritie of the former age surceased, and all Iustice and magistracye was to take newe life, from the power of a newe prince I hoape y.t my humble endevours then dedicated to the service of his Ma:tie and my Countrye; shall not bee taken nor remembred in ill parte .... against mee; y.t doth w:th all dutie and Charitie burye and tread vnder foote all greevaunces and disgraces whatsoever have bynn layd vppon mee since or before. And soe doe humbly desire to bee held in the number of those orderly and respective subiects y.t will never be wantinge in due obedience and honor to those in authoritie; And because y.t in summ places my meaninge maye bee misconstred and I thought to taxe summ men in deed not ment as I Cann truly manifest in y.e plaine exposition of myne owne writtings. I doe therefore humblye beseeche yo:r good Lo:ips y.t those papers as heretiques maye bee Committed to y.e fyer, as y.e fittest enrowlments for records nowe out of date and vnseasonable; and I my selfe (if you please) to bee y.e executioner.[64]

Though by October 1603 he was restored to a position where he could resume pleas to the Lords for redress because of the lost wardship, yet his inconspicuous days date from this moment. His great cousin drops out of the picture; advancement is stopped. Writing to Cecil in 1604, he complains of having been left in the late reign "to a bare ouerthrowne fortune;" "and in this newe age, I am caste behynde all men in preferment, by reason that the daynger and Ielosie of y.e tyme did cast vppon mee suspect; and restraynt from y.e courte, whilst y.e bountie of his Ma:tie was a dealinge."[65] "Crased" in health (doubtless somewhat diplomatically) during this petition-period, with no house of his own, and "still clogd w:th many children"[66] he begs for the lieutenancy of the ordnance, the Portsmouth government, the New Forest, "or anything fit for an honest man."[67] He seizes every opportunity to win grateful notice: after the gunpowder plot he gives warning through his good cousin, Lord Carew, that papists and their wares may be hid in London cellarages as innocent seeming as

[64] *Ibid.*, *188*, 12.

[65] *Ibid.*, *108*, 98.

[66] State Papers Dom. Jas. I, XV, 33 (1605). In April 1606 six of his children are at once "vysyted w.th the mesells, and y.e 7:th deade," wherefore he does not presume to breathe on Cecil, till he has "purged my famelye in a clearer ayre." (Hatfield MSS *116*, 17.) See note 85.

[67] Hatfield MSS *115*, 126 (1606).

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that of his dwelling in the heart of London—for "the fyre is not yet owte of theyr fyngers." A few days later he objects to Cecil that a scaffold for wicked conspirators defiles the fairest gate of Paul's Church, where the late dread and dear sovereign knelt in thanksgiving for the victory over the Spaniards.[68]

His petitions for service with Prince Henry, when the young man was establishing his household in 1610, had some issue, it would seem, in the place of right good trust with his highness that he mentions in 1612, when copyholder of the Prince's manor at Richmond.[69] In April 1610 he urges on the Prince a scheme which will be worth at least £20,000 to the princely coffers, adding advice as to the policy for a Christian state.[70] This bill probably has nothing to do with his project for an office of public register for commercial transactions, which he buttressed with petitions and prospectuses, printed as well as written; letters patent were issued in 1611 to him and to Sir Walter Cope, Cecil's friend, but the plan failed, and the letters were relinquished.[71]

By this time, however, he was enjoying fair prosperity and settled residence at Kew. After a migrant period following his marriage in 1597,[72] he begins about 1601 to refer to his living at

[68] *Ibid.*, *109*, 130; *190*, 34, Jan. 1605/6.—For other matters kept before Cecil cf. *Cal.* XII, 261, 489 (wrongly ascribed to Ferdinando; report on seminary priests, 1602); XII, 581 (two letters—the second properly *97*, 48—Jan. 1602/3, in which he nervously explains that a gift of hangings for Cecil's new house has no trace of servile bribery); *121*, 56, 64 (1607, wardship of Tristram's children; purchase of jewels); State Papers Dom. Jas. I, XLVIII, 7, marked 381 (1609, Lady Kennedy's arrival in distress at his house).

[69] Hatfield MSS *128*, 156 (1610); Harl. MS 7007, f. 440 (to the Prince); Star Chamber Proc. Jas. I, 244/4, Prescott vs. Gorges, 1612.

[70] Harl. MS 7007, f 357; cf. Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl. 1603–1642*, II, 106 (£20,000 the annual expense computed for the Prince's household, 1610).—The reference in Gorges' letter may be to Ralegh; see below p. 668. The letters in Harl. 7007 are printed by Birch, *Life of Henry*, 1760, 146, 163.

[71] State Papers Dom. Jas. I, LXII, 40, Mch. 22, 1610/11; Tanner MS 103, f. 222; Gorges, *The Publique Register for generall Commerce*.—Pat. Rolls 8 Jas. I, pt. 30; State Paper Dom. Warrants XIV, 86, 1623, re-grants the office to Charles Chute.

Gorges' plea that the 1611 office be in Cecil's Britain's Burse had succeeded by 1612, as a printed slip pasted in one of the 1612 copies (Brit. Mus.) shows.

[72] *Hatfield MSS Cal.* VII, 166 (my house without Bishopsgate, 1597); VIII, 192 (my house in Wood Street, 1598); X, 8, 73 (both dated Chelsea 1599/1600); *Sidney Papers*, II, 141; Faulkner, T., *Histor. Description of Chelsea*, 1829, II, 119, Chelsea Parish Register, 1599–1600. In 1599–1600, Lincoln was effecting the purchase of the Chelsea estate from Cecil (State Papers Dom. Eliz. CCLXX, 51;

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Kew, where he had his own house when arrested in 1603.[73] Between 1604 and about 1607 he had a house in the City;[74] but some time before 1607 he had bought "a little cottage" at Kew, pawning for it jewels worth some £1100, which in 1607 he offers to Cecil to be redeemed and purchased at any price which his much-petitioned kinsman thought fair.[75] His copyhold of the royal manor at Richmond, with pastures of more than twelve acres, dated from several years before 1612.[76] From 1606 on he held in fee the Pawton manor in Cornwall; after the death of his nephew William, son of Tristram, he acquired the maternal manor of Budockshead, of which he had held the reversion, though suit in Chancery with his niece Elizabeth intervened.[77] In 1615, at Lincoln's death, he and his wife succeeded to the Chelsea estate.[78]

For some years before this he had been Justice of the Peace in Surrey, and in 1612 is described as such and as "also a Justice of peace or some other great officer within yo*ur* Majesties verge." But his temper was not peaceable, if we can believe his neighbors: William Prescott, a Richmond goldsmith and copyholder, enters into his bill in Star Chamber a description of Gorges as of "such A Contentious violent & turbulent spirite bearinge and boastinge himself of the greatnes of his owne estate & the Countenaunce he hath by beinge within yo*ur* said verge & the multitude of his freinde*s*" that no men of mean quality can live near him without

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cf. *Hatfield MSS Cal.* IX, 75, 426, X, 8). The "new house" may be the smaller western house built after 1597 and later known as Gorges House, or possibly the great house renovated. Cf. Davies, *Greatest House*, Chap. IV, and *Chelsea Old Church*, 119ff.

[73] *Hatfield MSS Cal.* XII, 261; *102*, 104; *86*, 65; *105*, 146; *116*, 17; *117*, 74; *121*, 56, 64; *128*, 156. State Papers Dom. Jas. I, XV, 33, LXII, 40; Star Chamber Proc. Jas. I, 244/4, G 153/24.

[74] Hatfield MSS. *109*, 130, *190*, 34, *115*, 126, letters from Walbrook, 1606 (the last perhaps 1607). The parish register, All Hallows, Bread Street, records the baptism of Carewe, son of Sir Arthur Gorge, "now having a house in this parish," April 18, 1604; the register of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, gives the baptism of Frances, a daughter, Feb. 27, 1605/6 (Harl. Soc. *Registers*, 43, 49).

[75] Hatfield MSS *121*, 64. The jewels are "a table Dyamonde very p*er*fect in all hys corners," £250; 140 "oryent rownde pearles," some £5, some £10; Gorges hopes Cecil will "sett those prysoners att lybertye," engaged as they are for less than £500.

[76] Star Chamber Proc. Jas. I, 244/4 (1612), Jas. I, G 153/24 (1613).

[77] MS Addit. 38170, f. 245b, among papers of Sir J. Caesar; Chancery Affid. 1615, Mich. G 258, Bdl. 1.

[78] Davies, *Greatest House*, 56, 82 ff. Cf. Chancery Affid. 1615, Mich. 705 Bdl. 1, Dec. 14, 1615.

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oppression or violence,—a charge that Gorges takes pains to meet, without full success.[79] Though one can take no stock in the charges thrown about in the long quarrel with Lincoln, and though undoubtedly the greater wrong lay on the side of the disreputable Earl, yet there is a suggestion of individual portraiture in Lincoln's reference to the "deepe rechyng hedd" of his treacherous son-in-law, who was so furiously and desperately bent that none of the sheriffs dared arrest him for danger of their lives. Gorges' retaliations on the "vngratefull myser" are in good round terms: "His crafte; his repugnantie to all humanytye . . . . is not I thinck amongst the hethens to be matched; God bless me from hyme." But it must be said that Gorges' attitude bears marks of comparative moderation, and that he and his wife stand in apparent accord throughout the long wrangles.[80]

When he was free of the Earl's stormy presence, and in possession of his Chelsea property, Gorges' career moved quietly on till his death ten years later, on September 28, 1625. He served as Justice of the Peace in Middlesex and concerned himself with the affairs of Chelsea Church.[81] An interesting controversy was waged in Star Chamber over Gorges' "Lammas grounds,"—his Brickbarn Close and other lands—which should be kept open, it was claimed, as commons at Lammas time.[82] There are other disagreements

[79] *Acts Privy Council*, 1614, Mch. 27. Star Chamber Proc. Jas. I, 244/4 and G 153/24, Prescott and Gorges, 1612, 1613; *ibid.*, 91/29 Lincoln vs. Gorges, 1614. Prescott's charge is similar to one in Lansd. MS 62, f. 215, *c.* 1590.

[80] On Lincoln see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXII, 1927, 444. After a cooperative beginning (*Hatfield MSS Cal.* IX, 75, 426, X, 8, 56) trouble soon arose (X, 312, 324, 332; State Papers Dom. Eliz. CCLXXXIV, no. 80 ff.). Gorges apparently raked up an old tale of Lincoln's pact with the Duke of Norfolk and recent speeches of the Queen's growing tyrannies and familiarity with Essex; Lincoln accused Gorges of "seekyng Naboths Vyneyard by my death and disgrace." In the Star Chamber document, 1614, Gorges complains that Lincoln has brought twelve or fourteen cases against him and his wife within the past fifteen or sixteen years; Gorges is charged with violent resistance to arrest; confused allegations are made on both sides of false witness about a scheme of Gorges' to poison the Earl.

[81] State Papers Dom. Jas. I, CV, 23 (J. P.); MS Addit. 11056, f. 289 (on Lady Dacre's charity and her monument; cf. Davies, *Chelsea Old Church*, 110f.). Signs of activity outside Chelsea are rare: Lady Elizabeth appeared in Queen Anne's funeral procession, 1619 (Nichols, *Progresses*, III, 540); Arthur jr. was knighted at Theobald's in 1621 (Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*); a reference to Sir Arthur Gorges' fishing patent, 1624 (State Papers Dom. Jas. I, CLIX, 85) sounds as if it might concern Sir Ferdinando.

[82] Star Chamber Proc. Jas. I, 160/18, Chancery C. 2, Jas. I, G 2/16 (1618, 1619).

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over property, and conveyances, notably the sale of the great manor to Lord Cranfield in 1619 for £4300; Gorges removed to the smaller house, retaining possession, however, of the More chapel, in the church, where he and his wife are buried, and where an interesting brass now remains, showing him, Lady Elizabeth, and eleven children, all at prayer.[83]

After the disgruntled and contentious records that fill the years after 1590, it is pleasant to find at the end evidences of a kind and careful providence for his children, of which his will in 1625 makes a satisfied mention.[84] The narrow estate for which he taxed an ungrateful James included numerous manors, farms, and houses: three manors in Cornwall, as many in Devon (the Budockshead mansion and the adjoining Agaton manor among them), an interest in Chipping manor in Lancashire, besides all the property at Kew and Chelsea; some in Kensington and Brompton had already been conveyed to his son Arthur. The talkative document reveals a just and likable personality: the affectionate care for his dear daughters; the confidence in his eldest son and executor, who is not to deal strictly or unkindly or pinch his virtuous and noble mother of anything fit "to giue her all contentment"; his moderately expressed disappointment over the three undutiful sons next after Arthur, to each of whom he none-the-less has given an annuity, with hopes of reformation and forgiveness for them[85]:

[83] Davies, *Greatest House*, and *Chelsea Old Church*, passim; both volumes reproduce the brass. For the Latin inscription, copied by Bowack, but not existing now in the Church, see Faulkner, *Chelsea*, I, 234:

In obitum illustrissimi viri Domini
Arthuri Gorges, equitis aurati
Epicedium
Te deflent nati, natae, celeberrima conjux;
Te dolet argutae magna caterva scholae:
At Lucanus ait, se vivo non moriturum
Arthurum Gorges, transtulit ipse Deus.
Aethereas cupiens Arthurus adire per auras,
En, nonus [novus?] ex ejus nomine natus adest.

[84] P. C. C. Clarke, 142, proved Dec. 27, 1625. Ct. of Wards Inq. 75, 70, Dec. 20, 1626; it gives the date of death as Sept. 28, 1625. Burial, Chelsea Parish Register (Faulkner, *Chelsea*, II, 130): "1625. Sir Arthur Gorge, October 10.—Twenty-two persons died of the plague."

[85] For Timoleon's unfortunate end, see *Cal. State Papers Dom. Chas. I*, 1629–31, p. 17, *ibid.*, 1627–8, 1628–9, indices. Davies, *Chelsea Old Church*, 123f.

The seven children alive in 1625 were Arthur, Timoleon, Egremont, Carew, and Henry, sons; Dudley and Elizabeth, daughters. The six sons and five daughters of the brass tally in number with the known records of all the children born to Arthur

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his satisfaction that his personal estate will about clear his debts, which are scrupulously set down even to that due Mr. Nott the mercer for seven or eight yards of black satin, "for the which he hath noe specialty to shew though I be indebted vnto him for it"; the "assured faith and confidence" with which he bequeathes his body to the earth, his soul to the trinity, and requests a burial privately, with divine service in the evening, without pomp or ceremony, "in my Ile in the Church of Chelsey where my friendes shall thinke most fitt"; the eager minuteness with which he dwells on the shapes and sizes of his plate—a great basin and ewer like a cockatrice, two cruets for oil and vinegar made like water tankards, bowls pinked all over, and the "plaine silver tankerd that I vse to drinke in my selfe"; the spice of his phrase when he nips King James, or claims the right "to enioy a feather of myne owne goose" by paying first of all his own debts out of his good farms.

In this will, as once or twice elsewhere, Gorges mentions his study, which was the center of a quieter life between 1603 and 1625 than the records show. His writings during these years are almost the only contact we can trace with his cousin in the Tower. Possibly the release of Ralegh for a profitable western expedition to despoil the Spaniard (which was already being sought in 1610 or before)[86] is at the bottom of Gorges' plea to Prince Henry in April 1610, mentioned above; the virtuous deed there requested will bring Henry "a generall applause of glorie & loue in the worlde"; when that is done, Gorges can propose a matter that will bring him £20,000 a year, without public wrong or the need to solicit Parliament; meantime, in answer to opponents of "your Bill in Parliament," he points out that it is better policy to prevent growing mischiefs than later to have to weed them out by rigorous and bloody means. Ralegh's figure seems to stand in the background. It draws closer (though now as "Ralegh's ghost") in December, 1618, when Gorges and Sir Lewis Stukeley are con-

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and Elizabeth. William, who lived only from 1599 to 1600, was Cecil's godson (*Hatfield MSS Cal.* X, 8, 73, Faulkner, *l. c.*). Daughters Frances and Winifred were baptized May 27, 1608 and Aug. 26, 1612, Surrey Parish Register Soc., Richmond, vol. I. Frances, buried April 6, 1606, was baptized Feb. 27, 1605/6 (n. 74) on which date a cup and cover are listed as a gift at her christening in the expense account of the Earl of Rutland (Hist. MSS Com. XXIV, pt. IV, 459; cf. the "Mr. Gorge" in the same accounts, 1598, 416).

[86] *D.N.B.*, Ralegh.

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fronted and examined, and Gorges committed to his house till the King's pleasure might be known.[87] The great adventurer was two months dead; but Stukeley's petition and his declaration of Ralegh's offences had just been published on November 27. Whatever this connection with Stukeley, Gorges is at least drawn once again into the circle of which Ralegh had formed the center.

The kinship of interest between the two men is obvious in all of Gorges' written work, excepting his translations of Bacon, which were produced after Ralegh's death. Sometimes there is definite relation, as in the W. R. sonnet prefaced to the Lucan. More than that, there is enough evidence in the following summary of Gorges' productions to raise a strong suspicion that the two men, one inside the Tower, the other out, were in some manner collaborating in the effort to recall England to a sense of her greatness on the sea. A straw blowing in that direction is caught in a letter to Harriot in Gorges' hand preserved among the Harriot papers, and covered on the back with mathematical figuring; Gorges asks him to read an accompanying discourse and to call in Mr. Carleton and Mr. Warner as gossips at its baptism. He signs the letter as Harriot's true and loving friend.[88]

The brief survey of Gorges' written work which is all that can be attempted here takes us back to the days of the *Daphnaida*.

I. Early Verse. The lays of love, the plaints of pity, and the sweet *Eglantine of Meriflure*—all named in *Colin Clout* and all of about 1590–1591—are Gorges' "lost poems." We may hope that the one couplet quoted in the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) as by Maister Gorge is not typical:

> All you who read these lines and skanne of my desart,
> Iudge whether was more good, my hap or els my hart.[89]

Ralegh's influence is discernible in the surprising prominence that Gorges enjoys in Colin's list of poets. Spenser has recently received the Gorges patronage when, in 1591, he dedicates *Colin* to Ralegh; and it was Ralegh, we can practically assert, who, in

[87] *Fortescue Papers*, Camden Soc., 73, Naunton to Buckingham. Gardiner seems to suggest that this concerns the Plymouth Company's projects, as the following reference to Captain Smith undoubtedly does; but this allusion to Stukeley and Gorges follows immediately on matter relating to Ralegh's efforts to escape; moreover, Naunton's letter of Nov. 27, p. 67, deals with Stukeley's petition and declaration.

[88] Addit. 6789, f. 538. The catalogue ascription to Ferdinando is an error.

[89] *Arte of English Poesie*, Puttenham (?), ed. Arber, 235.

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1590, brought together in London his protegé and his cousin, then a promising patron enough.[90] Accordingly, as a tribute to both men, Colin names Alcyon early in his list, and allots him eight lines of praise, whereas most of the singing shepherds have but two, three, or four each; only Alabaster, Amyntas, and Daniel outrank Alcyon, and two of them share their lines with ladies. For this eminence, Alcyon can thank the Shepherd of the Ocean.

II. *The Islands Voyage.* This was printed in 1625 by Purchas, who says it was written in 1607 and dedicated to the Prince. Purchas has omitted the epistle to Henry and the preface, to save space; the title and marginal notes, he says, he has added.[91]

Three manuscript copies exist, two with the missing dedication and preface, one, imperfect, beginning near the end of that preface:

Lord Leconfield's MS 83, at Petworth House. (Probably a gift copy from Gorges to Northumberland.[92])

Bodleian Ballard MS 52, f. 64.

State Papers Dom. Jas. I. Add. 36, f. 225. (Imperfect.)

These represent a version amended after Henry's death, for the dedication, reminiscent of past greatness, is to "Noble England, my deare and Natiue Countrey." The title page carries "Fides fortibus, fraus formidolosis."

The possibility is patent that Ralegh shared in the plan to put this out as a document for the defense; whether he had a hand in the writing can be satisfactorily tested only after the Ralegh canon has been more definitely established. Certainly all the evidence points to a first writing after the death of Elizabeth, whether Purchas' 1607 is precise or not. It is tempting to connect this "relation" with the "poore papers" that Gorges sent Cecil on March 12, 1604/5, "to be disposed, altred, or suppressed, as y^{r} honor pleaseth, it is but y^{e} dutye y^{t} I ame tyed vnto before it be prynted. For beinge as y^{r} L: is the Eye of y^{e} state, it wolde argue

[90] He can hardly be called a "chance patron," requesting a poem on a lady Spenser had never seen (Sheavyn, *Lit. Profession in Eliz. Age*, 22).

[91] Purchas, 1907, XX, 34, n. The title in the MS version begins, "A true Relation of the Voyage To the Iles of Azores." The sidenotes are similar, but not identical.

[92] Binding and remains of ribbons are similar to those of Lord Leconfield's MS 48, inscribed "Given by Sir Arthur Gorges." Many of the manuscripts at Petworth House formerly belonged to Northumberland, Ralegh's associate in the Tower after 1605 (Hist. MSS Com. VI, 287).

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greate neglect and presumption in me, to publyshe matters of thys Nature w^th^out y^r^ honorable knowledg and approbation."[93]

III. *Observations & Overtures for a Seafight vppon our owne Coasts, and what kynd of order and disciplyne is fittest to bee vsed .... against the præparations of such Spanish Armadas .... as shall at anie tyme come to .... invade vs.* Unprinted.

This mentions "my father, Sir William Gorges" in an anecdote used also in the *Islands Voyage*. It exists in four manuscripts:

Lord Leconfield's MS 48. ("Given by Sir Arthur Gorges.")
Stowe MS 426.
State Papers Dom. Jas. I. XVII, no. 103.
Lansdowne MS 213, f. 36. ("By W. Gorges" in error on the title page.)

The Stowe MS is a copyist's text revised in Gorges' handwriting, with a new dedication, dated March 1618/19, to Buckingham, just become Lord High Admiral; Gorges claims it as "this pryvate manuscript of myne," which he has taken some pains in collecting; yet this article is followed in Stowe, by a version, amended in Gorges' own hand, of Ralegh's Orders to his fleet for the last Guiana expedition (V).[94]

The work is doubtless Gorges' or his in part; but the theme is in Ralegh's vein.

IV. *Obseruations and Ouertures concerning the Royall Nauye and Seaseruice.*

This was printed in 1650 and later as Ralegh's; it is Brushfield's no. 252.[95] But it exists in five manuscripts with the ascriptions indicated:

Lord Leconfield's MS 83 (apparently Gorges' gift) ascribed to Gorges, following a copy of the *Islands Voyage*.
Bodleian Ballard MS 52, f. 122, ascribed to Gorges, following a copy of the *Islands Voyage*.
Lansdowne MS 213, f. 49, ascribed to W. Gorges, in one article with the *Sea Fight* (III) and with Ralegh's *Orders* (V).
Harley MS 4311, ascribed to Sir Arthur Gorges.
B. M. Addit. MS 9298, ascribed to Ralegh.

[93] Hatfield MSS *104*, 85.

[94] The *Seafight* is likewise followed by Ralegh's *Orders* in the other three manuscripts.

A letter of Gorges, July 1619, expostulates with Buckingham for not listening to some important communication (Hist. MSS Com. II, 55, Fortescue MSS).

[95] Brushfield, T. N., *Bibliog. of Ralegh*, 1908. The title of these Observations in the 1650 edition, etc., is (*Excellent*) *Observations and Notes Concerning the Royall Navy*. . . .

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Speaking of the *Islands Voyage*, Purchas says in his 1625 edition, "Hee [Gorges] added also Notes touching the Nauie Royall."[95]

The treatise contains a passage practically the same as one in Ralegh's famous letter to the Prince on the model of a ship, and another like one in *The Invention of Ships*.

"Two heads together" is a possible way out of the tangle.

V. *A Forme of Orders and Directions . . . . [for] Conducting a Fleete through the Narrow Seas.*

This was printed as Ralegh's in 1618 and later; it is Brushfield's no. 130. It is a generalized modification of Ralegh's Orders of 1618. But it exists in four manuscripts, in each instance following Gorges' *Seafight*:

Lord Leconfield's MS 48 (marked as Gorges' gift).

Stowe MS 426, a copyist's text, March 1618/19, corrected in Gorges' hand, and claimed as his own (see III).

State Papers Dom. Jas. I. XVII.

Lansdowne MS 213, ascribed to W. Gorges.

Gorges may have some claim as collaborator to these famous Orders.[96]

VI. *A Breefe Discourse tendinge to y^e^ wealth, and strength of this Kingedome of Greate Brittayne. Written to . . . . Henrie Prince of Wales.* By S^r^ Arthur Gorges Knight. Fides fortibus, Fraus formidolosis. Unprinted.

This is a beautifully written and decorated manuscript, preserved among Henry's copy books, at Trinity College, Cambridge: MS R. 7.23 (James' No. 762). It has Gorges' signature and the date 1610.

Under cover of advice as to how to serve his country and ease the cumbers of the King, this frankly criticizes extravagance, lavish honors, and neglect of trade, of preparedness, and of old fighters in favor of novices or cowards.

The theme connects it with Ralegh's interests, and also with Gorges' letter of April 1610, noted above.

VII. New Year's Verses to the King, the Queen, and the Prince, with devices exquisitely drawn and illumined.

These were printed by Brydges, *Restituta*, 1816, IV, 506 ff. They now form a separate volume, MS Royal 18 A XLVII. They bear Gorges' signature and the date January 1, 1609/10. One

[96] On the orders see Hannay, D., *Mariner's Mirror*, 1913, p. 212.

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unit, of ten lines, is printed as Gorges' by Hannah in *Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh . . . . and other Courtly Poets*, 1892, p. 183.

VIII. *The Publique Register for generall Commerce. A Trve Transcript and Publication of His Maiesties Letters Pattent. . . . . Whereunto is annexed an Ouerture and explanation.* By Sir Arthur Gorges, Knight. Printed for Iohn Budge, 1611.

A second edition, 1612, carried an addendum to meet "some misreports . . . . to the preiudice of the Office."

IX. *The Olympian Catastrophe.* By Sir Arthur Gorges, Knight. Fides fortibus, fraus formidolosis. 1612.

This was printed in 1925, by Randall Davies, somewhat imperfectly, from his earlier transcript from the manuscript, which is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library. It recounts Henry's death in pseudo-Spenserian manner, and shows connection, in the tale of a rainbow seen by night, with the *Islands Voyage.* There are prefatory and concluding verses by Gorges.[97]

X. *Lvcans Pharsalia.* Translated into English verse by Sir Arthur Gorges Knight. Fides fortibus fraus formidolosis. London, T. Thorp, 1614.

Other copies, also 1614, were printed for Edward Blount and W. Burre.

The dedicatory letter, to the Countess of Bedford, is surprisingly set forth by Carew Gorges, then ten years old, who says he saw this poem lying idly in his father's study, amongst many other of his manuscripts, and recalled his *Pueriles*: "Voluntas, vbi desunt vires, est laudanda." He asked to have it to present to his Lady and Mistress, and when his father objected that it was not fair enough written, the boy replied that he would get it printed with the help of his schoolmaster. Thus he flutters with his father's feathers.

Verses to the translator are signed by W. R., S. S., A. I., T. W.

XI. *The Wisdome of the Ancients.* Francis Bacon. Done into English by Sir Arthur Gorges Knight. London. Iohn Bill. 1619.

This is the first English version of the *Wisdom of the Ancients.* It had frequent editions up to 1705. It is reprinted by Singer in his edition (1857) of the *Essays with the Wisdom of the Ancients.*

[97] The sonnet "To the Reader" (No praise for Poesie do I affect) was appropriated by or for Sir Arthur Gorges the younger, as his contribution to *Lachrymae Musarum*, 1650, on the death of Henry Lord Hastings. (Pr. Brydges, *Brit. Bibliographer*, III, 134 ff.)—The closing sonnet is the lamentation of Richmond, where Gorges resided.

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XII. *Essays Moraux.* François Bacon. Traduits en François par le Sieur A. Gorges, Chevalier Anglois. Jean Bill. Londres. 1619.[98]

All that remains of this body of writing was produced under the first Stuart, during Ralegh's captivity and Gorges' period of eclipse; but it reflects the romantic, national, imperial, and intellectual ardors of their prime, when they were fellow courtiers, poets, and adventurers against Spain.*

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[98] I find no other traces of contact with Bacon except possibly through a Cooke (or a Meautys?) connection (p. 649, and n. 15), and an anecdote told of "Mr. Gorge, one of my Lord Chancellor's men," which might fit a son of Sir Arthur's (Bacon, *Works*, ed. Spedding, VII, 182).

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* I take this opportunity to thank those who have helped me to trace and examine Gorges' letters and papers: especially the Marquess of Salisbury, and Lord Leconfield, for permission to consult manuscripts in their collections; the Reverend Stanhope Lovell, Librarian at Hatfield House, for most generous service; Brigadier-General Edmund Howard Gorges, and Colonel the Right Honorable George A. Gibbs for helpful response to inquiries, and particularly Mr. Raymond Gorges, of University, Virginia, and Onteora, New York, for information and cordial interest.

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XXXVII

SPENSER AND BRUNO

RECENT research into the sources of the philosophical ideas incorporated by Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*[1] necessitates the re-raising of an old question, never satisfactorily answered: Did Spenser read Bruno? The external evidence—Bruno's residence in England during the years 1583–5, the London publication of his Italian works, the dedication of his *Spaccio* and his *De gl' Heroici Furori* to Sir Philip Sidney—has long rendered the supposition initially attractive. Moreover the community of Neoplatonic elements in Bruno and Spenser, together with a certain affinity between the theme of the cantos of Mutability and Bruno's *Spaccio*, added color to the hypothesis. But in the absence of more specific documentation the suggestion of Bruno's influence upon Spenser has properly retained the status of a mere possibility. It is the primary purpose of this paper to adduce certain further considerations which in my opinion lend a considerable weight of probability to an affirmative answer to the question. Secondarily, my object is to conduct a pacific polemic against Mr. Greenlaw's thesis that certain portions of the *Faerie Queene* are animated by a spirit of Lucretian scepticism at odds with that Christianized Neoplatonism which has commonly been recognized as Spenser's sole philosophy. My contention is that to a right reading there exists no such antithesis as that which Mr. Greenlaw finds between the main tenor of Spenser's philosophy and the philosophical implications of the passages in question, and that a means of reconciling their apparent incompatibility and saving Spenser from a charge of inconsistency too gross even for poetic license to condone, is the postulate of a Bruno influence.

It will be remembered that in the Garden of Adonis (*F. Q.* III, VI) Spenser depicts allegorically the condition of souls prior to birth in the

> first seminary
> Of all things that are borne to live and dye (Stanza 30),

where they wait until Old Genius, the porter of the garden, shall clothe them "with sinfull mire" and send them forth

> to live in mortall state,
> Till they agayn return back by the hinder gate (Stanza 32).

[1] See especially Professor Greenlaw's article, "Spenser and Lucretius," *Studies in Philology*, xvii, 437 seq.

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The setting is, as Mr. Greenlaw notices, sufficiently Platonic, recalling in many significant details the myth of Er in the tenth book of the *Republic*. But now in Stanza 36, without, be it noted, the slightest break or transition to give evidence of a change of intention on the poet's part, we encounter the ultimately Lucretian conception, upon which Mr. Greenlaw largely bases his very plausible suggestion of a Lucretian influence, of "An huge eternall Chaos," the source of matter, from which all things "borrow matter whereof they are made." This matter or "substaunce," as Spenser styles it, is eternal, surviving the passing of the individual, undergoing various changes of "hew," donning "sondry formes," "Meet for her temper and complexion."

Mr. Greenlaw has discussed this conception of "substaunce" at some length, and has sought to show its identity with the Lucretian atom as the changeless substratum underlying and bestowing permanence upon a world of perpetual change. Upon the basis of this identification Mr. Greenlaw grounds his inference that Spenser is following Lucretius in a materialistic interpretation of Nature, according to which the reality of things is derived from their ultimate material substance while all their other so-called qualities and attributes are reduced to the status of transitory and epiphenomenal appearances. So interpreted, the passage is not only in startling contradiction to the general tenor of Spenser's philosophy of Nature, but is in jarring opposition to the spiritualistic implications of the immediately preceding description of the pre-existing souls awaiting birth in the garden.

We are apparently confronted here with a dilemma: Either Spenser is not espousing orthodox Lucretianism or he is guilty of what at best must be called an appalling incongruity. In the first case we are left without an adequate explanation of the parallelism with Lucretius of which Mr. Greenlaw has reminded us.[2] The even more difficult alternative is that we are asked to believe that a poet of Spenser's intellectual stature could so far forget his purposes as completely to negate them within the limits of a single stanza, and that too in the case of doctrines which from their repeated occurrence throughout his writings (in the *Fowre Hymnes*,

[2] That Mr. Greenlaw has made his case for the presence of a Lucretain influence upon the Garden of Adonis is I think perfectly clear. Not only are some of the philosophical ideas ultimately derived from the *De Rerum Natura*, but in some instances there are verbal parallels, though I can not follow Mr. Greenlaw the whole of his way in this last.

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for example, and as we shall later see in the cantos of Mutability) must be assumed as fundamental to the fabric of his belief.

I have suggested that a possible escape from this dilemma can be effected through the assumption of a borrowing of certain elements from the philosophy of Giordano Bruno, in whose system an attempt is made to reconcile precisely that contradiction between spiritualism and materialism in which Spenser seems to be involved. It was Bruno's continual attempt to combine the Lucretian account of a changeless material substance with the Platonic doctrine of the changelessness of spiritual substance.[3] According to Bruno's maturest insight, matter and form are alike eternal aspects of a unity transcending both. This was the position that Bruno had reached in his *Spaccio de la Bestia trionfante* of 1584, after abandoning his earlier Democritean heresy that the material alone is real.[4] But Lucretius retained his hold upon Bruno's philosophical affections, as attested by the frequent citations and imitations.[5]

Bruno's fusion of Platonic and Lucretian doctrines attains focal clarity in a passage in the dedication to his *Spaccio*[6] in which Bruno renders explicit his doctrine of the two substances. The language in some respects recalls Spenser's in the Garden of Adonis, and there follows directly an allegorical exposition of the theory of the transmigration of souls with which Spenser's picture of the preexisting souls is at any rate entirely compatible. What I wish to direct attention to is the explicit reconciliation of just those elements which as they occur in Spenser have led Mr. Greenlaw to assume that Spenser was breaking with his Platonic faith. From the nature of the case no positive proof of Spenser's knowledge of Bruno is forthcoming; what is here offered is a certain degree of confirmation of an inherently not improbable hypothesis, the acceptance of which would relieve the contradiction to which attention has been drawn.

[3] Bruno's changes of attitude toward the problem of the relation of matter and spirit are outlined in Höffding's note, *Hist. Mod. Philosophy*, I, 508.

[4] *Opere Italiane*, ed. Lagarde, p. 246–7, "la materia sola essere la sustanza de le cose."

[5] Of these imitations one of some interest from the present point of view is the free translation of the opening lines of the *De Rerum Natura*, occurring in the *Spaccio*, Lagarde p. 426, lines paraphrased also by Spenser who utilizes them for the lover's prayer in the temple of Venus, (*F. Q.* IV, x, 44).

[6] Lagarde p. 409. For an interesting supplement cf. Lag., p. 238.

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The passage from the *Spaccio* is as follows:

Conosce che dell'eterna sustanza corporea (la quale non e denihilabile, ne adnihilabile: ma rarefabile, inspessabile, formabile, ordinabile, figurabile, la compositione si dissolve, si cangia la complessione, si muta la figura, si altera l'essere, si varia la fortuna; rimanendo sempre quel che sono in sustanza gl' elementi: et quell' istesso che fu sempre perseverando l'uno principio materiale, che e vera sustanza de le cose, eterna, ingenerabile, incorrotibile. Conosce bene che dell'eterna sustanza incorporea niente si cangia, si forma, o si difforma: ma sempre rimane pur quella, che non puo esser detta morire: perche morte non e altro che divortio de parti congionte nel composto, dove rimandendo tutto l'essere sustantiale (il quale non puo perdersi) di ciasuna; cessa quell' accidente, d'accordo, di complessione, unione, et ordine.

With this compare Spenser's statement in the Garden of Adonis that the matter from which things are made is eternal:

> That substaunce is eterne and bideth so;
> . . . . But chaunged is, and often altered to and froe,

and his immediate correction of an error that might arise in interpreting the last clause, by the assertion that

> The substaunce is not chaunged nor altered,
> But th' only forme and outward fashion;
> For every substaunce is conditioned
> To chaunge her hew, and sondry formes to don,
> Meet for her temper and complexion:

With these last words[7] compare especially Bruno's "si cangia la complessione, si muta la figura . . . . ."

The doctrine of the indestructibility of matter here propounded Bruno unquestionably derived from Lucretius, but there are certain peculiarities of expression in his exposition which are alien to the *De Rerum Natura*. The point to observe is that these peculiarities recur in Spenser: for example, the word *substance* is not employed by Lucretius; it is Bruno's word and, as we have seen, Spenser's. The same is true of *complexion*. But the significance of the passage is not exhausted until attention has been directed to its emphatic declaration of the correlative doctrine of the indestructibility of *sustanza incorporea*. Here we have to do with *substance* in the Platonic and Aristotelian sense, spiritual substance or form, the reality of which is implicit in Spenser's description of the

[7] Mr. Greenlaw well compares Lucretius, Bk. II, v. 1002 ff, where the phrase "formas mutentque colores" is striking. A reading of Bruno's borrowings from Lucretius may well have sent Spenser back to his original.

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Garden and explicitly stated in his often quoted line, "For soule is forme and doth the bodie make." This conception of spiritual substance, it need hardly be said, is frankly opposed to the nominalistic materialism of Epicurus and his school, and I am not aware that any thinker before Bruno found room for the two substances within one system.[8] That Spenser should append to his account of the Garden a proclamation of the changeless eternity of matter and feel conscious of no contradiction, is rendered easily intelligible by the supposition of Bruno's influence.

I wish now to discuss another aspect of the Spenser-Bruno question concerning which more has been written. I refer to the possibility that the cantos of Mutability display traces of Bruno's influence. An English scholar[9] has called attention to some of the common elements between these cantos and the *Spaccio*:[10] the conclave of the gods, a certain "playing with large conceptions of change and recurrence." But Mr. Elton does not develop the parallel in detail, nor does he attempt to connect Spenser's discussion of Mutability with the view of nature that pervades the poet's other writings. The postulate of Bruno's influence, though by no means so strongly demanded here as in the Garden of Adonis, is nevertheless sustained by the foregoing arguments for Spenser's knowledge of the *Spaccio*, and may be further supported by adducing certain neglected points of similarity between these cantos and the *Spaccio*.

It has not, I think, been observed by any of the critics that there is a strong formal similarity between the plea of Mutability in Spenser and the plea of Fortuna, in the *Spaccio*, for her right to fill the place in heaven left vacant by the expulsion of the Great Bear.[11] It is to be remembered that the consanguinity of Fortuna and Mutability is emphasized by Spenser in the opening lines of the Mutability cantos by his use of the image of the wheel:

> What man that sees the ever-whirling wheele,
> Of Chaunge, the which all mortall things doth sway, ...

In both cases a goddess of inconstancy pleads her rights to cosmic recognition and her case is cast.

[8] Plato in the *Timaeus* combines Atomism with the Doctrine of Ideas, but matter for him is no substance.

[9] Oliver Elton, "Giordano Bruno in England," in *Modern Studies*, Lond. 1907.

[10] Mr. Elton cites also an interesting parallel from Bruno's *De gl' Heroici Furori*, see his article, pp. 33–4.

[11] Lagarde, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 482–6.

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Secondly there is a closer parallelism than has been explicitly noticed between the *Spaccio* and the crucial passage in the second canto of Mutability (stanza 58) in which Nature by rendering her verdict sets to rest the division between her daughter Mutability and the gods. The *Spaccio* opens with an extended discussion of the rôle of change in the world, and Sophia has small difficulty in persuading her respondent Saulino that the principle of change, operating through the coincidence of contraries, is ubiquitous. This conclusion is expressed in the emphatic words: "il principio, il mezzo, et il fine; il nascimento, l'aumento, et la *perfettione* di quanto vegiamo, e da contrarij, per contrarij, ne contrarij, a contrarij."[12] The same thought is rendered by Spenser through the mouth of Nature, where the emphasis falls upon the perfection of the being of a thing through its cycle of alterations, a conception ultimately deriving from Aristotle:

> I well consider all that ye have said,
> And find that all things stedfastnesse do hate
> And changed be; yet being rightly wayd,
> They are not changed from their first estate;
> But by their change their being do dilate,
> And turning to themselves at length againe
> Do work their owne *perfection* so by fate . . . .

Nature's decision up to this point is thus philosophical and in accord with the spirit of Bruno's naturalism. In the stanzas that follow, however, Spenser remembers his religion, causes Nature to patch on a Christian prophecy of a time when "none no more change shal see" and adds in his own person a prayer that he may be vouchsafed "that Sabaoths sight." But neither in his philosophy nor in his religion does he grant the victory, as Mr. Greenlaw suggests, to natural law in a Lucretian sense.

I am thus unable to accept Mr. Greenlaw's suggestion of a Lucretian source for the cantos of Mutability. But there remains unnoticed a consideration which to my reading is fatal to Mr. Greenlaw's argument. The cosmology of the cantos is that commonly received in Spenser's day, *i. e.*, Ptolemaic-Aristotelian.[13]

[12] Lagarde, p. 420 (italics my own).

[13] That Spenser is adhering to his customary astronomy is well shown by the cross-reference to *F. Q.* V, prologue, 8. "But most is Mars amisse of all the rest," as suggested by Sebastian Evans, (*Macmillan's Mag.*, Vol. XLII). Curiously enough Mr. Greenlaw appears to have forgotten his own earlier statement (*Studies in Classical Philology*, XVII, 331) that Spenser's theory of the Cosmos as set forth

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The sublunary world of change with the four elements as the "groundwork" (VII, VII, 25), the "sundry motions" of the "spheares" (VII, VII, 55),—I fail to see what all this has to do with the infinite inane and the ruining atoms of Lucretius. In the name of historicity let us preserve some distinction between Aristotle and Epicurus.

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in the cantos of Mutability and elsewhere, is "Ptolemaic and Aristotelian." It is one of the ironies of criticism that the writer in Macmillan's above quoted, was so far from finding in the cantos of Mutability an innovating break with ancient cosmology as to suggest that they constitute an indirect refutation of Bruno's exposition of the Copernican astronomy.

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XXXVIII

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, GOVERNMENT AGENT

THE following paper, as its title implies, does no more than make a few observations upon Marlowe's possible life as a Government Agent. In other words, it does not set out to prove any point, for the simple reason that probably we shall never find out anything for certain in the life of Marlowe as a spy, or in the life of any other spy, the doings of such people being, in the nature of the case, "wrop in a mistry."

These observations would never have been made, if it had not been for two books: *viz.*, Mr. Leslie Hotson's *Death of Christopher Marlowe* and Mr. Conyers Read's *Sir Francis Walsingham.* I have to thank those two authors, not only for all the facts—or almost all—upon which the following observations are based, but for having given me two most interesting books to read.

A. The Privy Council Document, June 29th, 1587.

I quote the full text of the following document as it was for the first time printed by Mr. Hotson, except that the italics are mine. The document is endorsed by five members of the Privy Council, viz. Archbishop Whitgift, Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Burleigh and Sir James Crofts. Mr. Hotson proves satisfactorily that (1) it is addressed to Cambridge University (I would narrow the field and say Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), and (2) it refers to Marlowe, the poet.

June 29th, 1587.

Whereas *it was reported that Christopher Morley was determined to have gone beyond the seas to Reames and there to remaine;* their Lordships thought good to certefie that *he had no such intent,* but that in all his accions *he had behaved him selfe orderlie and discreetlie,* wherebie *he had done her Majestie good service* and deserved to be rewarded for his faithfull dealinge: their Lordships request was that *the rumor thereof should be allaied by all possible meanes,* and that he should be furthered in the degree he was to take this next Commencement: Because it was not her Majesties pleasure that *anie one emploid as he had been in matters touching the benefitt of his Countrie* should be *defamed by those that are ignorant in th' affaires he went about.*

The gist of this document is that Marlowe had been recently employed on government work by the Privy Council. Its purpose is to help Marlowe towards "proceeding M. A." at Cambridge in

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the forthcoming July. In that it succeeded at once. Marlowe's *supplicat* for his M. A. stands in the University Grace Books for July, 1587, endorsed by the Master and Praelector of his College, Benet, or Corpus Christi, College. Mr. Hotson, by reference to the Bursar's Books of Corpus, concludes that the period during which Marlowe was employed as a government agent lies probably between February and July of 1587, as he was absent from the college throughout that time. Inasmuch as his name is never entered on the Bursar's books after February, 1587, we may take it that Marlowe never returned to residence at Corpus after that month.

From this document it appears further that certain persons at Cambridge, who were ignorant of the fact that Marlowe during his absence from the University had been employed by the Privy Council, charged him (1) with being disorderly and indiscreet and (2) with having left Cambridge for Rheims with the intention of staying there for good.

To begin with the first charge. Mr. Hotson regards this as merely ignorant and ill-natured gossip. I myself think that it was a specific and official charge, (or, at any rate, an objection urged by the college against forwarding Marlowe's claim for an M. A.). By leaving Cambridge (apparently suddenly and without permission) in February and remaining away for several months, Marlowe had broken the terms whereby he held his scholarship at Corpus, i.e. he was not to absent himself from college for more than one month a year, and then only with permission. He was bound by these conditions until Mar. 25th, 1587. Even before 1587, he had been frequently absent from Cambridge after taking his B. A. in 1584, and probably had nowhere near completed nine terms residence, and had, *ipso facto*, disqualified himself from "proceeding M. A.," as he would ordinarily have done in the forthcoming July. In other words, Corpus Christi College refused to present his *supplicat* for an M. A. on the ground of absence without leave. The Privy Council Document somewhat arbitrarily over-rides this objection.

The second charge is more serious. As we shall see, it is tantamount to charging Marlowe with having turned, or intending to turn, Roman Catholic. The Privy Council arbitrarily dismisses this charge, too, as a rumor. On the question whether Marlowe had actually been in Rheims, its language is (I think, studiously) ambiguous. We can interpret it in two ways: *viz.*, (1) Marlowe

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had *never* been in Rheims, or (2) he *had* been in Rheims, but had never intended staying there. In either case, the Privy Council wished all talk about Marlowe and Rheims to cease forthwith. Whether he had been there or not, he had been employed on government service. It is hard, then, to decide from the document whether Marlowe had been in Rheims, but inasmuch as a specific charge had been made by the College authorities to which the Privy Council returned an ambiguous answer, we might suppose that Marlowe had possibly been in Rheims—or, at any rate, overseas. How the College authorities came to the conclusion that he had gone to Rheims "there to remaine," we may guess later.

How did this document find its way to Cambridge? Mr. Hotson thinks that on returning from overseas Marlowe went back to Cambridge, demanded his M. A. and, being coldly received, hurried up to London and procured a certificate of character from his employers with which he returned in triumph to Cambridge. To each man his own view. Marlowe never returned to complete his residence at Corpus, though his scholarship was kept open during his absence for him to complete his terms, and no appointment was made in his place until Nov. 1587. When that appointment was made, his name, as former holder of the scholarship, was ominously omitted. He knew, then, that he had forfeited his degree by absence without leave (and, perhaps by going to Rheims). From the fact that the document is dated only a short time before Commencement, I infer that it was forwarded by the Privy Council just in time for the July Commencement, and that Marlowe was awarded his M. A. *in absentia*. In other words, it seems a probable supposition that he left Cambridge for good when, in or about February, 1587, he became a government agent. There would be no need for him to return to Cambridge to bargain for or obtain his M. A., if he wanted it. The Privy Council would see to that for him.

If we are right in concluding that Marlowe, once out of Cambridge and in government service, never returned in person to take his M. A.—then it seems probable that on leaving Corpus without permission in February, 1587, for a prolonged absence, he gave the authorities reason to suppose that he was off to Rheims "there to remaine." Hence their Rheims obsession. Even that, however, would still fail to prove that Marlowe *had* been to Rheims. It is quite possible that he deliberately deceived, or, at any rate, mystified, the College authorities. After all, he was a government agent.

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B. MARLOWE AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

Had Marlowe any leaning towards Catholicism, which might engender suspicion in the minds of the College authorities? Corpus Christi was pre-eminently a Puritan college. Dr. Aldrich, the Master until 1575, had been one of the leading partisans of Thomas Cartwright, the famous Puritan, in the Cartwright-Whitgift controversy, 1569–71. Robert Browne, the founder of the "Brownists," proceeded B. A. from the college in 1576, and in 1580 preached without license in St. Benet's Church, which was then used as the College Chapel.

How far was Marlowe in sympathy with Puritanism and Protestantism? In his plays, Puritan and Protestant are interchangeable terms. His attitude on the question is purely official. *The Massacre of Paris*, for instance, is written against the Duc de Guise, in the popular imagination the fomenter of every plot against England; therefore Marlowe is, officially, on the side of the Protestants. But from the Baines Report (1593) we learn that he stated in private life that all Protestants were "hippocriticall asses." This, probably, represents his real point of view. As a Machiavellian, he would find it easy to reconcile his conscience to saying one thing publicly and believing the opposite in private

He despised Protestants, then, and was presumably out of sympathy with the Puritan atmosphere of Corpus. Was he in favor of Catholicism? Again, in his plays his attitude was official. In *The Massacre of Paris* he perfunctorily attacks the Catholics. In *Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta* he makes fun of friars; but then friars were proverbially disreputable and comic characters on the stage. In the Baines Report, however, he claims that the Papist religion is the only possible one, because there "the service of God is performed with more ceremonyes, as elevacion of the masse, organs, singinge men, shaven crownes, etc.' His associate, Richard Cholmely, is reported as going even further in his sympathies for Catholicism. He had written verses in favor of Papists and Seminary Priests; he had helped them to escape from the country; he hated Topcliffe, the notorious rack-master and torturer of Catholic priests.

We must not press this too far. Primarily, we know, Marlowe was an "Atheist," or what we should call to-day, perhaps, a "free-thinker" or an Agnostic. He associated with Harriott, who called himself a "Deist." In general, he had a contempt for all constituted

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religion. Furthermore, he promulgated many of his religious views out of a desire to give offence. And yet again it may be claimed that, as a spy upon the Seminarists, he may have posed as a friend to Roman Catholicism in order to throw his victims off their guard. Still, the *ritual* of the Catholic Church, if not its *doctrines*, may have appealed to him. We can well imagine him expressing this sympathy at Corpus in order to annoy the Puritan authorities, and thereby bringing upon himself the suspicion of being, secretly, a Catholic.

C. Rheims and Seminarists.

Why should it be a serious offence for a young man to leave Cambridge for Rheims? or to put it another way, why was it "defamation" to say that he had been in Rheims?

In the *Massacre of Paris* Marlowe, answers the question briefly. Speaking of the Duc de Guise, he says

> Did he not draw a sorte of English priestes
> From Doway to the Seminary at Remes
> To hatch forth treason gainst their naturall Queene?[1]

In these three lines, Marlowe imparts a lot of historical information with absolute correctness.

The University at Douai had been founded in 1559 by Philip of Spain for the express purpose of combatting Protestant heresies. To this University came several distinguished Catholic scholars who had been exiled from Oxford on account of their faith. At Douai in 1569 William Allen (later Cardinal) established the famous English Catholic Seminary, which was afterwards responsible for the Douay Bible or, as it is sometimes called, the Rheims Testament. In 1578, owing to a Calvinist reaction in Douai, the English Seminary was forced to leave. Guise and his brother, the Cardinal de Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, offered Allen the hospitality of Rheims. Thither Allen moved the Seminary in 1578 and there it remained until 1593.

The motives that prompted Guise to harbour the English Seminarists were not disinterested. Leader of orthodox Catholicism in France, ally of Philip of Spain and sworn enemy of England, he hoped to utilise the English Seminarists as agents in all his plans against England, particularly in his plans to liberate his niece, Mary Queen of Scots.

[1] *The Massacre at Paris*, vv. 1042–44.

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Accordingly, from 1580 to 1587 Rheims was the centre of almost every plot against England and Elizabeth. In 1580, Campion and Parsons stayed there on their way to England on the first Jesuit mission, in order to collect the latest information about the political situation in the country. In 1583, one George Gifford, cousin to Dr. William Gifford, Professor of Divinity in the Seminary, offered to the Duc de Guise to assassinate Elizabeth for 800 crowns. In 1584 John Savage made a vow to Ballard, a priest in the Seminary at Rheims, to assassinate Elizabeth and crossed over to England to put his vow into execution. He failed to keep it and was later executed with Babington, 1586. In 1585–86 the famous Babington Plot was engineered from Rheims by the priest, John Ballard. After the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, in February of 1587, Guise lost interest in English affairs, and Rheims ceased, to a large extent, to be the headquarters of Catholic plots against England.

It is easy now to see why a young man who left Cambridge without permission on the eve of his M. A. and went (at least, so people had reason to believe) to Rheims "there to remaine," would be viewed with supicion by the Master and Fellows of Corpus. They would draw one or the other of two conclusions, and probably both: *viz.*, (1) he was going to enter the Seminary, (2) he was going to plot against the Queen.

D. Rheims and Cambridge

Rheims gave the academic authorities at Cambridge a good deal of trouble near home. Catholic sympathies were by no means dead among either the dons or the undergraduates. Four colleges in particular were troubled with Catholics—Caius, Peterhouse, King's, Trinity. There was a perpetual leakage of students from their precincts to Douai and Rheims. It generally came to pass in the same way. On the eve of taking his M. A. an undergraduate suddenly departed overseas and was ordained in Douai or Rheims. In 1578 twenty students left Trinity alone for Douai, Louvain and Rome.

The college most troubled in this respect was Gonville and Caius. Until 1558 it had been noted for Puritanism, but in that year Dr. John Caius, of Padua, returned to Cambridge and became Master of the college, which he partially re-founded and which bears his name. He was an open and irascible Catholic and remained Master until 1573. The Fellows of the college were

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unwilling to expel him, as he was a generous benefactor and they hoped to profit by his will. Under his rule, the college became a hot-bed of Catholicism. He gave asylum to Catholic priests (e.g. Dr. Cosyn, the dispossessed Master of Catharine Hall, William King, Marian Archdeacon of Northumberland, Henry Stiles, a monk of Westminster, Richard Hall, a Canon of Cambrai, who died in Douai). Large numbers of the Caius students emigrated overseas to Douai and Rheims and became Jesuits and Seminarists, e.g. John Ballard, the engineer of the Babington Plot (Rheims, 1581), John Fingley or Fingelow (Rheims, 1581; Jesuit martyr, 1586), Robert Sayer (Rheims, 1581; theologian and monk at Monte Cassino), William Flack (Rheims, 1581), William Deane (Jesuit martyr, 1588), Francis Bloundeville (executed, 1592), Richard Holtby (a Jesuit who defied arrest for twenty years), Christopher Walpole (Jesuit and cousin of the martyr, Henry Walpole), Henry Coppinger, Charles Yelverton, Edward Dakyns, to mention only those who afterwards made any stir in the world. Fingley, Sayers and Flack are typical cases. They had been charged with "perverting divers schoolers with papistical books" and absconded on the eve of proceeding M. A. and went straight to Rheims in 1580.[2]

Flack somehow fooled Peterhouse into granting a *supplicat* for his M. A. Here Dr. Perne was Master. He is now chiefly remembered as "old Father Palinode" or "turn-coat Perne," on account of his ease in reconciling his conscience to every change of religion. As Palinode Spenser stigmatises him as a Papist in the May Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calendar*. Under his rule, Catholics were tolerated at Peterhouse. Henry Walpole, poet and Jesuit martyr, 1595 (Rheims, 1581) proceeded B. A. thence in 1579. Among names of men distinguished as Recusants or Catholic priests in later years, we find the following on the Peterhouse books—Yelverton, Paris, Daubney, Remington, Sandys.[3]

The emigration of students from Cambridge to Rheims increased after 1580 and reached its height about 1587. There is a reason for this increase after 1580. Parsons, the famous Jesuit, escaped from England to Rouen after Campion's arrest, and thence reported (Sept. 26th 1581) to Acquaviva, the General of the Jesuits at Rome, on the results of his mission. Amongst other things he

[2] D. N. B. *sub Fingelow, Sayers, Flack*, also J. Venn, *History of Caius College*, pp. 65 ff.

[3] Cf. A. Jessop, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, pp. 63–84.

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reports "At Cambridge I have at length insinuated a certain priest into the very university under the guise of a scholar or a gentleman commoner and have procured him help from a place not far from the town; within a few months he has sent over to Rheims seven very fit youths."[4] The place not far from Cambridge whence this Jesuit agent procured help was, probably, Sawston Hall, six or seven miles away, the home of the distinguished Catholic family of the Huddlestons.

From the confession of the Jesuit Robert Gray (*S. P. Dom.* Oct., 1593) we know how a Jesuit agent worked. Amongst other things he was instructed to divert suspicion from himself by outwardly conforming to the Anglican Church and attending Church Service. By 1592 the solitary agent of Parsons had grown to many, as we gather from a letter sent by the Masters of certain colleges in Cambridge to Burleigh, the Chancellor of the University (Feb. 4th). They know, they say, how to deal with such Papists as "by their malicious and violent speeches and other wise bewrayed themselves." But how are they to deal with "the other kind of Papists that come to church, though notwithstanding little better than the seminaries?" These Papists, declare the Masters, "have done and still do much harm in corrupting of youth. . . . . They lurk in colleges, more in number and more dangerous than commonly is thought, and are less to be tolerated in the Universities (in our opinion) than in any part of the land."[5]

From 1580, then, to 1592 there was a steady emigration of Cambridge students, usually on the eve of their M. A., overseas to Rheims. There were also Jesuit agents in disguise among the undergraduates. The academic authorities kept a watchful eye open both for possible Jesuit agents and possible emigrants to Rheims. When Marlowe, who perhaps had expressed his liking for Catholic ritual somewhat loudly, left without permission on the eve of his M. A., the authorities at Corpus might be pardoned for thinking that he must have gone to Rheims.

If (and I repeat that it can only be a supposition) Marlowe did leave Cambridge for Rheims, he can only have gone there as a spy on the Seminarists. On no other grounds could he receive an endorsement from Archbishop Whitgift and the Privy Council for a sojourn in that city. And if he did leave Cambridge to spy on the

[4] E. L. Taunton, *History of the Jesuits in England*, Chap. V, 88.

[5] Lansd. MS 66, No. 46, as quoted by H. N. Birt, *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, pp. 270–71.

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Seminarists at Rheims, we may say (from an analysis of the procedure of other spies who went thither) that this is more or less how he did it—he ostentatiously announced his liking for Catholic ritual, etc. and so fell in with a Jesuit agent in Cambridge, by whom he was smuggled over to Rheims as a sympathiser, perhaps, even, a possible convert. Once in Rheims with this excellent introduction, he could spy with impunity. And the Master of Corpus cannot be blamed for thinking that he had left Cambridge to stay at Rheims for good.

E. Students and Poets as Spies.

Would the Privy Council employ a Cambridge student as a spy? or would a Cambridge student condescend to become a spy? On this head, consult the case of James Welsh, scholar of Magdalene, Cambridge. Unable, on leaving Cambridge, to obtain a job as a schoolmaster, he became a spy upon the Catholics for Bishop Aylmer of London.[6] Marlowe, then, was not the only Cambridge student who turned spy.

Would a poet and playwright turn spy? The Scotch poet, William Fowler (uncle of Drummond of Hawthornden), was one of Walsingham's spies in Scotland. Anthony Munday, player and playwright, visited Rome, 1578–9, and spied on the English Seminary there, as his *English Romayne Life* shows; he was later associated with the rack-master, Topcliffe, in examining recusants, and later still employed by Archbishop Whitgift to execute warrants against Martin Marprelate. Matthew Roydon, Marlowe's friend and supposed author of *Willobie his Avisa* had some mysterious connection with James VI of Scotland in the reign of Elizabeth. Ben Jonson is suspected (by his biographers, at any rate) of having been a government agent. It is not, then, impossible for a poet to turn spy.

Be it noted, too, that Marlowe was a "Machiavellian" and allowed himself the right "to cloake bad accions with Commonwealthe pretences"—a prevailing characteristic of all "Machiavellians," says Tom Nashe (who knew Marlowe) and a common excuse of spies (v. State Papers, 1580–94, *passim*).

F. Spies in General

Walsingham was the great spy-master. His spies were of all sorts and conditions. William Fowler, the poet, came of excellent

[6] *State Papers*, Domestic, CLXX, No. 44.

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family. Another of his spies was Maliverny Catlyn, a brave soldier and a Puritan, with strong views on the wickedness of stage-plays. Robert Poley had been secretary to Sir Philip Sidney. Others were renegade Seminarists and ex-servants of recusants. Yet others were English merchants living abroad. The great trouble about spies was that they had a tendency to play double and take money from both sides.

Of spies who operated round about Paris and Rheims, the following may be noted:

(1) Dr. William Parry, M. P., fortune-hunter and convicted criminal. He boasted to Burleigh that by his machinations he had "shaken the seminary at Rheims to its foundation." He played a double game, however, and Burleigh got rid of him. In 1585, adopting an old device of spies to inveigle their victims into treason Parry broached a plot for the murder of Elizabeth to a well-known Catholic, Edmund Neville. Neville reported him to Burleigh, who, knowing of Parry's double game, affected to believe in the plot and had him executed.

(2) Aldred, an English tailor living at one time in Lyons. He went to Rome, somehow procured a pension from the Pope and fomented a quarrel between the Jesuits and the Seculars in the English Seminary there. Parry met him in Milan and sent him to Rheims. Whilst there, he fomented trouble in the Seminary, as in Rome, with so much success that he induced Dr. William Gifford, Professor of Divinity, and Father Edmund Grately to open communications with Walsingham and to write against Cardinal Allen.

(3) Gilbert Gifford, a priest in the Seminary at Rheims, cousin of William Gifford and brother of the George Gifford who offered the Duc de Guise to murder Elizabeth. This Gifford was an unprincipled rogue, who played for both sides. Largely through his treachery the Babington Plot was unmasked.

(4) Nicholas Berden (alias Thomas Rogers), a former servant of George Gilbert, a Catholic exile and close friend of Parsons and Campion. He helped in unraveling the Babington Plot. An honest spy, who claimed to be in the business only for patriotic purposes, he was afterwards well rewarded by Walsingham.

(5) Robert Poley (see below, p. 697). He was probably never in Rheims itself. By worming his way into the confidence of Anthony Babington, he helped to expose the Babington Plot.

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He was present in the upstairs room in the Deptford tavern when Marlowe was killed.[7]

If Marlowe was at all connected with spying at Rheims, he *may* have come across Aldred (who was there in 1587), Gilbert Gifford, Nicholas Berden and Robert Poley, either there or in London. Most of these gentlemen, however, seem to have been withdrawn from the Rheims-Paris area after 1586. In 1587 Brussels, Antwerp and the Prince of Parma had become the centre of interest.

G. Sir James Crofts

Mr. Hotson thinks that Marlowe was employed by Walsingham. One reason he gives is Marlowe's connection with the Walsinghams of Kent. But this family, though related to the great Walsingham, were Catholic in their sympathies.

There are I think, two good reasons against Marlowe's being a Walsingham spy; (1) Walsingham did not endorse the Privy Council document of 1587, and (2) four of the Privy Councillors who did, *viz.* Whitgift, Hatton, Burleigh and Crofts, were pursuing a policy abroad which ran counter to Walsingham's. At first, Walsingham was kept in the dark about it, but finally in 1586 he was told of it. He remained critically aloof from the whole policy.

The policy was abortive, but as Marlowe may have been employed upon it, I note it briefly. The moving spirit behind it was Sir James Crofts, always pro-Spanish and probably in the pay of Spain. From 1585 to 1588, Elizabeth and Burleigh, anxious to forestall the sailing of the Armada, were secretly sending out feelers of peace to the Prince of Parma, with whom, openly, they were fighting in the Netherlands. The negotiations were carried on through Sir James Crofts, Morris his servant, William Bodenham (an English merchant at Antwerp, and cousin to Crofts), Lanfranchi and Grafigna (two Italian merchants in Antwerp) Champagny (the French Governor of Antwerp), and de Loo (a Flemish merchant in London). These highly tortuous intrigues ended in smoke, largely because Parma was only playing for time. Their only result was the disgrace and imprisonment of Crofts in 1588.[8]

Inasmuch as Crofts and three of his colleagues in this policy endorse Marlowe's claim for an M. A., it is possible that he was

[7] The above facts with regard to particular spies are taken from Conyers Read, *Sir Francis Walsingham*, II, Chap. XI.

[8] Read, *op. cit.*, III, 127, 145–156, 262–274.

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employed on the peace-manoeuvres with Parma and went to the Netherlands.

A visit to Antwerp may explain how Marlowe came across the Faust legend so soon after the publication of the *Volksbuch* by Spiess in 1587. Note that Faustus speaks of himself as an inhabitant of the Netherlands, refers to the famous "fiery keel at Antwarpes bridge" (1585) and wishes to "chase the Prince of Parma from our land."

H. Another Atheist Spy.

I cannot here resist quoting the description given by Sir Edward Stafford, English Ambassador at Paris, to Walsingham of a young man just arrived at Paris in 1588. His name was Roger Walton, and Stafford did not know, at the time of writing, that he was a spy—a successful one, too, who acquired the confidence of the Duc de Guise and of Father Darbishire, leader of the English Jesuits in Paris.

> He was once ward and, I think, page to my lady Northumberland. He lieth not far from me. . . . . To some he showeth himself a great Papist, to others a Protestant, but as they take him that haunt him most, he hath neither God nor religion, a very evil condition, a swearer without measure and tearer of God, a notable whoremaster. . . . . This Walton, is young, without any hair of his face, a little above twenty, lean-faced and slender, somewhat tall, complexion a little sallowish, most goeth appareled in a doublet of black carke, cut upon a dark reddish velvet.[9]

This portrait, in some respects, is reminiscent of the portraits drawn of Marlowe by scandalised Puritans. Walton otherwise is not Marlowe, of course.

I. Marlowe and Newgate.

We now move forward two years. On Oct. 1st 1588, Christopher Marlowe, described as a gentleman, was summoned to appear personally at the next Sessions at Newgate "to answer all that is alleged against him on the part of our sovereign lady, the Queen." He procured two highly respectable citizens to go bail for him. Nothing further is heard about the case at this time.

But from the Baines Report (1593) we have good reason for believing that Marlowe did land in Newgate in 1588. For there Marlowe is reported as saying that he was acquainted with one Poole, a prisoner in Newgate, who was a coiner; he added that he

[9] Read, *op. cit.*, III, 420.

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meant to profit by Poole's talent for coining. Of course, he may have met him outside Newgate, but the best place for Marlowe, the friend of Raleigh and the Walsinghams, to become acquainted with criminals was *inside* a jail. And as he was committed for the Newgate Sessions in 1588, we may take it that he found his way to Poole in Newgate.

From 1588 to 1593 Newgate Gaol was full of Jesuits and Seminarists, awaiting examination. One received method of inculpating them was to commit spies to jail as recusants and priests and to get them to inveigle their unsuspecting victims into indiscreet confessions. Was Marlowe sent to Newgate for this purpose? and in the course of his manoeuvres among the Seminarists, did he entrap Poole into confession? If he did so, it looks, from the Baines Report, as though he were playing the old spy-game of double-crossing his employers, so far as Poole was concerned (at any rate, in theory).

J. The Baines Report, 1593.

We now move forward another four years to the Atheists' Club and Marlowe's last days. On May 20th, 1593, he was held to bail by the Privy Council; on May 26th, Richard Baines sent in a report upon his sayings to the Privy Council. The veracity of Baines (because he was executed Dec. 6th, 1594) has been impugned. There is no need to do so. Baines is obviously one of Lord Keeper Puckering's spies, set to keep an eye upon Raleigh, Harriott and their "Schola Atheismi." He managed to get Marlowe talking about himself and the club and passes on what he has gleaned for what it is worth.

Most of the things that he reports Marlowe as having said are, as we know from the Cerne investigations of 1594, stock jokes of the Atheists' Club. What is personal to Marlowe is the humor, the coarseness, the frankness of his assertions. Personal, too, we may say, is his sympathy for Papists and their ritual and his vaunt that he had a right to coin money (with Poole's help), if he chose to.

It is obvious from the Baines Report that the Privy Council were going to use Marlowe (almost certainly, a former spy) as a stalking-horse for attacking Raleigh. Marlowe forestalled them by breaking his bail (which confined him to Middlesex) and escaping to Deptford, in Kent, probably with a view to sailing for Scotland.

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At Deptford he fell in with Robert Poley, a Government spy, and was eventually, as every one knows, killed.

K. Richard Cholmely, Spy.

Baines reported that a certain Cholmely had declared to him that he had been converted to Atheism by Marlowe. Another (anonymous) spy later administered two reports on this Cholmely. By implication, both reports confirmed the supposition that Cholmely had been converted to Atheism by Marlowe and then repeated the usual round of blasphemous jokes indulged in by the Atheists' Club.

Leaving aside all that touches on Marlowe and his fellow Atheists' this is the gist of the report on Richard Cholmely:

(1) he was, or had been, a spy upon Seminarists and Recusants, but had taken pay from them and let them escape.

(2) he had written "libellous verses in Commendacioun of constant Priestes and vertuous Recusants."

(3) he hated Topcliffe, the rackmaster, who tortured priests, and had written against Justice Richard Young, the judge who conducted examinations of priests in Newgate.

(4) he declared the Privy Council all to be "Athiestes" and "Machiavillains," and spread slanderous reports about them.

(5) he said that he fooled the Council whenever they employed him, and that he was always extorting money out of them and refusing to work until he got it.

(6) he said that he and his friends were going to set up a king of their own, when Elizabeth died, and make their own laws.

(7) he said that "William Parry was hanged, drawen & quartered but in Jeste, that he was a grosse Asse over reached by Conninge, & that in trueth he nev meante to kill the Queene more then himselfe had."

The last, No. 7, of the above statements is interesting, for historical research has shown that it is correct—Parry *was* over-over-reached by cunning and cynically executed for starting a bogus plot. The general result of the whole list of charges against Cholmely is to show that he was a silly conceited fellow (certainly not a member of the Atheists' Club) with whom Marlowe associated and to whom he spoke somewhat freely; he was, or had been, a spy; he was a disgruntled spy; he was a dishonest spy and he had, or boasted, Catholic sympathies.

As late, then, as May, 1593, Marlowe was associating, appar-

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ently on terms of intimacy, with a man who was, or had been, a spy upon Catholics; a man, who, like Marlowe himself, had, or affected, sympathy with Catholics; with a spy, who in private boasted of fooling his employers. When did this intimacy begin? in Rheims? But with Cholmely, as with Marlowe and so many other spies upon Seminarists, a loudly expressed sympathy for Roman Catholics and boasts of fooling the Privy Council may only been a pose adopted to deceive the Seminarists.

Of Cholmely we may hazard this much: (1) he is the "Chomley" who forwarded in January 1592,[10] a list of houses in London and the adjoining counties where mass was celebrated; (2) he is the "Cholmeley" described by Henry Young, a Catholic under examination in Newgate in 1594, as hanging about Catholics and being suspected by them of being a spy, about 1592.[11]

L. The King of Scots.

Thomas Kyd, who had been embroiled in the Marlowe business, wrote in June, 1593 (after Marlowe's death) to Lord Keeper Puckering—"he (Marlowe) would pswade with men of quallitie to goe unto the k of *Scotts*, whether I heare Royden is gon, and where if had livd, he told me, when I saw him last, he meant to be." This statement opens up possibilities too lengthy to be exploited here. Suffice it to say that James of Scotland had, like everyone else, his spies and agents in England, 1587–1603. Roydon, a fellow-member of the Atheists' Club, apparently did go to Scotland on some mission. When we last hear of him, in 1604, he was living in the household of James' favourite, William Hamilton, Earl of Haddington.[12]

We can only surmise at Marlowe's connection with the intrigues of James. Presumably when he fled to Deptford, Scotland was his ultimate destination.

M. Robert Poley, Spy.

Of the three men present in the upper room in Eleanor Bull's tavern at Deptford, when Marlowe was killed, two, Ingram Frizer and Nicholas Skeres, were, as Mr. Hotson has shown, shoddy rascals, and the third, Robert Poley, was a spy. Even in the hour of his death Marlowe was not quit of "government agents."

[10] *S. P. Dom.*, CCXLI.
[11] *S. P. Dom.*, CCXLIX.
[12] Dedic. of R. Armine's, *Discovery of Eliz. Caldwell*, 1604.

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A word or two upon Robert Poley. He seems to have been gentlemanly in demeanour, well-educated, plausible, efficient, honest as a spy, and quite heartless. He was once in Sidney's household; on Sidney's death he became steward to his widow. Thence he passed into the service of Lady Sidney's father, Walsingham, and became a spy. He spied on Paget and Blount and the English exiles in Paris in 1586. He scraped acquaintance with Thomas Morgan, Queen Mary's agent in Paris, and carried letters to England for him. He hung around Tutbury where Mary was imprisoned and tried to worm himself into her confidence. Mary, however, was shrewd enough to distrust him. He scraped acquaintance with John Ballard, and then with Anthony Babington, by posing as a Catholic who had pull with Walsingham and could procure passports from him at will for intending refugees. He so completely fooled poor silly Babington and his friend, John Savage, that they called him affectionately "Robin." They were supping with him and walking in his garden, when they ought to have been flying for their lives. When Babington did fly, too late, he sent a letter to his "Robin," calling on his loyalty and friendship. All this time, of course, Poley had been playing with Babington, holding him in London and reporting his every movement to Walsingham. When Ballard, Babington and Savage were mutilated and executed in 1586, they must have realised that it was "Robin" Poley who had betrayed them.[13]

After 1586, Poley sinks out of sight. But in 1590 he was in Brussels, on the track of a certain Michael Moody (alias Bristowe, alias Wells), one of the many would-be Catholic assassins of Elizabeth. In 1591 he was domiciled in Shoreditch (a neighbour to a mysterious Rutkyn), still letter-carrying and spying. He seems now to have been in the pay of the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Heneage and was known as Pistol's Man. He was in Antwerp in 1594, and later, it appears, he linked himself to Thomas Phelips, Walsingham's spy-master, who after Walsingham's death, organized a private spying-agency of his own on a strictly commercial basis.

What was Poley doing at Deptford? was it a casual meeting? or arranged, in spite of Marlowe? was he an old acquaintance from early spying days?

[13] Cf. Read, *op. cit.*
[14] *S. P. Dom.*, CCXXXVIII.

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We cannot answer any of these questions, of course. I point out, however, that certainly in 1591 and, possibly as late as 1593 Poley was living in Shoreditch. For Marlowe, the playwright, Shoreditch, the home of the Curtain where his plays were acted, would have been a convenient place to live in. Perhaps, he did live there. Certainly, he must often have stayed there. Was Poley instructed by the Privy Council to keep an eye on Marlowe, after he had been arrested and had given bail on May 20th, 1593? and when Marlowe broke his bail and fled, did Poley follow him to Deptford? Possibly, the fatal quarrel arose when Marlowe discovered in what company he was and realised that he was trapped.

As many reviewers of Mr. Hotson's book have pointed out, the circumstances of Marlowe's death are suspicious. Even more suspicious than the obviously faked evidence, is the fact that Frizer was granted a free pardon for killing Marlowe within a month of his death. Would a disreputable creature like Frizer have got off so easily or so quickly, if Robert Poley, the government agent, had not been with him?

N. Biography in the Plays.

In conclusion, let me quote, first a passage from *Faustus*, and then one from *Edward II*.

From *Faustus*, as the hero broods over the powers of magic, a dissatisfied scholar. "I'll have my spirits," he cries,

(1) reade me *straunge philosophie*
(2) *And tell the secrets of all forraine kings;*
(3) Ile have them *fill the publique schooles with silk,*
Wherewith the students shalbe bravely clad;
(4) Ile levy souldiers *with the coyne they bring,*
(5) And *chase the Prince of Parma from our land,*
(6) And *raigne sole king of all our provinces.*[15]

This was written c. 1589–90. I have italicised and numbered certain lines. They have, I think, a biographical significance, past and to come. (1) touches on Deism, Atheism, Raleigh, Harriott; (2) on spying, (3) on discontent with Cambridge, (4) on Poole, the coiner, in Newgate, (5) on Marlowe's patriotic reason for becoming a spy, (6) on Cholmely's ravings about the king he was going to set up.

[15] *Dr. Faustus*, vv. 114–22.

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In the following conversation between Spencer and Balduck, we have an echo of the debate in Marlowe's brain, when he broke away from Cambridge and its Puritan atmosphere in disgust to turn "Machiavillain" and become a spy. Says Spencer:

> Then, Balduck, you must cast the scholler off,
> And learne to court it like a Gentleman,
> Tis not a blacke coate and a little band,
> A Velvet cap'de cloake, fac't before with Serge
> And smelling to a Nosegay all the day,
> Or holding of a napkin in your hand,
> Or saying a long grace at a tables end,
> Or making lowe legs to a noble man,
> Or looking downeward, with your eyelids close,
> And saying, Truelie, ant may please your honor,
> Can get you any favour with great men,
> You must be proud, bold, pleasant, resolute,
> And now and then, stab as occasion serves.

To all of which Balduck replies:

> Spencer, thou knowest I hate such formall toies,
> And use them but of mere hypocrisie.
> Mine old Lord whiles he livde, was so precise,
> That he would take exceptions at my buttons,
> And being like pins heads, blame me for the bignesse,
> Which made me curate-like in mine attire,
> Though inwardly licentious enough,
> And apt for any kinde of villainie.
> I am none of these common pedants, I,
> That cannot speake without *propterea quod*.[16]

In conclusion, let me say that we can only guess at Marlowe's life as a spy. Once in the twilit underworld of spying, probably he never escaped from its shadows. This man, who in one world was a poet and the friend of scholars, courtiers and great noblemen, in another world was forever dogged by creatures like Poley and Cholmeley. We can imagine his desperation when these two worlds clashed, when he realised that he was going to be revealed to Raleigh and Northumberland as a common spy and probably forced to give information against them. The warning that his old acquaintance of student days in Cambridge and of play-writing days in London, unhappy, dissolute Robert Greene

[16] *Edward II*, vv. 751–773.

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sent him from his deathbed a year before, was prophetic. Having "begun in crafte," he had "lived in feare" and was doomed to "die in despaire."

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XXXIX

SHAKESPERE'S PURPOSE IN *TIMON OF ATHENS*

TWO conflicting theories regarding the composition of *Timon of Athens* have been expounded for many years. The first, argued notably by Professor Delius,[1] asserts that the Folio text represents Shakespere's partial revision of an uninspired old play; the second, espoused by Mr. Fleay[2] and elaborated in recent years by Dr. E. H. Wright,[3] assumes that the play is an unfinished draft by Shakespere filled out by later literary hack-work. The latter theory at present receives more general favour; nevertheless in 1923 Mr. Dugdale Sykes in *Notes and Queries*,[4] after calling attention to certain internal relationships in the play, has attempted to revive the earlier explanation.

Fleay and Wright had agreed substantially in parceling out certain long passages between Shakespere and the second author, on metrical, technical, and æsthetic grounds.[5] With these general ascriptions Mr. Sykes has no quarrel, but he does show that certain bits of dialogue or turns of phrase which in one case fall within Shakespere's supposed demesne are echoed in scenes obviously by an inferior author. From the four sets of parallels which he notes, I cite one as an example:

Just before the end of Act I. Scene i, the First Lord thus addresses the Second Lord:

Come, shall we in
And *taste Lord Timon's bounty*?

This, according to Fleay and Wright, is in Shakespeare's part of the play. The next scene (I. ii) which contains Cupid's speech beginning with the lines:

[1] "Über Shakespeare's Timon of Athens," in *Shaks. Jahrbuch*, II, 175 ff.

[2] "On the Authorship of Timon of Athens," in *Transactions of New Shaks. Soc.*, 1874, pp. 130 ff.

[3] *The Authorship of Timon of Athens*, Columbia diss., 1910.

[4] 13th Ser., vol. I, Aug. 4–Sept. 15, 1923.

[5] Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56. Thus the first banquet-scene is clearly the work of an inferior; whereas Timon's lengthy maledictions in Act IV bear a decisive resemblance to *Lear*. Upon the distribution of several important scenes, e.g., the first two scenes of Act III, Fleay and Wright disagree—the latter always seeking to give Shakespeare enough to make an integral, though brief, play. In such cases Mr. Sykes takes sides invariably with the former.

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> Hail to thee, worthy Timon, and to all
> *That of his bounties taste,*

is assigned to the inferior hand. And when the poet in V.i visits Timon in his cave we are told that his speech

> Sir,
> Having often *of your open bounty tasted,* &c.

was written by Shakespeare. Is this probable? Is it not beyond any reasonable doubt that all three passages are due to one and the same author, who had this idea of "tasting" bounties running in his mind at the time he wrote them?[6]

If the evidence of such parallels is granted as revealing touches of an inferior author here and there in admittedly Shakesperean strata, then there is no such clean-cut separation of lengthy passages or scenes between Shakespere and the second writer as Fleay and Wright have posited. Mr. Sykes, following Mr. William Wells,[7] also shows that Scenes i and ii of Act III, in which the servants of Timon seek to borrow money from Lucius and Lucullus, bear the strongest traces of Middleton's work as paralleled throughout several plays.[8] Fleay had given these scenes to the inferior author, but Wright assigned them to Shakespere on logic rather than internal evidence. He argued that if Shakespere *did* write first (as other evidence leads him to believe), it was he who blocked out the essential plot, motivated Timon's misanthropy by showing the perfidy of sycophants, and that he simply neglected ever to fill in certain subsidiary scenes.[9] This assumption seems more reasonable than the more naïve one sometimes advanced, that Shakespere poured forth his emotions upon the theme of ingratitude in Acts IV and V of *Timon*, and then lost all interest in the antecedent action—since one of our most fixed notions in regard to Shakespere is that he was a practical dramatist rather than the showman of a bleeding heart. Therefore Shakespere surely did not jump from

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 85–86. He eventually discovers an analogue, p. 149, in the phrase "the bounty of your love, as ever poor gentleman tasted," in a Middletonian passage of *The Roaring Girl*, II, i.

[7] *N. & Q.*, 12th Ser., VI (1920), 266 ff. The evidence which Wells and Sykes adduce for Middleton's case is quite formidable, both in quantity and quality. Versification and spirit of treatment in Middleton's earlier period confirm the evidence of verbal similarity. On the other hand, Sykes' attempt to establish the collaboration of John Day with Middleton seems much less successful, and for our present purpose may be ignored.

[8] Pp. 147–48.

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 39–41 and Chap. IV, ii, *passim.*

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Timon in his palmiest days to Timon drenching his guests with lukewarm water without showing something of the motivation, reasons Dr. Wright, and proceeds to assign to him Scenes i and ii of Act III. But these scenes have now been demonstrated pretty conclusively to bear the stamp of Middleton.

Having gone thus far with Mr. Sykes, we cannot accept his explanation that the Shakesperean parts are merely the roving revisions of an earlier play largely by Middleton. First, because, as Dr. Wright has pointed out,[10] almost all the source-material of the play—Plutarch's excursus on Timon in the *Life of Antony*, the twenty-eighth novel of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, the academic play of *Timon*, and the questionable influence of Lucian's dialogue *Timon the Misanthrope*—is consumed in Shakesperean scenes, whereas the inferior author had practically no formal sources whatever. In the second place, as Dr. Wright also observes,[11] details are to be found in the Shakesperean portions of Acts IV and V which are ignored in the inferior parts of the play: Timon is portrayed as a public servant whom the state has ungratefully cast aside, and Alcibiades is made the avenger, not of himself or of his unnamed friend in III. v, but of Timon. If Shakespere's hand was the last which touched the play, why these unanticipated matters? We appear, then, to have arrived at an *impasse*; we can follow implicitly neither Dr. Wright nor Mr. Sykes.

It seems to me that there is one solution which has been generally overlooked—namely that Shakespere was the original author but that he actually wrote a full five-act play, probably not much inferior to *Coriolanus*, and that this play some time before the publication of the Folio suffered deliberate mutilation, that certain scenes were completely rewritten and even names changed,[12] and that smaller deletions and substitutions were made here and there throughout almost all the other scenes. This hypothesis satisfies Mr. Sykes' contention that Timon's motivation lies in non-Shakesperean scenes and that the prevailingly Shakesperean ones show touches of the inferior pen, and at the same time it accords with Dr. Wright's eloquent arguments for Shakespere's priority.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 73–8.

[12] Thus the name "Flavius" is substituted for "Steward," and Sempronius is introduced, as we shall see presently, in the dramatic niche of Ventidius. Wright notes the blunders in servants' names, pp. 61 ff. Fleay, *op. cit.*, p. 150, tabulates the names introduced by Shakespeare and the second writer respectively.

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But having laid the old issues, it evokes a new one: why should this play have been intentionally and ruthlessly spoiled? Is there any possible reason why Shakespere should have suffered revision by Thomas Middleton?

First of all let us refer to the probable date of composition. As Professor Bradley[13] and Professor Parrott[14] have observed, the sparing use of light and weak endings in the passages conservatively assigned to Shakespere indicates that his share in the play belongs to a period prior to *Macbeth*. Bradley has also called attention to the affinity of *Timon of Athens* with *King Lear* in mental attitudes, phraseology and style.[15] Therefore we may well assume *ca.* 1605 as a date for the Shakesperean portions. But Mr. Wells declares that a comparison of the Middleton strata with the known plays of that dramatist leads him to conclude that Middleton's share in *Timon of Athens* was "no later, certainly, than *Michaelmas Term* (1607)." He reminds us that prose, which finds a substantial use in *Timon*, is in Middleton's later period almost wholly discarded.[16] It appears therefore that Middleton's slashing of the play occurred not only within Shakespere's life-time but within a year or two of the original writing. That Shakespere probably would have found it profitless or distasteful to revise his own play in the manner proposed, I shall presently suggest.

In regard to the changes suffered by Shakespere's *Timon*, can we with a fair degree of assurance reconstruct certain features of the original plan? In the first place, as Dr. Wright maintains,[17] Shakespere plainly intended Timon to be not simply a private citizen, but a public, even a military, hero. He is surely not presuming on his bare citizenship when he orders his steward to go to the senators of Athens:

> Of whom, even to the state's best health, I have
> Deserv'd this hearing—bid 'em send o' the instant
> A thousand talents to me (II, ii, 206, Oxford *Shaks.*)

And learning that no help will come from them, he speaks of their "ingratitude" (II, ii, 225). After he has retired to the forest, Alcibiades meets him and says:

[13] *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 477–480.
[14] *The Problem of Timon of Athens* (London, 1923), p. 24.
[15] *Op. cit.*, Note S (pp. 443 ff.).
[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 269.
[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 73–5.

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> I have heard and grieved
> How cursed Athens, mindless of thy worth,
> Forgetting thy great deeds, when neighbour states
> But for thy sword and fortune, trod upon them (IV, iii, 92)

when Timon cuts him short. And finally the two senators seek out Timon, offering him "the captainship . . . . allow'd with absolute power" (V, i, 166), if he will defend them against Alcibiades. Now in all Shakespere's sources about which we know, there is no suggestion of Timon's great services as a preserver of the State.[18] Was there a purpose here?

But perhaps the most striking evidence of discord between Shakesperean and non-Shakesperean parts is the utter frustration of the Ventidius theme. This matter, first noted by Mr. Fleay, is stated by Dr. Wright as follows:

> It is easy to see what Shakspere meant to do with Ventidius. In the first scene he makes Timon, in affluence, ransom Ventidius from a debtor's prison with five talents. At the close of the second act, when the now insolvent Timon is appealing to his friends for help, he lets him send to Ventidius as a last and surest friend, now rich, for those five talents. We cannot think that Shakspere meant to stop here. In a later scene, surely—after the other friends of Timon have deserted—he meant to show Ventidius denying the request. Such a refusal would have put the climax on the ingratitude of Timon's friends; and without it the part of Ventidius in the play is pointless. But before we reach the request to Ventidius we have seen it practically nullified. For the author of the banquet scene could think of no better way to open it than by making Ventidius offer to repay Timon's loan. With this error behind him, the author found it difficult to show Ventidius refusing Timon's appeal; so instead he merely mentions the refusal casually in the scene where he displays that of his own Sempronius.[19]

And a few pages later we find Dr. Wright actually maintaining that Shakespere *did* write a scene of Ventidius' singratitude,[20]

[18] To be sure, in the dialogue of Lucian, the orator Demeas, in his fulsome flattery, hails the wealthy misanthrope as winner of the Olympic games though Timon has never competed in them, and says that he "cut to pieces two divisions of Spartans," though Timon retorts that he was never even mustered out. It is of course doubtful whether Shakespeare ever read this Dialogue, but granted that he did we can hardly find a nexus between this jocular flattery and the illustrious services which Shakespeare's Timon has performed for Athens.

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 67 f.

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though of course he never proposes (as I have done) that Shakespere wrote a great deal more of the play which has vanished. To this assumption Dr. Wright's hypothesis has led him: namely, that a second author, hurrying to knock a play into shape for the theatre,[21] would, after discovering an error he had made, prefer to write a whole fresh scene of 42 lines rather than avoid that labour by turning back and crossing out thirteen unlucky lines of his own at the opening of Act I, Sc. ii, and thereby keep a dramatic advantage apparent to the most rudimentary sense of plot. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the reviser had a definite purpose in cutting away most of the Ventidius plot, leaving Ventidius merely an obscure person in the chorus of ingrates? The lines at the beginning of I, ii would therefore represent, as it were, his effort to heal the place of amputation.

It may be observed that alterations in the major plot of the play occur almost always at the points of personal relationship between Timon and his false friends,[22] whereas Timon's invectives against mankind in general are left unmolested. Is there any conceivable method in such revision?

[21] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 99 f.

[22] Thus I, i, in which Timon appears surrounded by his suitors, is but partly Shakespearean, as Fleay and Sykes observe; the lengthy banquet-scene (I, ii) is agreed by all our critics to be prevailingly, probably wholly, by an inferior; the three important "dunning" scenes with Timon's false friends (III, i, ii, and iii) are pronounced essentially non-Shakesperean by Fleay and Sykes; III, iv, in which the creditors' men discuss Timon's parlous state and the desertion of his friends, and in which Timon issues invitations to the mock-banquet, is in substance given by all critics to the inferior; the prose of the mock-banquet, in which the sycophants are talking with Timon, is called spurious by Fleay, following Furnivall, and by Sykes. On the other hand, the last two acts are prevailingly Shakesperean, as all agree.

There are at least two interpolations superfluous to the plot, which may be dropped without any loss whatever: the colloquy of Apemantus, the Fool, and the Page in II, ii, 46–132, and the soldier's discovery of Timon's grave, V, iii. I suggest that they were inserted after excisions elsewhere had greatly reduced the length and stage-business of Shakespere's original.

In regard to the sub-plot, Fleay, Wright, and Sykes regard the banishment of Alcibiades (III, v) as spurious. Plutarch, while recording Alcibiades' banishment, assigns no such circumstances as these. Perhaps the pleading for a soldier who has offended under the influence of drink (ll. 69–70) was suggested to the interpolator by *Othello*. Just what were Shakespere's intentions here we can never know—though it appears, as Wright suggests, pp. 75 ff., that in some way he would create a stronger dramatic tie between Timon and his future avenger. If so, the reviser may have found it inextricable from the scenes of Timon and his circle, which, as we have seen, were sweepingly expunged.

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Moreover, from the mangled play we may disengage Shakespere's conception of Timon: an impulsive, headstrong, generous nobleman, a distinguished soldier and patron of the arts, who ignoring prudent counsel casts himself unreservedly upon his courtiers, falls upon evil days and is deserted by his host of trencher-friends—even by the man whom he has lifted from debt, is forsaken by the State in whose defense he has so bravely and effectually fought; until at last, cherished only by his faithful steward, he passes through a period of bitterest despair to a wretched but welcome death. Needless to say, this conception of Timon is not the old Greek one of the surly Μισάνθρωπος whose delight is to jeer at humanity, nor assuredly is it the silly voluptuary of the academic farce: it is indeed Shakespere's, by an act of creation such as that which gave us Richard II and Lear.

At present it is hardly revolutionary to suggest political purpose in the plays of Shakespere. Therefore I propose to set forth several curious similarities between Shakespere's Timon and Robert Devereaux, Second Earl of Essex.[23] I do not maintain the precarious thesis that Timon is in every particular a faithful portrait of the Earl, but rather that in building up the character of the Athenian lord Shakespere wrote into the play the Southampton judgement on the crying injustice of the Essex affair, particularly the part played by Francis Bacon; and so transparent was his intention that the play was mutilated shortly after its composition when a contemporary event, the trouble over Samuel Daniel's *Philotas*, demonstrated that a public vindication of Essex would still be politically offensive—not, probably, to the King himself, but to certain powerful noblemen.

As early as May, 1601 the players at the Curtain apparently attempted to convey, "under obscure manner," a commentary on the case, but were restrained.[24] But upon the accession of James—with the release of Southampton and the King's praise of Essex[25]

[23] Three recent efforts to connect Shakespeare and Essex should be noted: Miss Lilian Winstanley's "*Hamlet*" *and the Essex Conspiracy*, Aberystwyth Studies VI and VII, Univ. of Wales, 1924–25; Professor E. P. Kuhl's study, "*As You Like It*" *and the Earl of Essex*, read before the Modern Language Association, December, 1926; and Miss E. M. Albright, *Shakespeare's "Richard II" and the Essex Conspiracy*, *PMLA*, September, 1927, pp. 686 ff.

[24] Cf. C. C. Stopes, *The Third Earl of Southampton*, p. 242.

[25] En route to London James had pronounced the late Earl "the most noble knight England had ever produced." *Venetian Papers*, May 15, 1603, quoted Stopes, 266.

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—one might have assumed that a play defending Essex could appear unmolested, especially if it stressed his misfortunes and sufferings rather than his supposed treason; and that to Southampton and others such a work would have been welcome, since virtually no popular vindication of the unfortunate Earl—other than a few dolorous street-ballads[26]—had been made, and doubtless many good people still regarded his name as anathema.[27] It is my assumption therefore that in 1605, almost synchronously with *Lear*, Shakespere wrote his *Timon of Athens*, picturing the desperation to which the Earl had been driven and revealing the crucial desertion of some of his most trusted friends (Bacon in particular), and disguised the political allusion by substituting for the rebellion an ending which his sources offered, and which, as we shall see, Essex seems seriously to have considered as a course for himself. But in this same year Samuel Daniel was completing a drama he had begun in 1600, also out of Plutarch, *The Tragedy of Philotas*, the story of a recalcitrant captain of Alexander, whom Daniel describes in the Argument as "patient of trauell, exceeding bountifull, and one that loued his men and friends better then any Noble-man of the Campe: but otherwise; noted of vaine-glory and prodigalitie."[28] After publication the play fell under suspicion as being covertly sympathetic with the late Earl, and Daniel seems to have been summoned before the Lords of the Council. By proving that three acts had been written prior to the Rebellion Daniel cleared himself, and when in 1607 he re-issued the play he included an *Apology* piously deprecating the treasons of Essex.[29]

It is our supposition that this imbroglio rendered Shakespere's company wary of producing *Timon*, particularly with its aspersions on Bacon, and that Shakespere either declined to revise it or else was too busy on *Macbeth*. But instead of being utterly discarded the play was soon entrusted to the care of Thomas Middleton, who rewrote some of the dunning scenes in the vastly less heroic vein of *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, and otherwise filled up excisions

[26] Cf. *Ballads from MSS* (Ballad Society, 1873), II, 195–259.

[27] That even the linking of one's name with the doings of Essex was yet regarded as politically inauspicious, is shown by Lord Mountjoy's rebuke of Daniel for bringing in that nobleman's name, innocently enough, in the affair over *Philotas*. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Samuel Daniel."

[28] *Works*, ed. Grosart, III, p. 104.

[29] Cf. "Samuel Daniel," in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and the *Apology* printed in Grosart's edition.

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with incoherent though inoffensive material. Because of certain strands which he overlooked we are able to form our hypothesis.

Essex was the bosom friend of Shakespere's patron, and in the Chorus to Act V of *Henry V*, 11. 29–34, Shakespere had paid graceful tribute to his popularity and military prowess. Malone observed that Horatio's adieu to Hamlet—

> Good-night, sweet prince,
> And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest (V, ii, 374),

seems to be an echo of Essex's last words: "When my life and body shall part, send thy blessed angels, who may receive my soul and convey it to thy joys in heaven"; and Dr. Ward called attention to a resemblance between Essex and the Buckingham of *Henry VIII*. And Miss E. M. Albright's recent investigation makes it quite probable that Shakespere's *Richard II* was acted with deliberate propagandist intent on the eve of the so-called Rebellion.[30]

With the assurance that this subject would have been both timely and congenial, let us observe the points of resemblance between the Earl and Lord Timon. We have spoken of Timon as a military patriot—

> when neighbour states
> But for thy sword and fortune, trod on them [i.e., the Athenians]
> (IV, iii, 94).

We recall Essex's intrepidity against Cadiz in 1596, and the tremendous ovation accorded him on his return.[31] In 1597 he was made commander-in-chief of the English forces against Spain, and despite the ill-luck of this exploit, he was still welcomed home as the nation's greatest soldier.[32] Into these expeditions Essex poured

[30] Miss Albright makes the highly plausible suggestion that the omission of the abdication scene in the early quartos is to be explained by Shakespere's adumbration of current politics. I had not read Miss Albright's study until after the practical completion of the present paper; so that to such matters as Hayward's history and its influence on Shakespere, there should be given whatever weight is due to similar conclusions independently reached. Miss Winstanley, VI, 47 ff., refers to the older conjectures about Shakespere's dramatic allusions to Essex. Essex himself seems gloomily to have anticipated his own dramatization, writing in May, 1600 from Ireland, to the Queen: "Already they print me, and make me speak to the world; and shortly they will play me in what forms they list upon the stage" (T. Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Q. Elizabeth*, II, 445).

[31] W. B. Devereaux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereaux*, I, 379.

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 465 and *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651), 40.

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his own fortune, hastening his ultimate financial collapse. Thus while Essex was fitting out the expedition of 1596 Sir Anthony Standen wrote of him: "He spareth neither purse, body nor spirit."[33] And in a daring public eulogy of the late Earl in 1601 one Abraham Colfe of Christ Church, Oxford—

. . . . named the journey to Cadiz, his own forwardness there and felicity, and how men looked on him returning *tanquam in solem orientem; for he beggared himself to maintain his soldiers.* He spoke also of another journey, whence returning men looked on him *tanquam in solem occidentem.*[34]

We might compare, parenthetically, a line from one of the revised scenes, I, ii, 150: "Men shut their doors against a setting sun."

In fact Essex's habit of "wasteful prodigality" as his grandfather called it,[35] was highly characteristic. Francis Bacon records in his *Apology* (1604) that after his own failure to obtain the Solicitorship Essex had pressed him to accept "a piece of land":

My answer I remember was, that for my fortune it was no great matter; but that his Lordship's affer made me call to mind what was wont to be said when I was in France about the Duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in France, *because he had turned all his estate into obligations; meaning that he had left himself nothing, but only had bound numbers of persons to him.* Now my Lord (said I) I would not have you imitate his course, nor turn your estate thus by great gifts into obligations, *for you will find many bad debtors.*[36]

In *A Declaration of the Treasons* (1601) Bacon describes the Earl's catholic hospitality:

So likewise those points of popularity which every man took notice and note of, as his affable gestures, open doors, making his table and his bed so popularly places of audience to suitors, denying nothing when he did nothing, feeding many men in their discontentments against the Queen and the State.[37]

And Wotton thus describes his levee:

[33] Birch, *op. cit.*, II, 15.

[34] *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1601–1603, p. 35. Bacon, "Of Friendship," in the entirely-rewritten version of that Essay in the 1625 ed., quotes from Plutarch's *Pompey*: "Pompey turned vpon him [Sylla] againe, and in effect bad him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting*" (cf. North's Plutarch, *Tudor Translations*, IV, 219).

[35] *Lives*, I, 178.

[36] E. A. Abbott, *Bacon and Essex* (London, 1877), Appendix, p. 4. Italics mine.

[37] P. 3, printed in Appendix, Abbott, *op. cit.*

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His chamber being commonly stived with Friends or Suiters of one kind or other, when he gave his legs, armes, and brest to his ordinary servants to button and dresse him with little heed, his head and his face to his Barbour, his eyes to his letters, and ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once.[38]

At his trial Bacon likened Essex to Pisistratus, who tried to gain the sympathy of the populace of Athens,[39] but if our assumption is correct Shakespere is here showing him in a truer light, as flattered, but in the crucial moment deserted, by his Athenian trencher-friends. In passing we might note Essex's taste for hawking[40] and for sumptuous banquets,[41] in which Shakespere's Timon indulges in true Elizabethan fashion.[42] His lavishness had long been eating away Essex's fortune, so that after the Irish failure we find him writing to the Queen "of a number of hungry creditors, who suffer me, in my retired life, to have no rest."[43]

The biographer of the *Lives* describes Essex as "generous, ardent, impetuous and arrogant, *a great patron of men of genius*."[44] His relations with Spenser are perhaps best known. But more important for our present purpose: in 1599 the dedication to him

[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 18. On p. 36 he describes him as "delighting in the press and affluence of Dependants and Suiters, which are alwayes the Burres, and sometimes the Briers of Favourits."

[39] Abbott, 193.

[40] In 1591 Essex was mildly reproved by the Privy Council because he did "adventure to go a hawking" and expose himself to capture, while he was a commander in France (*Lives*, I, 245–46).

[41] Note a banquet at Essex House costing at least a thousand marks (*Lives*, I, 388), and Wotton's comment on the Earl's epicurism, p. 18. On pp. 21 f. he speaks of him as "inclyning to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud hous-keepers, then hous-raisers."

[42] The dining and hawking are alluded to in authentic Shakesperean passages, e.g., I, i, 254 and II, ii, 8, respectively.

[43] *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1598–1601, p. 468. He is pleading for the renewal of his patent on sweet wines. He continues: "If my creditors would take for payment many ounces of my blood . . . . you should never hear of this suit." One may compare a bit of dialogue between Timon and his creditors in III, iv, 94. though the scene as a whole shows marks of revision:

Timon. Cut my heart in sums.
Titus. Mine, fifty talents.
Tim. Tell out my blood.
Luc. Serv. Five thousand crowns, my lord.
Tim. Five thousand drops pays that. What yours? and yours?

[44] I, 474.

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of a book, Dr. John Hayward's *Life and raigne of King Henrie IIII*, was memorable because Elizabeth resented Hayward's comparison of Essex with Henry IV.[45] Having likened Essex to Henry in the Dedication Hayward writes on p. 4, after describing the popularity and prowess of Bolingbroke, that he was

yet more easie to be either corrupted or abused by flattering speeches, then to be terrified by threats.

Is Hayward warning Essex against flatterers just as the Poet of I, i is seeking to warn Timon by the allegory of his poem? On p. 77 Hayward describes the flight of sycophants from the King—

like swallows, forsook that house in the winter of fortune's boysterous blasts, where they did nothing but feede & foyle in the summer of her sweete sunneshine.

Compare a passage from the prose of the mock-banquet, which, though probably revised, is conceivably indebted for imagery to the original:

Sec. Lord. The swallow follows not summer more willingly than we your lordship.

Timon (aside). Nor more willingly leaves winter; such summer birds are men (III, vi, 32).

In the book the scheming courtiers are called "sellers of smoake," p. 43. Compare Timon's outburst:

smoke and luke-warm water
Is your perfection (III, vi, 100).

But to pursue our comparison. It may be pointed out that Timon leads no rebellion to gain an audience with the Senate which has neglected him. But we may easily suppose that a too-definite portrayal of the actual insurrection was not what the dramatist desired; his purpose was rather to present the provocation which drives a brave, generous, benevolent spirit to violence and misery. Hence he transfers to Alcibiades, who is a *deus ex machinâ* rather than a character of flesh and blood (so far as we know), the act of raising arms against the ungrateful state. But for Timon he does choose an alternative which seems often to have attracted the temperamental *weltschmerz* of Essex. About the time of the Irish

[45] Cf. Abbott, 118, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Robert Devereaux." Miss Albright, *op. cit.*, 699 ff., presents the matter at some length, and offers the theory that Shakespere used Hayward's history, in MS, in the composition of *Richard II*.

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disappointment he had written these lines, to the Queen it is said; they are preserved in at least three MSS collections and hence testify to considerable circulation:

> Happy were he could finish forth his fate
> In some enchanted desert, most obscure
> From all society, from love, from hate
> Of worldy folk, then would he sleep secure;
> Then wake again and yield God ever praise,
> Content with hips and haws and bramble-berries,
> In contemplation passing still his days,
> And change of holy thoughts to make him merry;
> And when he dies his tomb may be a bush,
> Where harmless robin dwells with gentle thrush;
> Quoth Robertus Comes Essexiae.[46]

This, darkened with despair such as Essex had not yet experienced, is the spirit of Act IV of *Timon of Athens*. Cf. especially Timon's colloquy with the Thieves:

> The oaks bear mast, the briers scarlet hips;
> The bounteous housewife, nature, on each bush
> Lays her full mess before you. Want! why want?
> *First thief*. We cannot live on grass, on berries, water,
> As beasts, and birds, and fishes, etc. (IV, iii, 425).

Essex's reputed *Last Voyage to the Haven of Happiness* begins

> Welcome sweet Death the kindest freind I haue,
> This fleshly prison of my sowle vnlocke.[47]

We recall Timon's despair:

> I am sick of this false world, and will love nought
> But even the mere necessities upon 't.
> Then, Timon, presently prepare thy grave
> . . . . . .
> That death in me at others' lives may laugh (IV, iii, 378).

[46] *Lives*, II, 120 f., printed from Bodl. Libr. Tanner MSS 79. Grosart, *Miscellanies of Fuller Worthies' Library, Poems of Lord Vaux, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Essex*, etc. (1872), pp. 94–95, prints it from Ashm. MS, 781, p. 83 and collates Chetham MS, 8012, p. 86. In his verses "The Buzzeinge Bee's Complaynt," Grosart, *ibid.*, 85 ff., he images himself as deserting the hive:

> To sucke on hen bane, hemlocke, netteles, rewe.

Professor Carleton Brown, in his edition of *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester* (EETS, Ext. Ser. CXIII, p. 13) notes the numerous MS copies of this poem. It is sometimes ascribed to Henry Cuffe, Essex's secretary.

[47] Grosart, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

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In 1599 Essex had written to the Queen from Ireland:

> From a mind delighting in sorrow; from spirits wasted with travail, care and grief; from a heart torn in pieces with passion; from a man that hates himself and all things that keep him alive.[48]

And after the Earl—who had bearded the Spaniard at the very gates of Cadiz, and was thought to have saved the Queen's life from the plot of Dr. Lopez[49]—was by his enemies accused of treason to England, he burst forth into such impetuous but helpless rage that Sir John Harington wrote of him:

> the haughty spirit knoweth not how to yield, and the man's soul seemeth tossed to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea.[50]

And that Essex was not sparing of his talents for vituperation when once aroused is indicated, among other evidence,[51] by his famous but fatal expression "that the Queen was cankered, and that her mind had become as crooked as her carcase."[52]

Now as to the desertion of Essex's friends. His biographer writes that during the spring of 1600 "Essex House was thrown open, and Sir Gilly Meyrick, the Earl's steward, entertained all comers."[53] It was upon these people and upon his universal popularity that Essex staked his last bold effort to recoup his fortune and his place at court. If Elizabeth proved ungrateful, and if Raleigh plotted against his former commander and benefactor,[54] it seemed that at least these friends would not fail him. Later events proved the futility of this hope. We read that

[48] *Lives*, II, 68. Of course Essex was always somewhat theatrical.

[49] Cf. *Lives*, I, 307 ff.

[50] *Nugae Ant.*, 179, quoted *Lives*, II, 130.

[51] E.g., Wotton remarks, p. 8, that "towards his latter time . . . . his humours grew Tart," and regarding his inability to dissemble quotes the words of his servant Cuffe about him, p. 14, *Amorem & odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.* Lord Cobham he always called "the Sycophant," "even to the Queen her selfe," p. 22.

[52] Cf. *Lives*, II, 131. Note Timon's emphasis on the age of the Senate, "Their blood is cak'd, 'tis cold, it seldom flows," etc. (II, ii, 225). And he declares that they "have their ingratitude in them hereditary," which may remind us of Elizabeth's father and Wolsey. Note also that Timon's signet has been presented to the senate with the request for help, II, ii, 211, and compare the famous story of Essex's sending a ring to Elizabeth from his prison, *Lives*, II, 178.

[53] *Ibid.*, II, 134.

[54] Cf. Stopes, 204–5. For an instance of his lenity to Ralegh, Wotton, 30–31.

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a young man of good family, a domestic of the Earl, who had been educated with him, and was so much trusted by him, that, in his hearing, he discussed his most secret designs, at this time turned informer and revealed to the Secretary every thing that passed at Essex House.[55]

And William Reynolds writes on Feb. 13, 1601, that he

marvelled what had become of Piers Edmonds, the Earl of Essex's man, born in the Strand near me, who had many preferments by the Earl. His villainy I have often complained of. He was Corporal General of the Horse in Ireland under the Earl of Southampton. He ate and drank at his table and lay in his tent. The earl of Southampton caressed him and gave him privileges.[56]

And Essex's reliance upon his popularity at large proved utterly vain. Bacon in the *Declaration of Treasons* writes:

But there was not in so populous a city, where he thought himself held so dear, one man, from the chiefest citizen to the meanest artificer or prentice, that armed with him.[57]

The defection of his nobler associates was also disastrous. His supposed friend Sir Ferdinando Gorges counterfeited a message from the Earl and caused the release of three distinguished hostages, thinking thereby to gain favour for himself.[58] And the day before the Earls of Essex and Southampton were brought to trial, Davies, Davers, Blount, and Rutland (who had all been arrested with them) turned Queen's evidence. A letter from George Carleton to his brother Dudley testifies to the great surprise which these facile confessions evoked,[59] and Essex himself seems bitterly to have resented their action.[60]

[55] Probably Gabriel Montgomery. Cf. *Lives*, II, 136 f.

[56] *Salisbury Papers*, XI, 48, 93, quoted Stopes, 199.

[57] Pp. 25–26, Abbott reprint.

[58] *Lives*, II, 145.

[59] *Ibid.*, II, 157 ff.

[60] Cecil, writing to Winwood, says of Essex after the trial: "Before he went out of the hall, when he saw himself condemned, and found that Sir John Davers, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, Sir Christopher Blount and Sir Charles Davers, had confessed all the conferences that were held at Drury House by his direction for surprising the Queen and the Tower of London, he then broke out to divers gentlemen that attended him in the Hall that his confederates who had now accused him had been principal inciters of him and not he of them, ever since August last, to work his access to the Queen with force." Spedding, *Life and Times of F. Bacon* (1878), I, 343. And cf. Abbott, 222.

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> So his familiars to his buried fortunes
> Slink all away; leave their false vows with him,
> Like empty purses pick'd (IV, ii,10).

But the arch-recreant, like Ventidius the climax of ingratitude—one who in penurous days has been aided generously by his patron, but now, having risen to affluence himself, deliberately repudiates his benefactor—this man is surely Francis Bacon. Dr. Abbott[61] has traced the manner in which Essex befriended the slowly-rising courtier for many years, wearied Elizabeth to exasperation with pleading for Bacon's advancement, and after Bacon's failure in 1594–5 to obtain the Solicitorship assuaged his loss by giving him a piece of land worth upwards of £1800.[62] Yet for several years Bacon was badly encumbered with debts, especially to the creditor Trott,[63] and in 1597 we find him appealing to Essex for help in obtaining some office and in marrying a fortune.[64] Though the latter scheme did not succeed, we have a record of Essex's efforts on his friend's behalf.[65] In 1598 we find Bacon arrested by a creditor and confined in a house in Coleman Street for a debt of £300, and writing letters to friends,[66] though whether he appealed to Essex and was succoured we do not know.

In 1596 Bacon wrote to Essex, rather transparently: "Consider whether I have not reason to think that *your fortune comprehendeth mine.*"[67] On the contrary, four years later, after Bacon had begun to collect evidence against the Earl but had written to him a kind of apology, Essex replies:[68]

> Your profession of affection, and offer of good offices, are welcome to me; for answer to them, I will say but this, that you have believed that I have been kind to you; and you may believe that I cannot be other, either upon humour or mine own election.

[61] *Bacon and Essex* (London, 1877), *passim.*

[62] Abbott, 55 and Bacon's *Apology* 4. A similar instance of Essex's generosity is recorded when after failing to obtain a suit for Sir Francis Allen, he wrote to him: "And if I be so unfortunate that the Queen will break her word with me for you, I will divide one house with you if you will live with me, or settle you in one, if I had but two in the world. For while I have any fortune, Sir Francis Allen shall have part of it." Add. MSS 4112 (72), quoted Abbott, 27 f.

[63] Abbott, 80 ff.

[64] *Ibid.*, 83–4.

[65] His two letters on Bacon's behalf in Birch, *Memoirs*, II, 347–48.

[66] Spedding, *Life and Times*, I, 231 ff. Letters to Cecil and Egerton are preserved.

[67] Abbott, 36.

[68] *Lives*, II, 119.

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The contrast is one between the opportunism of Ventidius and the staunch fidelity of Timon, as it is revealed, for example, when the messenger had come from Ventidius:

> His means most short, his creditors most strait:
> Your honourable letter he desires
> To those have shut him up; which, failing,
> Periods his comfort.
> *Timon.* Noble Ventidius! Well;
> I am not of that feather to shake off
> My friend when he most needs me (I, i, 97).

As Essex began to sink into disfavour, Bacon had less and less to do with him, especially since Bacon now had the ear of the Queen and was, besides, growing steadily more prosperous.[69] UponEssex's first arraignment Bacon set out to unearth evidence against him of the sort most irritating to Elizabeth.[70] Bacon's subsequent attempt to explain away this initial act of perfidy, in a letter to the Earl, recalls the lame excuses of the sycophants (recast from Shakespere) when they are invited to the mock banquet.[71] Also, the bitterness of Sir Gilly Meyrick, the steward of Essex, may be compared to the indignation of Timon's steward against the false friends.[72]

At the Earl's trial in February, 1601 Bacon delivered a righteous speech of accusation against Essex, to which the Earl retorted with an instance of Bacon's duplicity.[73] And afterwards at Elizabeth's request Bacon drew up the *Declaration of Treasons*—for all of

[69] Cf. Abbott, 88.

[70] That is, personal aspersions Essex had let fall. Cf. Abbott, 170. He had been commissioned merely to investigate Hayward's book.

[71] "Only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation of *bonus civis* and *bonus vir*, and that though I love some things better, I confess, than I love your Lordship, yet I love few persons better, *both for gratitude's sake*, and for virtues which cannot hurt but by accident . . . . for, as I was ever sorry your Lordship should fly with waxen wings, doubting Icarus' fortune; so for the growing up of your feathers, be they ostriches or other kind, no man shall be more glad." *Lives*, II, 118. His allegation that he had previously warned the Earl against rash courses is paralleled in the (revised) Lucullus scene, III, i, in which that lord tells the servant how he had often urged prudence to Timon.

[72] Meyrick commented: "Mr. Bacon was very idle, and I trust shall have the reward of that sooner in the end." Abbott, 174. Timon's steward in II, ii realizes the falsity of the friends long before Timon suspects them.

[73] Abbott, 226–27.

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which services he received £1200.[74] Abbott in summary remarks, p. 249:

Contemporary opinion, as described by Bacon himself, the testimony of the author of the Sydney Papers, the testimony of Sir Gilly Meyrick, the angry asseverations of Buckingham, the expostulations of Cecil, and the indirect evidence of Bacon's letters and even of his Apology, all point to this, that Bacon was regarded by the men of his own day as a man who, not content with deserting, attempted to injure and destroy his friend.[75]

The depiction of this perfidy, in such a tragedy of ingratitude toward a noble soldier and patron as Shakespere intended *Timon of Athens* to be, would doubtless be identified by many—and at the same time would savour of audacity, since Bacon, thanks to his ingratiating strategies, had climbed rather steadily under the Jacobean regime.[76]

But Francis' brother Anthony, secretary of Essex, along with Meyrick, the Earl's steward, Captain Thomas Lea, and perhaps one or two others formed a less illustrious but staunchly faithful circle about the Earl, *usque ad aras*—corresponding in our play to the household of Timon with the steward at their head. Lea and Meyrick were executed,[77] and Anthony Bacon died in the same year, 1601, partly, it is supposed, from the shock of his master's downfall,[78] but to the last was engaged in attempts to exonerate

[74] *Ibid.*, 251.

[75] One more link between the Bacon-Essex relation and our play may be cited. There is a certain figure of speech which Essex uses on at least two occasions regarding friendship. The first, a letter to Francis Bacon in April, 1593 (repr. from a Lambeth MS fragment by Spedding, *op. cit.*, I, 100): " . . . . it is the best wisdom in any man in his own matters to rest in the wisdom of a friend (for who can so often *looking in the glass* discern and judge so well of his own favour, as another with whom he converseth?)." The second, addressed to Anthony Bacon in 1598 and published before Essex's death, in which he defends himself against current slander, *Lives*, I, 484: "The same curiosity moves me to show the true face and state of my mind *to my true friend, that he, like a true glass*, without injury or flattery, may tell me whether a matter or accident have set so foul a blemish in that, as my accusers pretend." Cf. a striking phrase of I, i, 59, describing a false friend of Timon, "the glass-fac'd flatterer."

[76] He was even given an annual pension of £60 for "the good, faithful, and acceptable service" his brother Anthony had rendered Essex, Abbott, 252.

[77] Lea lost his life pleading too importunately for his general, Stopes, 206. Meyrick remained non-committal under questioning, "explaining that he had merely acted under his master's orders," *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Sir Gilly Meyrick."

[78] Cf. Spedding, I, 367.

[79] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Anthony Bacon," on evidence of a letter to him in May, 1601, from an anonymous writer.

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Essex. Sir Sidney Lee observes, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s. v. "Anthony Bacon":

Anthony received little or no money from Essex. He had lodgings in Essex House, but maintained himself out of his private resources. . . . . Essex appears to have promised, and to have made some effort, to repay him for his self-denying services, but the schemes did not take effect.

To such an one Essex might have said, as Timon does:

> Methinks thou art more honest now than wise;
> For, *by oppressing and betraying me*,
> Thou mightst have sooner got another service:
> For many so arrive at second masters
> Upon their first lord's neck (IV, iii, 511).

One finds the original of Apemantus in Henry Cuffe, also in the retinue of Essex, whom Birch calls "a great philosopher."[80] Bacon describes him as "a base fellow by birth, but a great scholar,"[81] with which we may compare Timon's contemptuous address to Apemantus—

> Thou art a slave, whom Fortune's tender arm
> With favour never clasp'd, but bred a dog (IV, iii, 251).

And Wotton, pp. 31–32, describes him as

. . . . a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counsells smothered under the habit of a Scholler, *and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.*

As a sample of his discourse we have his speech made when he was hanged at Tyburn, March 13, 1601:

I am adjudged to Death for plotting a plott never acted; and for acting an Act, never by me plotted. The Law will have its course. Accusers shall be heard; Greatness must have the victory; Scholar & Martialist (whose Valor & Learning in Engl[d] shd have priviledged, yet) in Engl[d] must die like Dogs & be hanged. To dislike this is but Folly; to gainsay it is but Time lost; to avoid it impossible; But to endure it manly: & to scorn it magnanimity. The Prince is displeased; y[e] Law injurious; y[e] Lawyers uncharitable; & Death terrible. But I ask pardon of y[e] prince, forgive y[e] Lawyer; beseech y[e] world to pardon me; & welcome Death.[82]

[80] II, 243.

[81] *Declaration of Treasons*, 15. Birch, II, 82 speaks more highly of his extraction.

[82] Tanner MS 76, fol. 98, printed in *Ballads from MSS* (Ballad Soc.), II, 240.

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One may compare the brusque manner, the terse moralizings, and the love of antitheses[83] which Shakespere's 'churlish philosopher' exhibits.

One more bit of evidence binding Essex with Timon may be adduced. Dr. Samuel Johnson in his edition of Shakespere has a note under this speech of Timon:

> Thou art a slave, whom Fortune's tender arm
> With favour never clasped, but bred a dog.
> Hadst thou, like us from our first swath, proceeded
> The sweet degrees that this brief world affords
> To such as may the passive drudges of it
> Freely command, thou wouldst have plung'd thyself
> In general riot; melted down thy youth
> In different beds of lust; and never learn'd
> The icy precepts of respect, but follow'd
> The sugar'd game before thee. But myself,
> Who had the world as my confectionery,
> The mouths, the tongues, the eyes, and hearts of men
> At duty, more than I could frame employment, etc. (IV, iii, 251).

Dr. Johnson calls attention to its similarity in spirit to a letter written by Essex shortly before his execution, to Southampton:

> . . . . I had none but deceivers to call upon me, to whom I said, if my ambition could have entered into their narrow breasts, they would not have been so humble; or if my delights had been once tasted by them, they would not have been so precise.[84]

Indeed one might venture to suggest a relationship between the extended tirades of Timon against sexual corruption,[85] and a characteristic feature of Essex's renunciation of the world when he prepared to die,[86] though, as Professor Bradley remarked,[87] the

[83] E.g.,

> Willing misery
> Outlives incertain pomp, is crown'd before:
> The one is filling still, never complete;
> The other, at high wish: best state, contentless,
> Hath a distracted and most wretched being,
> Worse than the worst, content (IV, iii, 243).

[84] The letter complete may be found in Birch, II, 484 ff.

[85] In IV, i, and in his speeches to Phrynia and Timandra, IV, iii.

[86] Cf. his confession: "I haue bestowed my youth in wantonnes, luste, and vncleannes," *Ballads from MSS*, II, 208 and its reflection in ballad literature in his reputed *Last Voyage*, stanza iii (Grosart, *op. cit.*, 99) and R. Williams' *Life and Death of Essex*, xxxvi (*Ballads from MSS*, 31).

[87] *Shakesperean Tragedy*, p. 443

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attitude is rather notable in this period of Shakespere's dramatic writing.

One may ask, why Southampton does not appear in the play? I reply that any vindication of Southampton would have been purposeless; he had now been restored to title and favour, and James had vaguely but happily regarded his part in the affair as a stroke for the Scottish succession. Southampton was now engaged in a new round of interests, courtly and colonial, and the old episode of 1601 might well be closed as a turbulent though not discreditable memory.

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XL

THE FOLIO VERSION OF *HENRY V* IN RELATION TO SHAKESPEARE'S TIMES

THE relation between the first Folio and the first Quarto text of Shakespeare's *Henry V* has long been a subject of discussion. In 1874, Daniel, in his edition of the play for the New Shakespeare Society, argued that the Quarto is a stage abridgment of the Folio version. Some years later Brinsley Nicholson attempted to refute Daniel.[1] His arguments have not met with much acceptance, perhaps because of an underlying assumption that a fuller and, on the whole, much better text implies revision and expansion from the shorter, poorer one,—an assumption certainly open to challenge with reference to Shakespeare texts.

Hardin Craig, in his recent paper[2], resumes the discussion where Nicholson left off, agreeing with him that the themes more fully developed in the Folio are, on the whole, better treated in that version, and that the cutting of these good passages for stage abridgment would be unreasonable. Mr. Craig adds to the list of differences in theme; but, so far as I can see, he does not show why these themes should be amplified or why certain new ones should be introduced into the Folio version, which he regards as the one made over. To Nicholson's line of argument, Craig adds a new one: that certain realistic and comic bits which in the Quarto are in blank verse have in the Folio been turned into prose. A scene originally in verse, he says, may easily have been rewritten in prose, but "it is inconceivable, or at least extremely improbable, that a scene originally in prose should have been abridged in such a way as to be turned into verse." But is it not possible that, in making a decided cut in a prose scene, one might find it expedient to versify a small bit retained merely to join adjacent passages in verse? Practised as Shakespeare was in turning prose of Holinshed and others into blank verse with slight change at times, and in the rewriting of old plays by himself and others, he would find it no such painful task as, say, the one Mr. Craig voluntarily set for

[1] "The Relation of the Quarto to the Folio version of *Henry V*," *Trans. of the New Shakespeare Soc'y*, 1880–82, pt. 1, pp. 77–102. Compare the Furness Variorum edition of the play, and the summaries of arguments on the text in Hereward Price, *The Text of Henry V*, 1920.

[2] "The Relation of the First Quarto Version to the First Folio Version of Shakespeare's *Henry V*," *Philological Quarterly*, VI, no. 3 (1927), 225–34.

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himself when he made into blank verse the Hostess' description of the death of Falstaff in the Quarto (II, iii, 5–28). The effort to make good verse of this seems to me wasted; for, even if Shakespeare could be shown to have written such tortured iambic pentameters as those last three lines in Mr. Craig's illustration of "buried" blank verse, I doubt whether Shakespeare ever wrote that particular passage in that order. The line, "His nose was as sharpe as a pen," coherently placed in the Folio, is obviously misplaced in the Quarto, and the sequence lost, the *for* in "For when I saw him fumble" having lost its bearings. The Hostess rambles in speech, but not that way. Perhaps Mr. Craig could furnish better illustrations of his theory; but those given in his short article seem to me insufficient to support his conclusion, that the Quarto version is the earlier.

Years before I had made any special study of the historical background of the time when *Henry V* was written and first published, I had occasion to examine minutely the first and third Quartos and the first Folio of the play, using the parallel texts edited by Ernest Roman (1908).[3] I began with no theory as to the relations, but studied the texts themselves with regard to logic, grammar, line, and meter, trying to determine in the case of each particular difference whether cutting or expansion seemed the more likely explanation. I then assembled the conclusions reached on individual passages to see whether they would in any way hang together. The details of this analysis of the three texts would take too much space for publication. I can only summarize the results.

No one simple hypothesis can, I believe, account for every difference between the Folio and the Quartos. Perhaps that is too much to expect, as some literary revision of the version underlying the Folio text may have intervened between the performance of it in the autumn of 1599 and the publication in 1623, and as the Quarto shows evident mutilation, which at points tends to obscure underlying revision. But it is quite clear from the texts themselves that the Folio, on the whole, though not necessarily in every passage, represents an earlier version than the first Quarto, which seems to have been cut from it or from a version substantially the same, with much poor, some passable, and a very little good work in revision, followed by a considerable (and at present inexplicable) mutilation of lines. The Folio seems undoubtedly the text nearest

[3] In *Shakespeare Reprints*, ed. Wilhelm Victor.

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the intentions of the author for performance in the autumn of 1599. Logic, grammar, meter, diction, and other considerations indicate clearly the priority of the Folio reading in many passages where the Quarto shows omission or condensation. In some cases passages may have been cut out or abridged for no other reason than to shorten the performance, but it is to be noticed that certain types of subject matter are regularly reduced or omitted in the Quartos, even at the sacrifice of substance and form.

The loss of this matter, together with the loss of the epic form, the prologues, and the choruses, accounts in some measure for the utter flatness of the Quartos, as compared with the Folio. One misses in the Quartos a strain of patriotism and high inspiration, and the sense of excitement and tension over problems of high import. Nor is this surprising when we observe what are the topics regularly cut down or omitted. They are subjects which would be thought "unsafe" but fascinating for discussion in a play in 1599–1600: the problem of succession to the English throne; a genealogical argument, which, if good, would support the claim of a contemporary candidate, Essex; the nature of the kingly office: the duty of king to subject; the traits of one democratic king who did not believe in the "divine right,"—a monarch highly idealized by Shakespeare through three plays and now, at the summit of the trilogy, in the chorus before the last act of *Henry V*, deliberately likened to Essex; the dread of partition of England to the Scotch; the putting down of too great ambition and vanity on the part of the French in their claims to precedence, but at the same time the idea of a friendly league with France, in which England should be at the head. Removal or great curtailment of such topics would naturally carry with it the disposal of prologues and choruses, as these (in accordance with a common practice in plays of special meaning) contain the hints to look for contemporary application.

That the fuller, richer, more inspired version of the play, which was obviously in existence by the autumn of 1599, should not have been the one to come into print in 1600 is probably to be explained by the fact that it would be difficult if not impossible then to get it into print. Shakespeare and his company may have learned prudence as to publication from two recent experiences with censorship of historical plays because of contemporary application. One was due presumably to a bit of playful satire in which Shakespeare used the dignified name of Oldcastle for his fat, cowardly dis-

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honest, but nevertheless attractive Falstaff.[4] This seems to have stirred up much more trouble than would seem reasonable to a modern reader of the play.

But much more serious in the result and in the alleged cause was the censorship of *Richard II*, which had its heart cut out in the quartos of 1597 and 1598, the deposition scene being published only after the death of Elizabeth. I have given in a previous article[5] my reasons for identifying Shakespeare's play with the play of the deposition of Richard II performed by the Chamberlain's men before the Essex and Southampton circle specially invited to the Globe on the eve of the Essex uprising, as well as for supposing this performance of Shakespeare's play to be the "playing thereof" mentioned with reference to Hayward's history of the reign of Henry IV (really on Richard II). Hayward did not meet his final reckoning for the historical analogy he was thought to imply between Essex and Henry IV (as deliverer of England from Elizabeth as Richard II) until the performance of this play the night before the uprising, and the mad attempt of Essex (February, 1601) to seize power at court by force had made the authorities believe they saw the full force of his historical analogy. But as early as March 1, 1599, Hayward's book was censored[6] and attempts were made to suppress the first edition. On May 17, 1600, when Essex was imprisoned, to be tried for misgovernment in Ireland, bargaining with a traitor, etc., Hayward was committed to the Tower also. Carleton wrote to the Chamberlain, July 26, 1600:

> The Queen had given him [i.e., Essex], liberty but recalled it upon the taking of Dr. Hayward, who for writing Henry IV is committed to the Tower.[7]

[4] The change was made as early as 1598. Southampton's wife wrote to him July 8, 1599 of Falstaff as of a real contemporary (*Cecil Papers*, CI, 16); but the application is not clear. The only likely descendant from the Oldcastle family as an object of satire in Falstaff is Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham, captain of forces of a shire at times when the whole group of Essex followers could have an opportunity to observe his not too great bloodthirstiness at the siege of Ostend. Cobhaus' military record in general would contrast amusingly with those of Essex and of Sir Charles Percy, a worthy descendant of Hotspur and a great admirer of Shakespeare and his plays. Halliwell (-Phillips), *The Character of Falstaff*, gives an account of the objections made to the use of the name Oldcastle.

[5] "Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 686–720.

[6] Chamberlain sent a copy to Carleton then, with a comment on the objections raised to it. (*Chamberlain's Letters*, Camden Soc'y, p. 47.)

[7] *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, vol. CCLXXV, art. 37.

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On July 26, Hayward and Essex were still being held.

August, 1600 would be the worst possible time to procure allowance for publication of a play which had praise of Essex for its highest point. The authorities would be on the watch for expressions of sympathy. Essex himself, with his usual impulsiveness, wrote a letter (May 12, 1600) to Elizabeth which would have put them on the alert:

> The prating Tavern haunter speaks of me what he lists; the frantic libeller writes of me what he lists; they print me and make me speak to the world, and shortly they will play me upon the stage.[8]

There is no evidence that Shakespeare or his company even tried to publish the play of Henry V in the summer of 1600. Queen Elizabeth was near the end of her life, and restrictions on certain subjects would naturally die with her. The company probably decided to take steps to preserve their copyright until it was safe to publish a good and complete version, rather than suffer such mutilation as had come to their text of *Richard II* in the quartos of 1597 and 1598. *Henry V* appears in a list of plays of their property on the fly-leaf of the Stationers' Registers under date of August 4, 1600 with the entry "to be staied." But perhaps Shakespeare and the company had not reckoned with the owners of the old play of Henry V, *The Famous Victories*, from which Shakespeare had drawn for all three of his plays on Henry V. Ten days after the "staying" entry, *Henry V* was entered on the Registers to Thomas Pavier as "formerly printed and set over,"—probably in the hope of passing off a new text of *Henry V* as an old play already examined by the licensers. The first Quarto was printed by Thomas Millington for Thomas Creede, the owner of *The Famous Victories*. What came into print in the first Quarto of *Henry V* (1600) probably represents the effort of one of the owners of the old play underlying the Shakespeare trilogy to exploit the popular interest in Essex by publishing whatever version of Shakespeare's play could be secured and got into print—though he must have been sorely disappointed as, in spite of the round-about method of entry, the play appeared stripped of nearly all the contemporary and political allusions.

As to whether Shakespeare himself had recast the version represented in the Folio and reduced it to innocuousness before the publication of the corrupt first Quarto, I do not intend to speculate.

[8] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, p. 435.

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I shall only show that the more important cuts and omissions (clearly indicated as such reductions) in the first Quarto text are subject to interpretation as referring to contemporary situations, and someone must have cut the play with censorship in mind.

Before tracing these contemporary applications, let me say that these Essex analogies are not of my invention. I merely add details of historical background. The analogy between Elizabeth and Richard II was traced by her relatives, her statesmen, and herself. It does not seem to me a very happy analogy. I merely report its contemporary acceptance. Nor do I admire the analogy between Essex and Henry IV as deliverer (charged against Hayward in his history and by implication against the Richard II play based upon it). But the most prominent officials of Elizabeth's court insisted solemnly on that analogy, and one cannot leave out of account contemporary interpretations of literature. Evidently incomplete analogies satisfied writers who were seeking a means of expressing forbidden sentiments. Henry V, as compared with Essex, is a far better analogy than these others; but if the modern reader doubts the resemblance of character and situation, let him remind himself that Shakespeare felt its force; for, in what is probably the clearest and most unmistakable personal and topical reference in all his plays, he compares the return of his conquering hero king, Henry V, with the expected return of Essex from his Irish expedition (in the chorus before Act V in the Folio):

> But now behold,
> In the quick Forge and working-house of Thought,
> How London doth powre out her Citizens,
> The Maior and all his Brethren in best sort,
> Like to the Senatours of th' antique Rome,
> With the Plebeians swarming at their heeles,
> Goe forth and fetch their Conqu'ring *Cæsar* in:
> As by a lower, but by louing likelyhood,
> Were now the Generall of our gracious Empresse,
> As in good time he may, from Ireland comming,
> Bringing Rebellion broached on his Sword;
> How many would the peacefull Citie quit,
> To welcome him? much more, and much more cause,
> Did they this *Harry*. Now in London place him.

The nature of the allusion to the General fixes the date of the chorus of the Folio as between March 29, 1599, when Essex went to Ireland, and September 28, 1599, when he returned. And the

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reference to the expected return suggests a date nearer the latter limit for the composition of the Folio text. Essex was at this time definitely out of favor with Elizabeth and a group of powerful courtiers, and was being spied upon in his Irish enterprise. He had as warm enemies as friends, and there were some who hoped that his Irish undertaking would mean banishment and failure. In this analogy Shakespeare was definitely taking sides, politically, at a crisis in public opinion.

The dramatist's interest in Essex began rather early, as we see from his drawing background materials for *Love's Labour's Lost* from the Essex-Biron campaign in the interest of Henry IV. The point in a part of the Essex material in this play I shall discuss in a separate article. The Essex-Biron background is obvious, though it may seem to lack significance. The continuation, if not the beginning of Shakespeare's interest in Essex, is probably traceable to Shakespeare's patron.

Southampton was the leading spirit of the Essex faction. He was early attracted by the character of Essex as a leader of men in warlike enterprise, and attached himself to a number of expeditions, accompanying Essex on the Spanish voyage in 1596 and on another exploit in 1597. But there were other ties. In 1598 Southampton married Elizabeth Vernon, the cousin and ward of Essex. Southampton and his wife both suffered imprisonment and disgrace because of Elizabeth's disapproval of the courtship and marriage. In 1599 Essex had made Southampton General of the Horse in Ireland; but Elizabeth bade Essex dismiss him from his post because he disciplined Lord Grey for a breach of orders. Essex' sympathy was all with Southampton. He wrote to Elizabeth:

> Was it treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry my poor kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment, nor no punishment besides that hath been usual in like cases can satisfy or appease?[9]

The idealization of Essex by Southampton and his extreme devotion to him when his cause looked hopeless are clearly shown by the confession of one of the Essex conspirators, Sir Charles Danvers, at the trial of Essex for treason:

> It was proposed by my Lord of Southampton to my Lord of Essex, whether by letter or message I knowe not, with offer that he and my brother would accompany him in his flight [to France]. While these things

[9] W. B. Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, II, 43.

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were in treaty, my Lord of Southampton, after he had made me knowe how far he would adventure himselfe for my Lord of Essex, that he would adventure his lyfe to save him and enter into banishment with him if need were, demaunded of me, how far I would engage my selfe for his sake.[10]

The likening of Essex to Henry V by Shakespeare himself in the chorus of the Folio version is indisputable. The motive is reasonably well established by the position of Shakespeare's patron as prime mover in the political cause of Essex. The question is, How far is the analogy traceable in the play? What would the expected audience see in it? The nature of the audience I shall reserve for consideration after the hero and the situation of the play.

While the hero, Henry V, may not seem to us a perfect prototype of Essex, he is a far better figure than Henry IV, whom Hayward was accused of likening to Essex in an extended parallel, with a certain necessary warping of the historical character of Henry IV, in which Shakespeare followed him in part in *Richard II*. Holinshed, while admitting that Henry IV was gentle in his later days, said he had nevertheless come to be hated by the people because of taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions.[11] Such a conception of his character is far from that of Hayward in his history of Henry IV and from that of Shakespeare in the Henry IV who appears in *Richard II*. Elizabeth's exactions were to be criticised in both, apparently, and the deliverer must not be credited with her fault.

But, though Shakespeare in *Richard II* followed Hayward almost verbally at times in giving a popular character to Henry IV, after Hayward met with censorship Shakespeare seems to have discovered the unwisdom in making radical changes in such a well-known historical character, and also the essential weakness of analogy between Henry IV and Essex. The hero of the Henry trilogy serves better. But in adopting this hero for his now explicit analogy, Shakespeare must relieve Henry IV of his borrowed character and sketch him more nearly as indicated by Holinshed and others. The result is an inconsistency and an obvious compromise. In *Richard II*, it will be remembered, Richard brings the charge (I, iv, 24) against Henry IV that he courts the common people by doffing his bonnet to an oyster wench and bowing to a brace of draymen, calling them "my loving friends." This passage is

[10] *Correspondence of James VI and Sir Robert Cecil*, Camden Soc'y, 1860, p. 101.
[11] *Chronicles*, 1808 III, 58 ff.

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directly indebted to Hayward, whose version was challenged in court as falsifying the historic character of Henry IV.

In the new trilogy Henry IV is not the hero. He is not the deliverer of England, as in *Richard II* (a point which was objected to in Hayward). He is, instead, an usurper, and Shakespeare introduces the idea of a Nemesis to avenge Henry's act of usurpation (*Henry IV*, pt. 1, III, i, 4–7; and *Henry IV*, pt. 2, IV, v, 178–200). Also, he is stripped of his "popular" character, a quality needed for the new hero, a more worthy candidate, Prince Hal. Henry IV now criticises "popular behavior" as undesirable in a king (*Henry IV*, pt. 1, III, ii, 39–88), and charges Hal with having lost his "princely privilege" with "vile participation" of his "common sight." With this unwise behavior of Hal, the King contrasts his own better diplomacy. He occasionally mingled with the common people, he admits, but seldom, and he did not make himself "stale and cheap to vulgar company," but was little seen, so that his state "won by rareness such solemnity." Richard, his predecessor, he says, acted very differently:

> The skipping king, he ambled up and down
> With shallow jesters and rash bavin wits,
> Soon kindled and soon burnt; carded his state,
> Mingled his royalty with capering fools,
> Had his great name profaned with their scorns,
> And gave his countenance, against his name,
> To laugh at jibing boys and stand the push
> Of every beardless vain comparative,
> Grew a companion to the common streets,
> Enfeoffed himself to popularity.

Shakespeare has now given Henry IV an austere character which serves as a foil to the easy popularity of Hal, whose essential democracy in his youth is to be portrayed as part of his training for leadership of the people. The new trait of haughtiness bestowed upon Henry IV in the two plays of Henry IV is, then, probably due to a change of purpose. Hal, being historically entitled to the democratic and popular nature, is a much happier choice for comparison with Essex, who was probably the most popular of English favorites at the height of his career, his democratic spirit giving him a strong hold on men of various classes and creeds.

In Henry V we find no belief in the divinity of kings. It was Richard II (who met with deposition) that held that theory.

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Henry V is notably human, and he realizes it. Going about incognito among his men, he remarks, in his speech denying the divinity of kings (*Henry V*, IV, i, 103): "I think the king is but a man as I am. . . . . All his senses have but human conditions. His ceremonies laid by, in his nakedness he appears but a man." The twelve-line speech on this theme in the Folio is cut to two lines and rewritten in bad verse,

> Nay, say not so, he is a man as we are.
> The Violet smels to him as to us.

The Quartos, having no choruses, lack the picture (in the chorus before Act IV in the Folio) of the captain walking from tent to tent addressing his soldiers, "Brothers, friends, and countrymen"; and they also lack an eloquent speech by this warrior-king in the fourth act, sc. i, lines 243–302, lamenting the trials of the kingly office, the hollow sham of all kingly ceremony, and the poison of flattery of royal greatness. Such sentiments as these were often cut by censors at this time.

Shakespeare's trilogy on Henry V shows the development of a wise, humane, and, above all, courageous and patriotic king from a wayward, almost dissolute boy, impulsive and undignified, but warm-hearted and devoted to the welfare of his friends and to any inspiring cause. He is a popular favorite and a warrior—not a professional militarist nor a mere planner of wars to risk the lives of others, but one who is more ready to expose himself than others to the hazards of battle. He is, in short, an ideal soldier hero if the cause is worthy. A devoted friend of Essex might think he saw in him such promise of a "miracle" because of his similarly two-sided nature: the gaiety, impulsiveness, and waywardness, the "rawish tricks" which his older friends condemned; and, on the other hand, his personal bravery in battle, his whole-souled devotion to causes he espoused, and his intense (if mistaken) interest in the fate of England.

The Folio differs as greatly from the Quartos in spirit as in general form. The epic form with the prologue and choruses favors a dignified and serious treatment. Also, it conveys more successfully the sense of stirring situations. In the Folio, as in certain passages in *Richard II*, Shakespeare seems inspired as by a theme of tremendous import to his country. Nowhere does he show greater enthusiasm in his treatment of royal character and royal

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policies. The prologue is aflame with the spirit of patriotism and of battle:

> O for a Muse of Fire, that would ascend
> The brightest Heauen of Inuention:
> A Kingdome for a Stage, Princes to Act,
> And Monarchs to behold the swelling Scene,
> Then should the Warlike Harry, like himselfe,
> Assume the port of Mars, and at his heeles
> (Leasht in, like Hounds) should Famine, Sword, and Fire
> Crouch for employment.

As hints to the audience to look for contemporary application in a play were often made in prologues, it may be that lines 28–29, whose obvious meaning has to do with the limitations of the stage in handling large themes and great expanses of space and time, were meant to convey secondarily a suggestion to apply the play to the present time and place:

> For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our Kings,
> Carry them here and there: Iumping o're Times;
> Turning th' accomplishment of many yeeres,
> Into an Howre-glasse.

Next to the prologue, the chorus was the best recognized device for pointing out a special meaning in a play or its application to the lives and interests of the audience. Three of the choruses in *Henry V* suggest the possibility of contemporary application: the fifth, with its explicit Essex parallel, asking how many would leave the peaceful city to greet Essex on his return from Ireland—a question uppermost, in the autumn of 1599, in the minds of Southampton and his circle; the fourth, picturing the popular hero king among his men (a theme continued in Act IV, sc. i, 1–34 but absent, like the choruses, from the Quartos); and the second, conveying the feeling of tension in the city, of conspiracies and treasons against the hero, of royal crowns at stake.

Let us examine the possible implications of these choruses. In the chorus before Act V the customary annotation of the passage makes Essex (by a rather odd figure of speech) bring back to England the *Irish* rebellion *spitted* or *transfixed* on his sword. But it seems to me possible that Shakespeare was here glancing, instead, at the Essex rebellion, then already under way and known to many citizens even outside the Essex-Southampton circle. The question is, whether Shakespeare uses *broach* here in the physical sense of

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spit, or *transfix*, or in what is now a very common sense, *set loose*, *begin*, *introduce*, *initiate*. I find only one certain use of *broach* by Shakespeare in the sense of *transfix* in a play which is generally admitted as his, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, (V, i, 149), where there is an obvious parody on someone's bad style,

> And bravely broach'd his boiling, bloody breast.

In a play which many scholars accept as Shakespeare's, *Titus Andronicus*, *transfix* is clearly the meaning in the line (IV, ii, 86),

> I'll broach the tadpole on my rapier's point,

though reference to the command preceding, "And bids thee christen it with thy dagger's point," makes *initiate* a possible secondary meaning, perhaps with punning intent. In *Henry V*, a similar idea (Folio, III, iii, 38) is expressed not by *broached*, but thus,

> Your naked Infants spitted upon Pykes.

Broach as *begin*, *set loose*, *initiate*, *introduce*, is rather common in Shakespeare's plays, as in these passages:

> I will continue that I broached in jest.
> —*The Taming of the Shrew*, I ii, 84
> Did broach this business to your highness.
> —*Henry VIII*, II, iv, 147
> The business she hath broached in the state.
> —*Antony and Cleopata*, I, ii, 183. Cf. 185.
> Who hath broached this tumult but thy pride?
> —*Henry, VI*, pt. 2, II, 2.
> That for her love such quarrels should be broached.
> —*Titus Andronicus*, II, i, 67
> A portent of broached mischief to the times.
> —*Henry IV*, pt. 1, V. i, 21.[12]

Professor Carleton Brown thinks that *pierced* or *spitted* is the right interpretation of *broached* in the Essex chorus in *Henry V*, especially because a sharp implement is named in the passage; but, as the figure of spitted Rebellion brought back to England is rather odd, I venture to suggest consideration of the derived meaning of *initiated*, which Shakespeare often employed in other connections.

[12] Compare Lord Henry Howard's use in an account of the Essex conspiracy: "All the partisans of the last tragedy resorted to Southampton without impeachment . . . . and new practises were *set on broach*" (Secret Correspondence of Hailes, Letter III; in Charlotte Stopes, *Henry, Third Earl of Southampton*, pp. 248–49).

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If, as I think likely, the Folio version of *Henry V* was intended for a special performance at the Globe before the circle of Southampton and the group committed to the support of Essex (as we know *Richard II* was actually performed later), the direct question as to how many would leave the *peaceful* city to welcome Essex "bringing rebellion broached on his sword" might become highly significant in view of the plans of Essex and his faction (including as chief leaders Southampton, Mountjoy, and their friends) to secure the support of the people for Essex in his wild scheme of capturing the Queen and the court. Essex originally planned to place himself in London against the will of the Queen by entering the city at the head of about two or three thousand soldiers, as was confessed by his fellow-conspirator, Sir Christopher Blount. But both Blount and Southampton thought this extreme and hazardous, and endeavored to dissuade him. He then planned to enter the city at the head of about two hundred men, to notify the aldermen and common council of his reasons for coming, and to demand their assistance.[13] According to Blount, Essex had learned that the sheriff, Sir Thomas Smith, had a thousand men at his command who would come to his support.[14] It was actually hoped that the "Maior and all his Brethren in best sort" would fall in line with Essex, just as in the case of Henry V. Perhaps the crowds assembled to see Essex depart for Ireland on March 29, 1599 furnished a measure of justification for this hope of a popular welcome. The confidence in the allegiance of the City may be seen in the testimony of another conspirator, Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland:

> The Earl of Essex said that the City of London stood for him . . . . that he meant to possess himself of the city, the better to revenge himself of his enemies, Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh. . . . . The Earl, on coming to Sheriff Smythe, desired him to send for the Lord Mayor, that he might speak with him. And Robert Cecil wrote to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, February, 1601, that a false alarm had been brought to the Queen that the City had revolted with Essex.[15]

The sheriff of London was tried, among others, for intent of treasonable aid to the conspirators, but, as his services had been more of omission than of active aid, he was merely dismissed from

[13] *Hatfield MSS*, vol. LXXXIII, no. 82. Cf. W. B. Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, I, 139; and cf. also a letter of Cecil to Winwood, Mar. 7, 1601, Winwood, *Memorials*, I, 301.

[14] *Hatfield MSS*, LXXXIII, no. 82. Compare Camden, *Elizabeth*, p. 607.

[15] *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, vol. CCLXXVIII, art. 44. (Feb. 12, 1601.)

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office. There is, however, abundant evidence that a careful plan had been laid, before the return of Essex from Ireland, for active aid by Londoners in his mad enterprise. The priest Greenloe testified at the trial that Essex had prepared the way for his rebellion by writing letters, shortly before his return, to the Dean of Chester, to Chamberlain Warburton of Chester, to Sir Richard Molineux, Sir Richard Houghton, Mr. Standish, Mr. Boulde (a dependent of Essex), and to others. Houghton, he said, had bought up 2000 to 3000 muskets about this time. He concluded that, "if to know of wars to come, and letters of readiness received implicate some secret promise of consent, ergo we say so of the Lord of Chester and Chamberlain, which two can command the city, because the dean's man reported that what the Lord of Chester would have Sir Richard to do, he could get him to do. The dean's unusual conferences with Sir Richard, his riding to Chester, and furnishing himself with new muskets, caused us, when we heard thereof, to judge his spoon to be in that pie." . . . . It was then remarked, "The aspiring mind of the Earle, with the applause of his cavaliers remembered, what can we conjecture but that his prosperous return would have pricked at the highest mark?"[16] What the "highest mark" meant is made clear by Cecil's assertion that Essex meant to be King of England, as also from other testimony.

When Essex returned from Ireland, he was forbidden to leave his chambers because he had come without the Queen's licence;[17] and charges of misgovernment were brought against him on November 29, 1599 for his conduct of Irish affairs in general, and in particular for his questionable private interview and composition with the "traitor" Tyrone. Bacon gives an account of a confession by Thomas Wood that he was told by Fitzmorrice of Tyrone's writing the Earl of Desmond concerning his contract with Essex, which promised that Essex should be King of England and Tyrone Viceroy of Ireland, provided that Tyrone send Essex eight thousand Irish soldiers when he returned to England.[18] The friends of Essex always denied this mutual contract for high offices, but Southampton and Blount admitted that Essex visited them in

[16] *S. P. Dom.*, 1580–1605, vol. XXXIV, art. 20, tentatively dated ?Nov., 1599. I think this date is probably too early.

[17] *Sydney Papers*, II, 129.

[18] *Declarations of Practices and Treasons of the Earl of Essex*, p. 9. Cf. *Calendar of Carew MSS*, 1589–1600, p. 343.

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Ireland and planned to march in power to London with two or three thousand Irish soldiers.[19]

This, then, is the Essex situation glanced at in the chorus before the fifth act. The chorus before the second act pictures the excitement of the youth of England, where

> Now sits Expectation in the Ayre,
> And hides a Sword, from Hilts unto the Point,
> With Crownes Imperiall, Crownes and Coronets,
> Promis'd to Harry, and his followers.

This would fit well the season of the ripening conspiracy of Essex expecially as a part of his declared purpose was the settling of the succession and he had as a secondary purpose the bringing of his own friends into power in place of his enemies at court.

With regard to the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, history provided Shakespeare with a ready-made analogy. In the play of Henry V, Shakespeare may very well have taken from Holinshed the Folio scene where the Archbishop instigates Henry to an aggressive war with France and invokes his warlike spirit (I, ii, 103 ff.):

> Goe my dread Lord, to your great Grandsires Tombe,
> From whom you clayme; inuoke his Warlike Spirit;

and the Bishop joins in,

> Awake remembrance of these valiant dead
> And with your puissant Arme renew their Feats;
> You are their Heire, you sit upon their Throne:
> The Blood and Courage that renowned them,
> Runs in your Veines.

The Quarto versions at this point show, by metre, syntax, and logic, a cutting and mutilation of the Bishop's part and a complete omission of the Archbishop's. In the Folio (line 130) the Archbishop promises Henry the support of the clergy:

> O let their bodyes follow my dear Liege
> With Bloode, and Sword and Fire, to win your Right;
> In ayde whereof, we of the Spiritualtie
> Will rayse your Highnesse such a mightie Summe,
> As neuer did the Clergie at one time
> Bring in to any of your Ancestors.

[19] *Declarations of . . . . , Treasons*, p. 11. Cf. *Hatfield MSS*, vol. LXXXIII.

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The King addresses the Archbishop as the instigator of the undertaking: "In approbation of what your reverence shall incite us to."

Turning to the Essex situation, we see that, according to a report of Edward Reynolds (appointed by Essex when he went to Ireland to act as his agent at the London court), the Archbishop of Canterbury was a staunch supporter of Essex in the Council:

> There are but three of the Council whose affection I hold to be settled on you: the most just Lord Keeper [Egerton], the most reverend Archbishop [Whitgift], and your Lordship's worthy uncle, Mr. Comptroller [Sir William Knollys]; the rest are either declared opposite or neuter.[20]

Hayward was clearly aware of the support of Essex by the Archbishop when he worked into his history of the reign of Henry IV a dialogue between an archbishop and a bishop to justify the deposition of Richard II. This was challenged at Hayward's trial as being invented by Hayward as an argument for deposing Elizabeth in favor of Essex.

In *Henry V*, Shakespeare, in the Folio, brings in the Bishop of Ely as interlocutor for the Archbishop of Canterbury, that they may sing the praises of the transformed Henry:

> Heare him but reason in Diuinitie;
> And all-admiring, with an inward wish
> You would desire the King were made a Prelate:
> Heare him debate of Common-wealth affaires;
> You would say, it hath been all his study:
> List his discourse of Warre, and you shall heare
> A fearefull Battaile rendred you in Musique.

He is pictured as a "true lover of the holy Church," although "the courses of his youth promis'd it not."

Here again the quality of praise of the transformed Henry fits contemporary accounts of a changed Essex. Wild and reckless as he was in his youth, he became an extremely popular soldier and a successful leader of men in war by land and by sea when he was given a free hand and adequate supplies. He was not able to please Elizabeth or Cecil by his Irish endeavors; but it must be admitted that few did please them, and that many obstacles were placed in his way and that he lacked thorough support. At the last, though in despair of personal achievements there, he outlined, in a letter to Elizabeth, a policy for Ireland many points of which were fol-

[20] W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, II, 15.

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lowed out by his successor. He was, then, both interested and to some extent informed in matters of policy. He mingled freely with all classes of men. He advocated tolerance in religion. Indeed, he went so far in that direction that his own religious convictions were a matter of extreme doubt. But his interest in hearing questions of divinity discussed is unmistakable. It was charged at his trial that this interest had been cultivated with a view to winning to his side Protestants, Catholics, and Puritans alike; and it is clear that at times all these sects received courteous attention and entertainment in his household. Robert Cecil, at the trial of Essex, commented caustically on this sudden development of interest in divinity:

> He had been devising five or six years to be King of England; had wit and much power put into his hand, and meant thus to slip into Hir Majesty's place. He insinuated himself into favour by pretending to the people and soldiers that he was careful of them; to the Puritans, by seeming more religious than others, and to the Papists by making them believe that when he was King, he would grant them liberty of conscience.[21]

The nature of Essex' claim to the throne of England, such as it was, furnishes a further parallel with the matter of the Folio of *Henry V*. It will readily be granted by a modern reader that the sixty-two line speech in the Folio tracing the lineage of Henry V would be very bad art for Shakespeare in a play written as late as 1599 but for some special interest of the audience in the matter of argument. It is a heavy, hard speech, painstakingly turning facts from Holinshed and other chroniclers into rather flat expository verse. This is dull to us, certainly; but in 1599 all England was agog over half a dozen rather good claims to the English throne and a few poor ones which were receiving support in tracts and otherwise from their particular adherents.[22] Essex was not generally considered a leading candidate for the throne, but he had a

[21] *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, vol. CCLXXVIII, art. 54 (Feb. 13, 1601). On the religious assemblies at Essex' and Southampton's houses, and on the entertainment of men of religion in Essex' household, see W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, and C. C. Stopes, *Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, passim.*

[22] Genealogies in plays would be a livelier subject then than now, if only because "dangerous." Elizabeth always tried to hush discussion of the succession. Even King James, as late as Feb. 19, 1624, addressing the two Houses on the lack of any parliament for two years, desired them to "beware of genealogies and curious questions" and not to "let any stir them up to law questions." (Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, III, 156.)

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group of supporters. His personal popularity based on his military record would insure a fairly general interest in any argument over his title in any audience; but for the special circle of Southampton's and Essex' friends there could be no question of its interest. As it happens, the line of Essex traced its claim to the crown to Edward III, just as did that of Henry V by a parallel line, Henry V being a descendant of the second daughter of the last male of the Bohuns, and Essex a descendant of the elder daughter. A great part of the argument in the Folio turns on descent "through the female." But if Henry's title to the French throne "through the female" were good, so by the same token would Essex have good title to the English throne. Here, as in *Richard II*, descent from Edward III is perhaps brought into prominence because the lines of Henry V, Elizabeth, and Essex all meet in Edward III. The argument contained in the labored parallels of the long Folio speech was probably felt to be essential to the play; for, although there is a great deal of bad cutting in the Quartos here (resulting, *e.g.*, in the loss of the backward reference for "Hugh Capet *also*" and for the "*foresaid*" Duke of Lorain), the thread of reasoning is substantially preserved by retention of the conclusion:

> So that as cleare as is the Summer's Sunne,
> King Pepin's title, and Hugh Capet's clayme,
> King Lewes his satisfaction, all appeare
> To hold in Right and Title of the Female.
> So doe the Kings of France unto this day.

Comparison of the texts at lines 58–89 of Act I, sc. ii will convince any doubter that the Folio version underlies the first Quarto.

The much longer dissertation on the abstract rights involved is, in the Folio version, immediately followed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's invocation to war (I, ii, 103):

> Goe my dread Lord, to your great Grandsire's Tombe,
> From whom you clayme; invoke his warlike spirit.

In the Quartos, line 104 shows the loss of "invoke his warlike spirit." The Quartos also lack the stirring invocation to war of III, i, 1–36 in the Folio, as well as various other incitations to war.

The second chorus of the Folio contains rumors of conspiracies and treasons of English leaders in the pay of foreign monarchs to kill the hero—very suggestive of the stirring times of 1599–1600. In the Folio we have a heavy stressing, elsewhere, of the treachery

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of "three corrupted men": Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey, Knight of Northumberland, who are presented in the chorus, lines 29 ff.:

> And by their hands, this grace of Kings must dye.
> If Hell and treason hold their promises,
> Ere he take ship for France; and in Southampton.
> Linger your patience on, and we'el digest
> Th' abuse of distance; force a play.

The last two lines, and especially the promise to "force a play" seem to me a puzzle which calls for interpretation. As punctuated, this makes little sense, especially the "and in Southampton." This chorus makes three very conspicuous references to Southampton within thirteen lines (presumably as a place name); but the reason for such emphasis is not apparent.[23] The next lines have more obvious meaning, but they also are faintly suggestive of the Essex situation:

> The summe is payde, the Traitors are agreed,
> The King is set from London, and the Scene
> Is now transported (Gentles) to Southampton,
> There is the playhouse now, there must you sit,
> And thence to France shall we convey you safe,
> And bring you backe: Charming the narrow seas
> To giue you gentle Passe: for if we may,
> We'll not offend one stomacke with our Play.

It is not only the chorus of the Folio that emphasizes the three treacherous plotters. The Folio alone contains (in Act II, sc. ii, lines 3 ff.), after a brief comment on the hypocritical conduct of the three plotters and their appearance of loyalty, a statement that their murder plot is known and intercepted. Now Essex used as a main point of pressure upon his friends to act in his wild scheme to surprise the court what he said was intercepted information of a plot of his three chief enemies, Cecil, Raleigh, and Cobham, to kill him. These enemies were to be removed from court, at any cost. For years this plot had been rumored. Later on, at Essex House, February, 1601, Essex made a public announcement to three hundred of his followers that Raleigh and Cobham had planned

[23] Is it possible that the lines mean "and in Southampton linger your patience on," that is, trust to the Earl of Southampton's plan? This is only a tentative suggestion and has reference to the confession of a conspirator (Danvers) that, if Essex' enemies were to triumph, Southampton planned a temporary exile of Essex, himself, and a few others in France. (See p. 728, *supra*.)

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an immediate attempt on his life, and action must be taken in his defense.[24] To support this charge, Southampton cited an assault upon himself by Lord Grey, his own personal enemy as well as a member of the faction opposed to Essex. In the Quarto versions we see that the intercepted information of the plot is cut out, with some garbling, as in the line of fifteen syllables at the opening of II, ii. All versions contain a lament over the treachery of the three plotters, especially the one that had been most trusted (II, ii, 8–11):

> Nay, but the man that was his bedfellow,
> Whom he hath dull'd and cloy'd with gracious fauours,
> That he should for a forraigne purse, so sell
> His Soueraignes life to death, and treachery.

But the Folio version makes much more of this trusted traitor. Lines 105–40 (cut out in the Quarto, as is shown by the meter), contain a lyric outcry of reproach, narrating the nobility of birth and the natural good qualities of Scrope of Masham, and closing,

> I will weepe for thee,
> For this reuolt of thine, me thinkes is like
> Another fall of Man.

It is, of course, possible that, if this play was to be given before Southampton and his friends, the fervor of this lament was due to the fact that the historic Lord Scrope of Masham happened to be an ancestor of Southampton. But it seems to me rather more likely that this traitor had a contemporary shadow to represent in the Essex affair. The most likely person is not one of the three arch-plotters usually named by Essex as his worst foes, but someone nearer to him, his own brother-in-law, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who not only mistreated Essex' sister Dorothy at times, but was openly known to be under the influence of Essex' enemies, Raleigh and Cobham. His two brothers, Sir Charles and Sir Joscelyn Percy, warm friends of Southampton and interested in Shakespeare's historical plays, as we know, were among the most active of the Essex conspirators. Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, seems to have had no high sense of honor, as he betrayed to King James of Scotland and others the secrets of his two brothers and of Southampton, even pursuing

[24] See the account by the Chancellor, Egerton, in W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, II, 142.

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them with his malice after the execution of Essex, as is shown by a letter from Henry Howard in November, 1601, in which Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland are grouped as the "diabolical triplicity" opposed to the Essex faction.[25]

If one is disposed to question whether all this taking sides with regard to Essex began as early as the autumn of 1599, he has only to turn to the contemporary accounts of the attempts of friends of Essex to express their sympathy in some public way, and to indicate a conviction that he was being plotted against. From the time of his first imprisonment after his return from Ireland, pamphlets were "cast out and suppressed" criticising the Queen and her Council (October 11, 1599).[26] On December 29, 1599, according to a letter from Edward Stanhope, preachers at Paul's Cross attacked the government, tolled bells, or prayed by name for Essex.[27] On December 22, 1599, White wrote to Sidney that "at court upon the very white walls much villany hath been written against 200 (Cecil)."[28] The abuse of Cecil, besides being due to his opposition to Essex, may have been caused by what seems to have been a popular rumor that Cecil might be in the pay of Spain.[29] The Folio version would necessarily precede only by a month or so the suppression of these sympathetic "libels" in behalf of Essex; and we may well suppose that, through Southampton, Shakespeare might be informed on the newest development of the Essex plans.

Reference to the Essex situation gives some point to a small scene in the Folio, at III, ii, 70 ff., where leaders from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales talk over some joint enterprise. According to all previous explanations this has been nonsense pure

[25] Charlotte C. Stopes, *Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton*, pp. 248–49. There is a lesser possibility that the traitor referred to might be a domestic of good family treated as confidant by Essex, a Gabriel Montgomery, saidby Thuanus to have revealed all the doings at Essex House (W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, II, 136–37). But Montgomery seems personally too insignificant.

[26] *Sidney Papers*, II, 132. The "libels" continued and were again ordered suppressed. (*Ibid.*, II, 146.)

[27] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1598-1601, p. 365.

[28] *Sidney Papers*, II, 153. Cf. also a letter from John Daniel to Cecil, Oct. 13, 1599 (*Ibid.*) and one from F. Woodward to R. Sidney concerning sedition, special guards, and slander of Elizabeth and the Council over Irish matters (*Ibid.*, II, 147). The libels continued through February, 1601 (*Ibid.*, II, 169).

[29] I do not know that there was any foundation for that rumor at this time. S. R. Gardiner has established the selling out to Spain in the reign of James (*History of England*, 1603–1616, 1836, appx. 3, with which compare *Letters of Cecil*, Camden Society, 68.)

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and simple—nonsense too simple for Shakespeare to be writing in 1599, for the humor hardly supports the episode.[30] The Essex project throws light on this scene of nations. As developed by Essex, Southampton, and Mountjoy, it involved the use of joint forces of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, along with the English. This plan was made before Essex' return to England in September, 1599, though some details were later modified. Shakespeare's treatment is light and playful, but he definitely ridicules the Welsh and Scotch and gives the Irish the preference by comparison. The Welshman is contentious, inclined to dispute rather than to fight. He criticises the enterprise as being "not according to the disciplines of the Warre" and as needing "better directions." He calls the valiant Irish gentleman and captain who directs it an ass because "he has no more directions in the true disciplines of the Warres, looke you, of the Roman disciplines, then is a Puppy-dog." Shakespeare is perhaps mischievously making use of Essex' own criticisms of the rebels' weakness in Ireland. On May 20, 1599 he wrote a letter (received at court June 1) describing his Irish opponents as brave and hardy, but savages, with no order. "They fight in woods and bogs where horse are utterly unserviceable; they use the advantage of lightness and swiftness in going off when they find our order too strong for them to encounter." And on June 25, 1599 Essex informed the Queen by letter that they "neither march, nor lodge, nor fight in order."[31] The disorderly Irish, however, got the better of the disciplined English soldiers in the encounter that followed; and now Essex was proposing to use for his own enterprise in England an Irish soldiery under that very rebel, Tyrone. The Irish captain in Shakespeare's scene, Mackmorrice, is a man of direct action, like Tyrone. He says:

> It is no time to discourse, so Chrish saue me: . . . . it is no time to discourse, the Town is beseech'd: and the Trumpet call us to the breech, and we talke, and be Chrish do nothing, tis shame for us all. . . . . There is throats to be cut, and Workes to be done, and there ish nothing done.

He has no time for debate on the art of war with the Welsh and

[30] Richard Simpson (in *Trans. of the New Shakespeare Soc'y*, ser. 1, pt. 2, 1874, pp. 416–19) suggested that Shakespeare was looking forward to a union of these four countries and France under the English crown. This obliged him to substitute Scotland for France for the alliance at the end of the play. But this is not justifiable, as dread of Scotch partition of England is expressed elsewhere in the play.

[31] W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, II, 29 and 40.

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Scotch generals. "I would have blowed up the Towne, so Chrish saue me law, in an houre."

In marked contrast with the Irishman, the Welshman proposes "a few disputations . . . . concerning the disciplines of the Warre, the Roman Warres, in the way of Argument." The Welshman indicates that Captain Jamy, the Scotchman, is also a pedant theorist on war, who will "maintaine his Argument as well as any militarie man in the World, in the disciplines of the Pristine Wars of the Romans."

The chief difference between the Scotch leader and the Welsh is the former's excess of caution. Captain Jamy has an interest in the proceedings, and he will step in decisively at the right moment. He is canny. He sides with neither arguer, but compliments both. He will watch and wait, and take his own opportunity. "It sall be vary gud, gud feith, gud captens both, and I sall quit you with gud leue, as I may pick occasion: that sall I mary." This was a favorite policy with James, and the one he pursued in the Essex conspiracy which he was invited to join. The temporizing attitude, the compliments to all concerned, the vague promises of future participation when he sees fit and the failure to commit himself to anything whatever for immediate action, all are illustrated in the confession of Southampton which shows that he and Mountjoy and Essex all knew this attitude of James. The passages which I have underscored would seem to suggest the very speech which Shakespeare has put in the mouth of Captain Jamy:

Att my first comminge out of Ireland and uppon the committment of my Lord of Essex, my Lord Mountjoy came to my lodginge to Essex howse, where hee tould mee that hee had before his cominge foreseen his ruine, and desieringe to saue him if mought bee, had sent a messenger to the King of Skottes to wishe him to bethinke him self, and not suffer, if hee could hinder it, the gouerment of this state to bee wholy in the handes of his enemies; and if he would resolue of any thinge that was fitt, hee should find him forward to doe him right, as farr as hee mought with a safe conscience, and his duty reserved to her Majestie; that hee expected, within a while after, to receaue answer, which when hee did I should know it. Not long after hee towld mee hee had heard from him, and *shewed me a letter which hee sent him, wherein was nothinge but compliments, allowinge of his reseruations, and referringe him for the matter to the bearer, who deliuered unto him that the king would think of it, and putt himself in a rediness to take any good occation;* whereupon hee sent him againe with this proiect, that hee should prepare an army at a conuenient time, declare his intent, that hee would bee redy to assist him with the army in

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Ireland, whether hee was goinge, and mought for the healfe of those doe that which was fitt in establishinge such a course as should bee best for our contry, houldinge euer his former reseruations. . . . .

To this dispach wee receaued no answer duringe the time of his aboade here, but within a while after, the messenger returned, and brought for answer that *hee lyked the course well, and would prepare him self for it; but the yeare growinge on, and it beeinge thought by Sir Charles Danvers that the army of Ireland would suffice alone, I made my Lord of Essex acquainted by letters, hee beeinge than att Essex howse, what had been done.*[32]

The evasive and complimentary answer from James described in the first passage *underscored* above was in reply to a message from Mountjoy preceding the return of Essex to England, and could conceivably reach Shakespeare through Southampton or Essex or Essex' father-in-law, who sent the invitation, in time to be included in the Folio version before performance in the autumn of 1599. The scene is episodic, and could be put in easily enough after the rest was written. But that it was there before the Quarto version I have already shown, from the nature of the cutting.

Southampton's confession throws light on Shakespeare's attitude toward the Scotch in that he ridicules the Scotch with reference to a project enlisting their aid. It also explains Essex' distrust of James. It was not Essex, but Mountjoy who first approached James; and the reply was not encouraging. On August 18, 1599 (which must be very near the time when the Folio version was completed), Essex had information that the King of Scotland regarded him as the only obstacle to his title to the throne of England. "He desires nothing more than the ill success of the Irish wars in general or your own success in particular." The same letter declared that the Scottish lords were already portioning out England in anticipation.[33] There is certainly a hint of this dread in *Henry V*, in the passage on the Scottish invasions. And the whole tone of the play would fit an awareness of a self-interested attitude on the part of Scotland. Because old histories supported this comment on past behavior of Scotland, it was perhaps thought safe to leave this passage in the Quarto, with only slight verbal change. King Henry is made to voice the suspicion of Scotch intentions (Folio, I, ii, 143):

[32] *Hatfield MSS*, LXXXIV, no. 19; original autograph, reprinted in *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robt. Cecil* . . . . Camden Soc'y, 96 ff.

[33] *Salisbury MSS*, IX, 307–308.

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> We do not meane the coursing snatchers onely,
> But feare the maine intendment of the Scot,
> Who hath been still a giddy neighbour to us;
> For you shall reade, that my great Grandfather
> Neuer went with his forces into France,
> But that the Scot, on his unfurnisht kingdom
> Came pouring, like the Tyde into a breach,
> With ample and brim fullnesse of his force,
> Galling the gleaned Land with hot Assayes,
> Girding with grieuous siege, Castles and Townes:
> That England, being emptie of defence,
> Hath shooke and trembled at th' ill neighbourhood.

The Bishop of Ely adds his warning:

> For once the Eagle (England) being in prey,
> To her unguarded Nest, the weazell (Scot)
> Comes sneaking, and so sucks her princely Egges,
> Playing the Mouse in absence of the Cat.

In view of Shakespeare's use of Hayward's *Life and Raigne of Henrie the Fourth* for his *Richard II*, it seems possible that the passages here quoted may have been inspired by Hayward's comments on the Scots as untrustworthy (p. 59):

> It was also dangerous to disfurnish the North-parts of their forces, and to offer opportunity to the Scottish borderers, who were alwayes uncertaine friends in their extremities, and assured enemies upon advantage.

But Shakespeare's Archbishop of Canterbury says of England (I, ii, 161):

> Shee hath her selfe not onely well defended,
> But taken and impounded as a Stray,
> The King of Scots.

The play is anything but complimentary to a Scottish king who for years had been making every effort to get himself declared successor to Elizabeth. If the scene of the nations glances at the Essex situation, Shakespeare apparently leans to the decision arrived at in the autumn of 1599, to rely chiefly on the Irish to do any practical fighting necessary.[34] This continued to be empha-

[34] News from Flanders after the Earl's death indicates that "som few of the States" knew Essex' designs "and should have concurred to his assistance." (C. C. Stopes, *Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton*, p. 222.)

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sized, though other features of the plans were modified.[35] It was later advised that the Irish troops be taken not to Scotland, but to Wales. Mountjoy continued to assure King James that Essex did not aspire to be King of England; but James continued cautious. His secret instructions to ambassadors to be sent over early in 1601[36] show that, while willing to profit by the Essex rebellion, he wished others to do the work. They were to the effect that the ambassadors were to take part in the Essex movement or lie still according as his friends in England thought best; that "if they resolved on action, and only required a head, his envoys had full power to declare him ready to supply that place,—with the sole reservation that the Queen's person was to be safe." But Essex did not wait. The conspiracy was precipitated to a conclusion and had fallen flat before the Scottish ambassadors arrived.

The episode of the four nations has been cut out in making up the first Quarto text, along with the opening chorus and the King's stirring invocation to war. As the King's address is rhetorically effective, it is probably omitted because of a general policy of omitting such invocations to war in the Quarto. Cutting out this, the Quarto begins with the trifling foolery of Nim and Bardolph (not very significant as now placed). Accidentally preserved within this is a single speech by Flewellyn, lines 60–69, (which is set up as verse but is merely a condensation of the prose of the Folio), containing evidence of the pre-existence of the Folio version:

> By Jesus I think heele blowe up all
> If there be no better direction.

This speech lacks point because of the removal of the wrangle over methods of directing and the discussion of the choice of the valiant Irishman as director of the enterprise, as in the Folio, lines 70–73.

Summing up, we see that as to references to the Scotch and their habits, the Quarto has nearly all its teeth drawn. And it lacks all but a single vestigial remnant of the incident involving the four nations.

[35] The progress of the plans may be traced in the letters in W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, II, 132 ff. and in Spedding, *Works of Bacon*, II, 338; in the deposition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges in *Criminal Trials*, ed. D. Jardine, 1847, vol. I, and in Howell, *State Trials*, and in the full account of the Essex trials, *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, *passim.*

[36] Extracted by Birch from the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh; cited in W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, II, 135. Cf. also Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, VI, 102.

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Still more striking, perhaps, is the difference between the treatments of French relations in the Folio and the Quarto versions. The Folio is, on the whole, distinctly pro-French; for it closes with what has no basis in history, a plea by Isabel for a closer union with France (V, ii, 388–96):

> God, the best maker of all Marriages,
> Combine your hearts in one, your Realmes in one:
> As Man and Wife being two, are one in loue,
> So be there 'twixt your Kingdomes such a Spousall,
> That neuer may ill Office, or fell Iealousie,
> Which troubles oft the Bed of blessed Marriage,
> Thrust in betweene the Pation of these Kingdomes,
> To make diuorce of their incorporate League:
> That English may as French, French Englishmen,
> Receiue each other. God speake this Amen.

Both Quartos close with a simple marriage vow between Henry and Katherine, without a trace of the symbolizing of a union of nations in a league. The plea for peace preceding this passage is also greatly reduced in the Quartos and much more lightly treated.

It will be remembered that from the early '90's Essex had been interested in cementing friendship between England and France. He was the means of securing some aid from Elizabeth for Henri IV and was himself actively engaged in his behalf. When Elizabeth took offence at what seemed to her French ingratitude, Essex remained friendly to the French king and nation.[37] And, as we have seen, when the outlook for Essex seemed doubtful, Southampton and Danvers offered to accompany Essex if he were willing to take refuge in France.[38]

While the close of *Henry V* is squarely in line with the friendly policy of Essex toward France, it is clear that England is to dominate the union; so that "England for the English" is still the slogan. Other nations may join in English enterprises; and France may even enter into an entente; but England is to be at the head.

In working out the conception of the dominance of England, Shakespeare has in the Folio version alone a scene (IV, ii) which satirizes the French as vainly boasting of their superiority. Contrary to history, the proud Dolphin is allowed to appear at the

[37] On Elizabeth's tentative policies toward France, see *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1595–1597, pp. 202–203 *et passim*.

[38] W. B. Devereux, *op. cit.*, II, 132.

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battle of Agincourt, that he may be pictured as tasting in advance a victory over the English. The Constable, another braggart, calls the English soldiers a "poore and starved Band," and speaks of their bloodless, sickly veins. The victory is going to be so easy that the French gallants will simply draw out their weapons and then sheathe them "for lack of sport." The fierce French constable remarks (IV, ii, 23):

> Let us but blow on them,
> The vapour of our Valour will o're-turne them.

In fact, the victory over the English could be turned over to the French lackeys and peasants while the noblemen stand looking on. The English foes are so dead before the battle is begun that "their executors, the knavish Crowes" fly over them, impatient for their hour.

This taking down of French boastfulness was in the original version of the play, as is shown by careless cutting and re-organization to rid the Quartos of these satirical speeches, as well as of Orleans' comment on the "wretched and peevish fellow," the English king, and his "fat-brained followers." This is indicated by the rime-tag at the end of the Folio scene, IV, ii, 61,

> Come, come away.
> The Sunne is high, and we out-weare the day,

which got lost in the shuffle and accidentally turned up in the Quarto at Act III, sc. vii, lines 139–40, resulting in the startling phenomenon of a high sun in the middle of the night. (Time indications may be followed in both versions, but are very clearly indicated in the chorus before the next act in the Folio). The rime-tag was carelessly inserted in place of a mere wish for day in the night scene mentioned. Other minor cuts in the Quarto show the intention of omitting offensive personalities between French and English, as in the omission of the passage in the Folio, II, iv, 50 ff., where the French king is made to tell how England shamed France in the past; and the passage in the Folio, III, v, 24 ff., where the Dolphin says French "mettell is bred out" and French women mock the men and will give themselves to the "Lust of English Youth,/ To new-store France with Bastard warriors"; and the statement that women tell French warriors their only grace is in their heels, in running away, and they should go to English dancing-schools. In each case the state of the text shows cutting in the Quarto.

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Shakespeare's yielding to a temptation to take down French boastfulness while writing a play that is, in its larger aspects, distinctly pro-French is easier to understand if we consider French-English relations when the play was written, played, and published. In 1599–1600 there was a prolonged agitation over a supposed French interest in establishing a claim to the English throne. A letter from "J. B." (*i.e.*, J. P., John Petit) to Peter Halins dated August 18/28, 1599 details the rumors about the Scottish and English claims to the succession in England:

You say that some there will not believe that the King of Scots intends to cut the grass under her Majesty's feet. . . . . Is it not known that the King and many in their Parliament made public speeches to stir the people to contribute largely to revenge his mother's death and force Her Majesty to declare him heir apparent, and how many sendings between England and Scotland there have been to excuse this? . . . . Is the sending of Dean Foster, Lord Burley, and Lord Sanquair to Rome . . . . nothing? . . . . If these incredulous people will not believe known truths, will they believe what I am going to tell you now? Sir James Lindsay, returning here from Paris, says he hears that some English and French have put it into the head of the King of France,—considering the Queen's age, the nearness of the country to his,—that the King of Scots is a man of little courage and his people half-barbarians,—and that it is not convenient for France that England and Scotland should be joined—to take England himself, alleging that, when the Queen dies, the waters will be troubled, and there will be good fishing; and that France is full of people who will run headlong to the enterprize; they say that the King intends it, as a matter necessary for France, and is laying his plots. Robert Bruce, a Scot, has made a book against Jesuits, which is nearly ready to be printed. . . . .

The Lord Admiral and Sir Robert Cecil are said to be chief of the Scottish faction, and Sir Robert came in lately "to have a Rowland for an Oliver" against the Earl of Essex. The Scots here build on those two, but brag of many more friends among the nobility and commons, and that London is wholly theirs, with all the Puritans in England.[39]

A second warning came from Petit to Halins from Brussels between August 29 and September 18, 1599:

Do not neglect what I said about the French King's fishing in troubled waters, for I have heard more of it since. There are English priests in Paris who know all the Scottish faction, and that I am not well affected that way, so I cannot easily know what goes forward, but you might send some one who should.[40]

[39] *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, vol. CCLXXII.
[40] *Ibid.*, vol. CCCLXXII, art. 91.

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The book by Bruce noted in the dispatch between August 18 and August 28, 1599 is described more definitely in a later dispatch from Petit to Halins from Liège, between June 14 and June 24, 1600:

A book has been made entitling the King of France to the Crown of England. Bruce, a Scot, had some doing in it.[41]

Petit's first two reports of French ambitions and the notice of the book on the title of the King of France came over about the time that the Folio version of *Henry V* must have been in process of composition. As the next reports are more definite and indicate that the rumor had spread through three nations, they may be added to make the situation clearer. Petit wrote to Halins from Brussels, October 2/12, 1599:

The news that I told you before, sent in cipher in great secresy, is now in the Roman Gazetteer, viz. that the marriage treaty between the French King and Great Duke [of Tuscany] cools, for the Queen of England has promised him a near cousin of her own, whom she loves, and whom she intends to make her heir and successor.[42]

This match is referred to again October 1/11, 1599 in a message from Brussels by Petit to Halins:

An English priest writing from Rome says that the Spanish ambassador has heard from France that the Queen will give Arabella in marriage to the French king and declare him her successor; but the French here say their King has taken another mistress, Mdlle. d'Entragues, and has promised to marry her if he have a son. Rumours fly that the King of Scots is preparing to war against England.[43]

Petit's next dispatch, October 25, again pictures the French expectations:

In Paris they will needs have their King the Queen's heir and successor, and in hasty French fury, they are shaking their light heads at the matter, as though there were no doubt in it. I would rather he were in a fishpool, with his mistress for a millstone about his neck. I do not like this light talk; it argues something brewing.[44]

[41] *S. P. Dom.*, 1598-1601, vol. CCLXXV. Possibly the Dr. Bruce accredited to Queen Elizabeth June 10/20, by Zamoiski, Chancellor of Poland (*Salisbury MSS*, X, 177). It is of some interest to note that it was reported May 26, 1600, that "a book has lately been made in Paris in defense of the King of Scots title to the crown of England," *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, vol. CCLXXIV, art. 149.

[42] Flanders Correspondence, *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, vol. CCLXXIII.

[43] *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, vol. CCLXXIII.

[44] *Ibid.*, vol. CCLXXVII.

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The topic came up again next spring, with a new angle, in "Advertisements from Liège in the hand of T. Phelippes" under date of April 17, 1600:

> The King of France still gathers money, and furnishes himself with stores of armour and ammunition; he promises to assist the King of Scots in his pretences for England, and meanwhile divers near him give out that the Queen intends to make him her successor.[45]

In all this international turmoil, a question of national precedence arose to trouble the diplomatic relations of Spain, France, and England. The dispute, which had existed for some time, came to a climax in the spring of 1600. Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Sir George Carew that the Spanish had broken off negotiations for a treaty they had requested, on one pretext only:

> That they will not yeild precedencye or equality, saying that they deny priority unto France, and that France hath it of us, to whom they will not yeild equality.[46]

At the command of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Cotton drew up a "brief abstract of the question of precedence between England and Spain, occasioned by Sir Henry Nevell, the Queen of England's ambassador, and the Ambassador of Spain at Calais, before Commissioners appointed by the French King, who had moved a treaty of peace in the 42d year of the same Queen." Among the arguments for precedence of England is this:

> In respect of royal dignity that the Kings of England are anointed as the Kings of France, who only have their pre-eminence before other kingdoms declared by miracle in the cure of Regius Morbus.[47]

The international interest in the rumored French match, the concern over an English-French peace treaty and over the question of national precedence, reaching a height in the years 1599–1600, will explain why a play such as *Henry V*, which is pro-French in a very comfortable English manner, with due concern for English precedence, would be both popular and timely. Possibly it was such rumors as reported in the first few dispatches of Petit, quoted above, concerning the French expectations of ruling England through an English marriage, that led Shakespeare, in connection

[45] This repeats a message of April 3, from Petit to Halins, *Ibid.*, vol. CCLXXIV, art. 81.

[46] *Correspondence of . . . . Cecil*, Camden Soc'y, pp. 11–12.

[47] *Salisbury MSS*, X, 166–67.

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with this genealogical argument, to indicate that the English, rather, were entitled to claim the crown of France. The main intention of the play, however, seems to be that proposed at the end—a friendly league with France, the policy that Essex favored.

Whether "England for the English" meant, to Shakespeare, as it did to some of his countrymen, a preference for Essex as a prospective ruler, rather than the feared domination by Spain, Scotland, or even France, it is difficult to say. But it is clear that he has definitely likened Essex to the very best and most patriotic king in his large historic portrait-gallery of English rulers. The title of that king is traced to a common ancestor with Queen Elizabeth and with Essex in the person of Edward III; and the crux of the genealogical argument in the play, descent from the female, was at issue in Essex' claim. And the play clearly supports some of Essex' policies.

This is an attempt to picture Shakespeare not as a black-hearted conspirator, nor even as a very deep plotter of English futures, but merely as a patriotic Englishman, earnestly taking thought now and then over the future of his country and venturing in a few plays to provoke thought upon the livest issues. The general feeling that he was, for the most part, a romantic dramatist is justified; but still his eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling," occasionally glanced "from heaven to earth." He could give to "airy nothing a local habitation and a name;" but is this any reason to believe that he never carried out what Hamlet defines as the essential purpose of a play (II, ii, 25 ff.), "to show . . . . the very age and body of the time his form and pressure?"

We have seen that the Folio version, on the whole, preceded the first Quarto, which is shorn of the most significant personal and political references. This suggests that the Folio version is a text intended for special performance before a selected group. The themes would be of immediate interest to the Southampton-Essex circle, no mean following, as more than three hundred were said to have met at Essex House in February, 1601. The names of the Essex conspirators may be found in the accounts of the trial of Essex.[48] Three of them had special causes of discontent because of the Queen's treatment of them while they served under Essex in Ireland: Southampton, chief conspirator, and husband of the cousin of Essex; Christopher Blount, next most important con-

[48] *S. P. Dom.*, 1598–1601, and C. C. Stopes, *Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton*, and W. B. Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux.*

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spirator, and father-in-law of Essex; and the Earl of Rutland. Other leaders of importance were the two Percies, Sir Charles and Sir Joscelyn, distantly related to Essex through the marriage of their brother Henry to Essex' sister Dorothy. The Vernons were also related to the Devereux. These are the firmly allied central group of Essex adherents accustomed to frequent meetings for social intercourse and recreation and for discussion of matters of state and of religion.

The whole group who frequented Essex' house were accustomed to having plays at their entertainments. Whyte wrote to Robert Sydney on February 15, 1598:

> Sir Gilley Meiricke made at Essex House yesternight a very great Supper. There were at yt, my Ladys Lester, Northumberland, Bedford, Essex, Rich; and my Lords of Essex, Rutland, Monjoy and others. They had 2 Plaies, which kept them up till 1 a Clocke after midnight.[49]

When Essex was in disgrace and his fate hung in the balance, a letter of October 25, 1599 reported of two of his enthusiastic followers:

> My Lord Southampton and Lord Rutland come not to the court, the one doth, but very seldom, they pass the time merely in going to plaies every day.[50]

Courtiers, statesmen, and ambassadors were being entertained by special performances of plays, as well as masques. Sir Edmund Hobie entertained Robert Cecil with some "view" of "King Richard" at his home December 9, 1595,—a performance in some way concerned with Essex.[51] Leaders of the two rival factions at court gave plays before Sir Robert Cecil when he was about to leave for France in January, 1598, as is shown by a letter from R. Whyte to Sydney, January 30 of that year:

> My Lord Compton, my Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, my Lord Southampton, doe severally feast Mr. Secretary before he depart, and have Plaies and banquets.[52]

There is a probability that Shakespeare's company sometimes gave special performances before limited audiences on such occasions. Rowland Whyte wrote to Robert Sydney, March 8, 1600:

[49] Sidney Papers, II, 90.

[50] *Ibid.*, II, 135. A large proportion of the Essex following appear in the list of the audience at Gray's Inn Revels, 1594–95. See *Gesta Grayorum.*

[51] *Hatfield MSS*, V, 487.

[52] *Sidney Papers*, II, 86.

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All this weeke the Lords have been in London, and past away the Tyme in Feasting and Plaies; for Vereiken dined upon Wednesday with my Lord Treasurer, who made hym a Roiall Dinner; upon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted hym, and made hym a very great, and a delicate Dinner, and there in the After Noone his Plaiers acted, before Vereicken, Sir John Old Castell to his great Contentment.[53]

As the Chamberlain, Hunsdon, was a friend of Essex,[54] and as Essex' enemies, Raleigh and Cecil, had been feasting Vereicken just before, it seems rather likely that the play was not *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* (reactionary against the disgrace of Cobham's family name), a play which was printed in 1600 as recently performed by the Admiral's men, but rather one or both of the plays of Henry IV, by Shakespeare, perhaps with the original name left in for mischief.

We have good evidence of the interest of one of the Essex conspirators, Sir Charles Percy, in Shakespeare's Lancastrian plays. It was shown in the Star Chamber trial that it was he who procured the playing of *Richard II* by the Chamberlain's men at the Globe the night before the uprising of Essex. And among the papers seized on the companions of Essex on this same occasion is a manuscript letter in the Public Records Office from Sir Charles Percy to Mr. Carleton, dated December 27 (1600?):

I am here so pestered with contrie businesse that I shall not bee able as yet to come to London: If I stay here long in this fashion, at my return, I think you will find mee so dull that I shall bee taken as a Justice Silence or a Justice Shallow, therefore take pity of me, and send me news from time to time the knowledge of which, though perhaps it will not exempt me from the opinion of a Justice Shallow in London, yet will make me pass for a very sufficient gentleman in Gloucestershire.[54]

Percy had married a Miss Cocks and through her had become Lord of the Manor of Dumbleton in Gloucestershire. It will be remembered that Justice Shallow's house was in Gloucestershire, a county touching the boundaries of Stratford. It is no wonder that Charles Percy would be interested in the plays of Henry IV, containing so striking a portrayal of his ancestor, the Hotspur of the North, of whom Charles Percy of Shakespeare's day was a not unworthy prototype—both as to virtues and as to defects. Two Percies, a Blount, and three Vernons in the immediate circle of Essex and

[53] *Sidney Papers*, II, 176.
[54] *S. P. Dom.*, 1600–1601, vol. CCLXXV, art. 146.

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Southampton may have taken special enjoyment in doings of their ancestors in the Richard II and Henry IV and Henry V series of plays by Shakespeare.

If the Folio version represents the text of a play intended for use on a special occasion at the Globe before an audience of statesmen and courtiers at the critical moment preceding the return of Essex from Ireland in the autumn of 1599, somewhat as *Richard II* was used there later before the same group at the crisis of his conspiracy, it would help to account for the striking differences in material and tone between the Folio version and the first Quarto, of 1600.

My suggestion of an audience is hypothetical; but careful comparison of texts shows a purposive cutting of materials in Quarto[1], as compared with Folio[1], stripping the play of its most significant personal and political references.

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XLI

"MY JEWISH GABERDINE"

TWO questions are involved in a discussion of "Jewish gaberdine": First, what was a gaberdine? Second, what was the distinction in dress between Jew and Christian? Modern Shakesperean editors, confronted by the necessity of explaining gaberdine, quote the statements of the *New English Dictionary*, of previous editors, or of authors of costume books. The editors of the *N.E.D.* having found no reference to the word earlier than 1520, and none which gave an idea of the garment, fell back on the definitions in seventeenth-century dictionaries, which tell only half the story. Authors of costume books made compilations of quotations given in other costume books, and thus grew a definition which gained weight through sheer repetition. Most of these compilers cite the statements of Planché,[1] but none of them quotes the sentence with which he concludes his discussion after examining the definitions of lexicographers and making deductions from literary references: "But, alas, we are no nearer to identification!" Any attempt at identification requires examination of the etymology of the word; definition and pictorial representation of the garments to which cognate terms in other languages were applied; contemporary evidence concerning materials of which gaberdines were made, and the rank of persons for whom they were made.

The etymology of the word "gaberdine" and its cognates in other languages seems uncertain. *The New English Dictionary* gives the Spanish *gaberdina*, derived from other Romance languages, with a probable ultimate source in Old High German *wallevart*, pilgrimage.[2] A brief review of the Romance terms, therefore, is necessary.

The earliest reference noted to any of the Old French forms is 1480.[3] Cotgrave identifies *calverdine* with English gaberdine, but

[1] *Enclopædia of Costume*, London, 1874, 1, 145.

[2] "The earliest forms appear to be directly a O.F. *gauvardina, galverdina, gallevardina* perh. a derivative of O.H.G. *wallevart*, pilgrimage; the word passed into other Romance languages as It. *gavardina*, Sp. *gabardina*, the latter spelling of which has influenced the form of the English word."

[3] *Glossaire archéologique du moyen-age et de la renaissance*, 1887, Vol. 1, p. 757.

Quelle robe vous semblerait belle
Qui tous les trois estatz désigne?
Par Dieu, je n'en sais point de telle
Que serait une galverdine.

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Minshew gives the French *gavan*[4] and Italian *gabbano* as equivalents, probably following Florio[5] in the latter identification. The Spanish form *gaberdina*, cited by *N.E.D* does not appear to be listed in sixteenth-and seventeenth-century dictionaries,[6] but Gay infers[7] from a quotation: "Gallus—si videt aliquam habitus formam, eam assumit, ut illi qui ferunt gallabardinas ad modum hispanorum . . . .," 1517, that the garment was originally Spanish. The Romance terms for this article of dress seem to be, then: F. *gaban cavan, galvardine*; Sp. *gavan*; It. *gavardina, gabbano*.[8]

The *galvardine* is defined by Cotgrave as a "garbadine, a long coat, or cassock of coarse, and for the most part motley, or partie-colored stuffe"; and *gaban* also as gaberdine," a cloake of Felt for raynie weather." The Spanish *gavan* is identified by Oudin with the French *caban*," manteau de feutre pour vestir a la pluye," an identification which is apparently not wholly correct, since Gay cited examples to show that the *caban* was made of expensive cloths and furred. Covarrubias defined the *gavan* as an out-of door cloak used by travelers, but sometimes worn in the house.[9] The *gavardina* is explained by Oudin as a rustic or peasant's dress, but Vecellio's description of it classes it only as an ancient garment, and his illustrations shows a short tailed-waistcoat with large sleeves.[10] It could not have been the ancestor of the gaberdine, which must have been a long coat, as subsequent references will indicate. Florio's definition of *gabbano*: "A gabardine, an habite with broad and long sleeves that antient Grecians were wont to use, but now is a shepherds cloake, or a fishermans frock," suggests that he may have been thinking of the *galbanum*, and does not help the problem. Vecellio gives two illustrations of a coat which he designates a *gabbano*. Both show long, full coats, open in front,

[4] *A Guide into Tongues*, London, J. Brown, 1617.

[5] *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, London, 1598.

[6] The writer has examined every contemporary Spanish dictionary in the British Museum. The list includes all editions of Lebrija, and many polyglot dictionaries, but the omission of the word from the dictionaries is no proof that it did not exist.

[7] *Op. cit.*, I, 757.

[8] The spelling varies by an interchange of *c,g*, as initial letter; *b,v*, in the second syllable, and doubling of *b*. Florio gives *gabanio*.

[9] Probably quoting Oudin, he called attention to a similar ancient cloak called *galbana*, from its color resemblance to the gum, *galbanum*. This garment sometimes called *galbanum* is defined by Rider, as a "bright white garment."

[10] Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antici e moderni di tutto il mondo*, Venitia, Damian Zenario, 1590. Reprinted with French and Italian text, Paris, 1859.

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with rather large sleeves: one[11] is fastened by ties, is belted, and has a hood; the other is reproduced herewith (See Plate I). He describes the coat as useful in both cold and rain; in other words, a kind of utility garment such as soldiers, travelers,[12] horsemen,[13] or anyone who was often exposed to the weather would need. It would seem that the Romance cognates for the word were generic terms for a long, loose-fitting top-coat.

The gaberdine was a similiar garment. Was it limited to peasant, beggar, fisherman, or shepherd use, and made of coarse cloth, as all lexicographers have inferred? Seemingly, not. The earliest reference which the writer has found to the English gaberdine is 1510, when it appears in the Great Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VIII. Eight yards of scarlet, and four yards of black satin are provided for two "gaberdynes" one to be lined with the satin and the other to remain unlined.[14] In 1514, a "gawb'dyne of russet veluett for my Lord gardytt with green clothe of golde, and lyned with black sarcenett," was part of the wardrobe prepared for Henry, Earl of Northumberland when he was ordered by Henry VIII to the Seige of Turwin.[15] A "gawberdyn" of scarlet guarded with velvet occurs among feminine articles of dress in an inventory of "rayment" of Dame Agnes Hungerford, 1523. This inventory is listed by the lady herself, separately from that of her husband.[16] A gaberdine faced with sarcenet is bequeathed in a will of 1531.[17] Noblemen's trumpeters dressed in "gabberdynes" of black damaske, blue or yellow satin, and trimmed with gold and silver lace are mentioned in 1623 as seen at a tournament in Madrid.[18] Since these were worn by Spanish men, even the Spanish garment could not have been made always of coarse material.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

[12] *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612): "Feltro si dice anche a mantello o gabbano fatto de feltro da far vaggio. E gabbano è mantello ma con maniche."

[13] Minshew: "a horseman's coat." Palsgrave (1530): "gaberdyne to ride in—gauerdine."

[14] *Comp. custodis Magna Garderobe Regis.* Public Record Office E. 101. /417/4.

[15] *Antiquarian Repertory*, London: Jeffrey, 1809, IV, 357.

[16] *Archæologia*, XXXVIII, 371. It is possible that the garment was a long coat. This is the only reference to the garment as feminine property which I have found.

[17] Will of William Rayne, *Lincoln Diocese Documents* (EETS, Or. Ser., 149), p. 246. Florence Porter (1562) leaves to her sons a gaberdine (*Wills and Inventories*, Surtees Society, II, 1835, p. 209).

[18] *Progresses and Public Processions of King James*, III, 893, 895.

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Besides its suggested idenification with *gabbano*, etc. there is other evidence of the gaberdine's being a large garment. Trincula creeps under Caliban's to shelter himself from the storm.[19] Caliban's was probably, therefore, made of waterproof material, and was evidently large, or it could not have sheltered two persons. As previously stated, eight yards were allowed for the two gaberdines in King Henry's Wardrobe Account. Scarlet was expensive cloth, and all wool cloth, according to a statute of Richard III,[20] renewed by Henry VII, and seemingly not repealed by Henry VIII,[21] was required to be two yards wide. Four yards of seventy-two inch material would make quite a full coat, even allowing an ample amount for the large sleeves pictured by Vecellio, and suggested by Florio.

Since the gaberdine was worn by nobility as well as the lower classes, it could not have been a *compulsory* part of the Jewish costume. Examination of the laws relating to the Jewish dress confirms this statement. There seems to be no means of determining the nationality of Shylock. Even if he were a "Jew of Venice," one must consider that Jews, exiled from England in 1290, France in 1307, Spain in 1492, Portugal in 1497, Naples and Sicily in 1539, had sought refuge in Venice, and in that city, at the time of the writing of the *Merchant of Venice*, were assembled the descendents of the Jews of many nations. The natural conservatism of these people would influence them to retain the dress of the lands of their nativity, a fact attested to by Coryat's observations, to be later quoted. Or, if one thinks that Shakespeare had no first-hand knowledge of Venice, but described the Jew from his imagination or on the basis of Marlowe's presentation, he must have taken as a model, either Lopez, as Sir Sidney Lee thought, or possibly some inmate of the *Domus Conversorum*.[22] But since the

[19] *Tempest*, II, ii, 115.

[20] *Statutes at Large*, 1 Richard III, Ch. VIII.

[21] *Ibid.* 3 Henry VIII, Ch. VII. That part of the statute relating to complete manufacture of certain cloths before export was repealed, but no change was evidently made in the width required.

[22] Founded in 1230 by Henry III, continued until the time of James I, this home offered a refuge to converted Jews. Each inmate was supported for life, and had no servile work. He had to attend chapel service every day and pray for the souls of the royal benefactors, or the kings whose bounty had supported the home. As far as records show, only one money-lender carried on his trade within the home. The *Domus Conversorum* occupied the site of the present Public Record Office, Chancery Lane.

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extant records of this *Domus Conversorum* show the inmates to have been at one time or another natives of Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, and Italy, as well as England, and since all converts were not living in the Home, there is at least room for conjecture as to Shakespeare's knowledge of Jewish dress in several nations, and accordingly the question of Shylock's costume remains an international one.[23]

The idea of requiring a distinctive mark in the costume of the Jews was probably an oriental one. Under Khalif Omar, both Jews and Christians were obliged to wear turbans of a different color from those of the Mohammedans, the Jews' color being yellow.[24] It is strange that Christianity should have followed this example, or adopted similiar measures in regard to the Jews, but the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, made a distinction in dress for Jews and all heretics obligatory. The Council did not prescribe the form, size, nor color of this distinctive mark;[25] so that the regulations in the various countries were different.

Though Oriental countries were, of course, not affected by this law, they retained their ancient custom, and compelled a distinction. In 1600, William Biddulph wrote that in Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, Babylon, Grand Cairo, "and every great Citie and Place of Merchandise, throughout all the Turkes Dominions," the Jews were "knowne by their Hats; for they were accustomed to weare red hats without brimmes at my first coming but lately they are constrayned to weare Hats of blue cloth because red was accounted too stately, and Princelike a colour for them to weare."[26]

[23] There were, according to the records, only two inmates in the Home at the time of the writing of *The Merchant of Venice*, both Spanish. The reference to nationalities who had formerly been there is made to show that during the 319 years when no Jew was allowed by law to enter England, they were nevertheless coming there, at least, as converts. Probably some who were not converts managed to conceal their identity. Mr. Adler, in discussing the records, points out (*Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, IV, 44) that Lopez lived in England thirty-five years, and Menda, six years without molestation. Menda was later converted and entered the Home. His confessions, and statements of reasons for adopting Christianity were published the year Shakespeare is supposed to have come to London.

[24] M. Ohsson, *Histoire des Monguls*, Amsterdam, III, 272.

[25] "Ne igitur tam damnatæ commixtionis excessus, per velamentum erroris hujusmodi, excusationis ulterius possint habere diffigium; statuimus ut tales utriusque sexus, in omni Christianorum provincia, & omni tempore, qualitate habitus publice ab aliis populis distinguantur . . . . " (Labbé and Cossart, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, XIII, 1006).

[26] Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, VIII, 271.

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In 1610, Sandys gave an interesting account of the Jews in the Turkish dominions:

> As in Religion they differ from others, so doe they in Habite, in Christendom enforcedly, here in Turkie voluntarily. Their under garments differing little from the Turks in fashion, are of purple cloth; over that they weare Gownes of the same colour, with large, wide sleeves, and clasped beneath the chin, without band or collar; on their heads high brimlesse caps.[27]

Coryat, visiting the Ghetto in Venice, in 1611, observed that the "eastern Jews weare Turbents upon their heads as the Turkes do; but the difference is this: the Turkes weare white, and the Jews yellow."[28] A traveller in Algiers in 1619 found the Jews wearing Spanish breeches, waistcoat, girdle, and "a kind of gowne uppermoste," with a "Turbent, or a colored cap."[29]

The French Jew had to wear a circle,[30] at first yellow, then red and white,[31] fixed on the outer garment in a prominent position. In the sixteenth century the yellow hat was substituted for this badge.[32] Spain required the circle, but it was at first red, then yellow and red.[33] By the Ordinance of Valladolid, 1412, all Moors and Jews were to wear long robes over their clothes as low as their feet. They were not allowed cloaks. The Ordinance of Cifuentes, 1415, required them to wear coats with skirts to them.[34]

In Germany, up to the fifteenth century, the pointed hat, first prescribed by the Council of Vienna, 1267, was worn by all Jews. One type of this head-dress resembling the traditional conical

[27] *Ibid.*, VIII, 173.

[28] *Crudities*, Ed. 1611, p. 231.

[29] Purchas, *op. cit.*, IX, 274.

[30] " . . . . in medio pectoris deferant signum rotae, cujus circulus sit latitudinis unius digiti, altitudo vero unius dimidii palmi de canna" (*Sacrosancta Concilia*, XIII, 1106).

[31] The color of the circle was first prescribed by Pope Gregory IX, 1233–34 "unam rotam de feltro seu panno croceo." R. Ulysse, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, VI, 83. I am indebted to M. Ulysse's articles for references to several of the sources for synodal and civil edicts concerning the badge.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 269; also E. H. Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, London, 1848, p. 205.

[34] Lindo, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 205. The originals of the Ordinances are not accessible to me. Lindo states also that the Jews were compelled to wear cheap cloths in their garments and were not allowed silks.

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witch-hat was later given up for the circle.[35] Misson states that the Jews of Frankfort were wearing black robes in 1691, but does not say they were required.[36]

In Italy, the letter O similiar to the circle required by other countries, gave place, possibly because the Jews tried to conceal this mark,[37] to the hat. The hat was ordered to be the badge of Venetian Jews in 1496,[38] of Roman Jews in 1555. The yellow hats had been introduced into Milan during the French occupation. In 1566 yellow hats were ordered for male Jews over ten years old, and yellow collars for females.[39] Seemingly the head-dress or some small article of costume was the only distinguishing mark of the Italian Jew in 1589, for Vecellio thus describes their attire in that year:

Gli huomini uestono alla Soriana un'Habito conforme in tutto à quello de' Turchi; se non che portano in capo un dulipante di velo, al quanto giallo, come anchora fanno gli Hebrei Leuantini. In Venetia . . . costoro nel uestire si conformano col populo di Venetia & imitano gli altri Mercanti & Artegiani di questa Città; se bene ue n' ha alcuni, che sono Dottori in medicina, & perciò con Habito diuerso da gli altri loro populari, uestono Habiti lunghi con maniche da Dottori, & di color nero. Ma nondimeno accioche sieno conosciuti da gli altri, portano per comandamento publico la barretta gialla.[40]

[35] Plate II shows one type; *The Jewish Encyclopedia* gives others. This article aims to give information and illustration not found there.

[36] *Memoires et Observations*, a la Haye. H. van Bulderen, p. 67.

[37] In Sicily, persons were appointed to see that the law was enforced. "F. Nicolaus de Panormo conoscere debuerat de observatione Judaeorum Rotellæ de panno rubeo in forma & quantitate majoris regii sigilli, per dependentiam barbae, & palmi distantiam in eorum exteriori veste semper, & ubicumque in pectore portando, in distinctionem à Christi fidelibus manifestam; & mulierum earumdem in earum veste exteriori sub poena quindenæ carceris eisdem utriusque sexus inferendae . . . ." 1395 (D. Rocci Pirri, *Sicillae Sacrae*, II, 907). This edict may be found in Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatam et Historiarum Siciliae*, Vol. 3–4, p. 1050.

[38] "In Venezia però continuava la misura dei giorni quindeci proscritta del decreto 1395 e durò per tutto il XV secolo, rinnovatasi ansi dal Senato nel 1496 allorchè vendendosi deluso l' effetto del segnale lettera O sul petto, occulando gli Ebrei col mantello o altri modi servendo al religioso fermo oggetto, che con notorj segni fossero i Giudei separati e distinctamente conosciuti, in luongo dell'O si comandò che potar dovesero nella Dominante, e nei luoghi sudditi berette sul capo in cadauna stagione coperte di giallo, colore cangiato poi nel rosso, di cui sussiste sino adoggidì la legge, benchè col qualche abuso violata" (Vettor Sandi, *Principj di storia civile della Republica di Venezia*, Venice, 1756, I, Pt. iii, p. 439).

[39] *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XX, 45–6.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 464.

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Except for the compulsory head-gear, then, these Jews were conforming to the dress of the people among whom they lived, attiring themselves according to their trades or professions, as did the other inhabitants. In 1611, Coryat stated that the Jews who were born in Italy were wearing red hats.[41] This custom was evidently continued, for Misson, visiting Venice in 1691, made the same observation.[42]

The earliest civil edict in England concerned with the badge was made three years after the Lateran Council Law, that is in 1218. It prescribed a sign in the form of two white tablets of cloth or parchment to be worn upon the breast.[43] Plate III, a photograph of a drawing on a Forest Roll of Essex County, preserved in the Public Record Office, shows these tablets. Four years later, Bishop Langton tried to compel Jewish women also to wear a badge of a different color from their own costume. His order seems to have been the first to propose a size for this mark.[44] The famous Statute of Judiasm, dated by various authorities from the third to the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry III, but usually referred to 1274, required every Jew over seven years old to wear a badge of two joined tablets of yellow felt six by three inches, upon his outer garment.[45] In 1277, a repetition made the law obligatory for both men and women.[46] A synodal edict 1278–9[47] completed England's laws concerning the badge for some centuries. In 1290 was issued the decree ordering the "final and irrevocable" banishment of every Jew in the Realm. Sixteen thousand left England. Probably a few stayed, but presumably at the risk of their lives. During the next three centuries, a few Jews, as has

[41] *Crudities*, p. 231.

[42] *Voyage d'Italie*, p. 288.

[43] " . . . . duas tabulas albas in pectore, factas de lineo panno, vel de parcameno; ita quod per hujusmodi signum, manifestè possint Judei à Christianis discerni . . . . " (Rymer's *Foedera*, I, 151).

[44] " . . . . ut omines omnino Judaei, tam masculi quam foeminæ, in veste superiori ante pectus tabulas laneas alterius coloris, quam vestis sit, deferant manifeste, ita quod utraque tabula duorum digitorum mensuram habeat in latitudine, et quatuor in longitudine" (Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britaniae*, I, 591).

[45] "e.k. checun Geu pus kil avra passee set ans, porte enseigne en son soverain garment cest assavr en fourme de deus tables joyntes de feutre iaune de la longure de sis poucerš e de la laur de treis pouz" (*Statutes of the Realm*, I, 221).

[46] Rymer's *Foedera*, I, pt. II, 543.

[47] " . . . . ut Judaei utriusque sexus super vestes exteriores duas tabulas laneas habeant alterius coloris ad pectus consutas; quarum latitudo digitorum duorum, et longitudo quatuor sit ad minus . . . . " (Wilkins, *Concilia*, II, 155).

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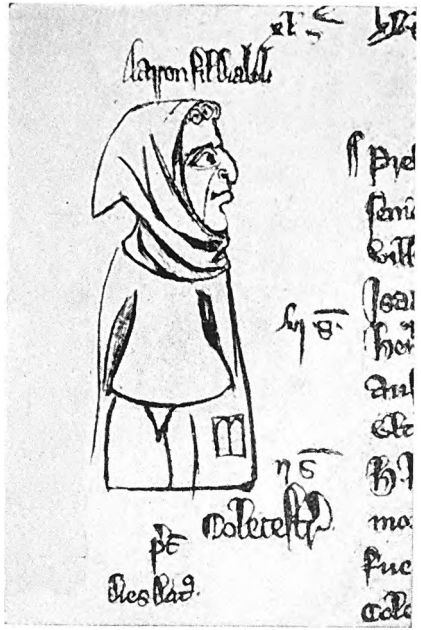
I. Gabbano. Vecellio, *Costumes anciens et modernes*, Firmin-Didot, éditeurs, Paris, 1859.

II. 14th century, Addit. MS 26957, British Museum.



III. "Aaron son of the devil," 1277

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IV. "Jewish merchant of Padua." Ferdinando Bertelli, *Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetatis habitus nunquam antehac aediti*, 1563.

V. "Jews." Jost Amman, *Stände und Handwerker*, 1568, im verlag G. Hirth, Münich, 1884.

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been previously noted, came to England as converts. Were a few besides converts admitted and compelled to wear yellow caps to distinguish them, or does Bacon refer to the law in some other country when he writes in his essay, *Of Usury* that "usurers should have orange-tawney bonets, because they do judaise"?

The readmission of the Jews was urged by Cromwell and pleaded by Manasseé ben Israël. They were allowed to return in 1654, but their return aroused a storm of protest which lasted for years. All their misdemeanors—real and imaginary—were rehearsed, and even the Indians of America were suspected of being Jews.[48] Either these wanderers brought their yellow caps, required in other lands, with them when they returned, or England followed her sister nations in requiring this head-dress, for in 1698 Maximilian Misson, writing an account of his voyage to England, stated that the Jews of London "ont peu à peu quitté le chapeau jaune qu'ils ètoient autrefois obligez de porter, & présentmant ils ne portent aucune marque de distinction."[49]

Although much material has been reviewed which does not deal directly with the age of Shakespeare, one must consider that edicts or statutes were often in force for centuries, and inferences can presumably be made from facts known of a preceding or succeeding age. The evidence of nearly four centuries, therefore, seems to justify certain conclusions. To summarize this evidence: countries, non-Christian, as well as Christian seemed to have required the Jews to wear a distinguishing mark in the form of a badge or head-dress. No synodal or civil edict which the author has examined has specified the kind of garment on which this mark should be worn; and none except Spain required a particular kind of garment. The gaberdine, therefore, could not have been obligatory. On the other hand, the testimony of travelers in certain of the countries ruled by Turkey, and in Frankfort indicates that Jews were wearing long robes or gowns, voluntarily. There is no means of ascertaining whether these gownes were gaberdines. A comparison of Plate V, which is Amman's presentation of the German Jew, and Plate I, shows little similiarity of the outer garment. Plate IV, which shows the

[48] A series of publications followed Thorowgood's *Jews in America, or Probalities that those Indians are Judicial*, 1660. The idea was attacked and defended for many months.

[49] *Memoires et Observationes*, a la Haye, p. 273.

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Jewish merchant of Padua indicates that the Jew of that City could not be distinguished from Christians of his profession, except that possibly his cap was yellow. Vecellio's description of the Jews of Venice states that there was no distinguishing mark except the cap.

The discussion, then, reverts to the question of Shakespeare's model. What was Shylock's nationality? If Shakespeare had first-hand knowledge of native Jews of Venice, or even second-hand knowledge from travelers, he would not have dressed Shylock, a money-lender, in a gaberdine. The long cassock-gowns which had some resemblance to the Italian *gabbano* were worn by elderly men in Italy, but were not restricted to Jews. If Shakespeare used as a model some oriental or German Jew or a Spanish inmate of the *Domus Conversorum*, he may have called Shylock's gown a gaberdine as the nearest approximate English name he could find for the garment.[50]

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[50] The materials for this paper were gathered by the writer during her tenure of the European Fellowship of the American Association of University Women.

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XLII

"MORE ABOUT THE BOOKIE OF SIR THOMAS MOORE"

I

IN THE Introduction to his edition of *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (Malone Society Reprints, 1911, p. xviii) Dr. W. W.Greg makes the following statement: "He [*C*] revises the stage-directions throughout [the manuscript], both in the original text [written by *S*] and in the additions [written by *A*, *B*, *D* and *E*]." Because of this statement certain scholars, not examining the play for themselves, have looked upon the manuscript (*BM. Harl. 7368*) as a play-house copy or prompt-book and have regarded the presence of revised stage-directions as proof that the play—as we now have it—had actually been performed on the Elizabethan stage. That Dr. Greg's statement is incorrect and is unwarranted by the evidence, and, accordingly, affords no basis for the inferences drawn from it, is shown by the following considerations:

On the page (fol. 6[a]) written, as I have shown, by Henry Chettle (Dr. Greg's *A*), there is not a single stage-direction, either by Chettle or by Kyd (Dr. Greg's *C*);

On the half-page (fol. 13[b]) written by Thomas Dekker there is only one stage-direction, and that is by the author himself;

In the revised version of II. 2 (fol. 7[a]), in the hand of Thomas Heywood (Dr. Greg's *B*), there is only a single stage-direction, though others are absolutely necessary for the conduct of the scene. Dyce has added not less than four essential stage-directions to this scene. In the original (and subsequently deleted) version of the scene, by Anthony Mundy, on fol. 5[b], the author supplied all the necessary stage-directions. It is a curious and remarkable fact that Kyd (the stage-director?) did all he could to ruin the scene. Opposite the scene-heading (in the original version) he made the marginal entry, "Enter Lincolne Betts Williamson Doll," thus omitting Sherwin, one of the Betts brothers, and the "crewe," though these are part and parcel of the scene. At the end of the original version of II. 2 Kyd wrote "Manett Clowne"; yet the scene which follows (II. 3) is a council chamber at the Guildhall, and it is incredible that a practised playwright would have provided for unnecessary clowning between two scenes within an act.

In the additions to this play made by Thomas Heywood, *viz.*: part of IV. 1 (on folios 16[a] and 16[b]) and a few lines in III. 3 (on fol. 16[b]), there are no stage-directions in the author's hand, though

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several are needed. Heywood not only omitted stage-directions but sometimes failed to designate the names of the speakers. Kyd inserts a necessary stage-direction ("Enter a Servingman") at the head of Heywood's additions but fails to do so at l. 336 ("Exit More with Attendants") and at the end of the scene ("Exeunt").

Opposite the heading to IV. 2 (written by Mundy on fol. 17[a]) Kyd wrote the utterly meaningless and inappropriate stage-direction, "Enter to the players w[th] a reward"—a direction which would have been perfectly proper if it had been annexed to the words "Enter a Servingman" at the top of fol. 16[a].

About the middle of Heywood's addition to IV. 1 Kyd wrote the stage-direction, "Enter Moore w[th] Attendaunts w[th] purss & mace." That this stage-direction, retained by modern editors, is incorrect seems to me evident from the following considerations: (a) it is repeated at l. 12 of the subsequent scene (IV. 2): (b) it is improbable that Sir Thomas would have stopped to argue about the actors' payment when he had been summoned "in haste to Council"; (c) it seems absurd for Sir Thomas to set out on a trip from his house to the Guildhall, late at night, with attendants bearing the official purse and mace before him. The stage-direction should have read, "Enter Sir Thomas, with the King's Messenger"—a stage-direction which would give meaning to More's words: "what's the business now, That all so late his highness sends for me?"[1]

Though Kyd's correcting hand is most evident in the revised insurrection scene (II. 4), written by *D* (the alleged Shakspere), his failure to revise the stage-directions is most clearly shown there. Though he himself has provided for the entrance of a "sergaunt at armes" at the scene-heading (at the bottom of fol. 7[b]) he wrote "Enter seriant" at l. 22. He failed to provide for the entry of Sir Thomas More, the leading actor in the scene, and for Cholmely and Palmer. Yet Dr. Greg asserts that *C* revised the stage-directions throughout. All that one is warranted in saying, however, is that Kyd (*C*) was working on the revised versions of certain scenes and the additions after the MS. had come back from the censor.

In the short scene (II. 3) composed and written by himself, Kyd has all—four to be exact—the necessary stage-directions. But in the long scene (III. 2) which he merely transcribed from an

[1] That Kyd compared Heywood's version of II.2 with Mundy's is shown by his correction of the latter's "Linco" to "Willia" at line 56.

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original now lost, and in the fragment of III. 3, the stage-directions are woefully deficient and muddled. The scene heading to III. 2 omits the details of the setting; More enters again (after l. 22) though he has not left the stage; after l. 138 all the *dramatis personae* are sent off with an "exeunt," although Randall has to remain on the scene; in l. 190 Randall's necessary *exit* is not provided for; Surrey, Erasmus, and Attendants are not dismissed after l. 231, though their departure is clearly called for by the text; and there is no "exeunt" at the end of III. 3. Clearly these scenes could not have been acted as they have come down to us.

But how did Kyd treat the original version of the play as regards stage-directions and stage-business? With the utmost carelessness and without the slightest regard to consistent presentation. Of the 118 stage-directions in Anthony Mundy's hand only four engage his attention! Of these the first (at II. 2, 1) is, as I have shown above, incorrect. The second (at II. 4, 245, "Enter Crofts") is a needless repetition. The third (at IV. 1, 70—"Waites play here") is a repetition and omits three lines of necessary stage-direction. The fourth (at IV. 2, 1) is, as I have shown, incorrect and in the wrong place. (That Kyd's two stage-directions in Heywood's contribution to IV. 1 are wrong I have shown above; that his "Manett Clowne" is impossible is generally conceded.)

But this is not all. If we analyze the stage-directions of the play, as we have it in the manuscript, and compare these with the stage-directions in the modern editions by Dyce, by Brooke and by Hopkinson, we find that without the modern stage-directions the play could not have been acted. Dyce and Hopkinson supplied, between them, 16 absolutely essential stage-directions; corrected ten others which were incomplete; supplied the names of the speakers to five speeches in a portion of the play written by Heywood; deleted four erroneous stage-directions (including the "Manett Clowne"), though they retained one improbable stage-direction (at IV. 1, 315). The more one studies these the more one realizes that Kyd's attention was centered almost wholly on the revised matter and on the additions; that the play had not reached a stage when its presentation could have been even thought of seriously; and that Kyd was engaged on the manuscript only after it had been rejected by the censor and before the play had been sufficiently revised to be re-submitted to Tylney.

In addition to the above considerations, there is the singular and undoubtedly significant fact that the *Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*

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is the only surviving manuscript play of that period which is not divided into acts and scenes.[2] *John-a-Kent and John-a-Cumber*, another Mundy play, written (as it appears) about 1590, is divided into acts and scenes.

Other weighty arguments against the theory that the *Moore* manuscript is a play-house copy are these:

(*a*) *D*'s (the alleged Shakspere's) revision of the insurrection scene (II. 4) flagrantly violates Tylney's order that the insurrection scene be omitted wholly;

(*b*) This scene, contrary to Tylney's wishes, makes several references to "strangers" (*i.e.*, foreigners) dwelling in England;

(*c*) Heywood's revision of the prentice-scene (II. 2) is not devoid of objectionable references to "audacious strangers" and of threats to burn their houses and "bumbaste them till they stinke;"

(*d*) The revised and the new scenes and speeches have not been fitted into their places. Chettle's revision (on fol. 6ª) of Mundy's IV. 5, 63–99 (on fol. 19ª) does not comply with More's intention, revealed in ll. 61–63, to analyse "the difference" twixt his "wife and dear esteemed issue," on the one hand, and his "loving servants," on the other. Concerning the bungling management of III. 3, I need only quote Dr. Greg himself (*op. cit.*, p. 89):

> it is evident that the scribe [*C*] intended his addition to come immediately before and to be continuous with the original sc. ix [IV. 1], though he made no attempt to introduce the necessary alterations in the stage-direction. Such a crude insertion is, however, impossible since it leaves no time for the dinner [*i.e.*, the frequently mentioned "banquet"], and the only manner of using the addition is by making it into an independent scene, clearly contrary to the intention of the scribe.

II

But, it may be objected, haven't we positive evidence that this play was cast for production and that Thomas Goodal, one of Lord Strange's men, was assigned the rôle of Messenger in III. 3? Would the prompter, or book-keeper, have made a memorandum of the casting of such an insignificant rôle if the stage-presentation of the play had not been a fact, or in immediate contemplation, and if the other characters had not been assigned to the different members of the company? If the conclusions based on a study of

[2] Cf. T. S. Graves, "The Act-Time in Elizabethan Theatres," *Stud. in Philol.* (Univ. of N. C.), July 1915, esp. p. 126. Incidentally I may remark that Professor Graves' essay settles the question about the act and scene division of Elizabethan plays, though some English writers are still debating the matter.

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the stage-directions and of the loosely knit structure of the play are sound, how can we reconcile them with *C*'s memorandum ("Mess T Goodal") on fol. 13ª? The answer to these questions is very simple: the "T. Goodal" notation is a modern forgery.

The handwriting of the Goodal memorandum, generally assigned to *C*'s hand, because of its obvious resemblance to that hand, has always been felt to have something suspicious about it. Mr. Hopkinson flatly declared it his opinion that the mention of "T. Goedal" (*sic*, following Dyce) "is in a handwriting different to that of the text." And Dr. Greg, who knows a great deal more than Hopkinson about handwriting, says: "it is not quite certain whether the marginal note is in the same hand as the text." He, too, expresses a doubt about the second *o* in the actor's surname. The uncertainty about the penmanship and the spelling of the name are surely suggestive.

Examining a much enlarged photograph of the notation (*cf.* facsimile), we note that the writing lacks the speed, the clearness and the precision of outline which are characteristic of Kyd's (*C*'s) penmanship, which it undoubtedly resembles. The writing is slow and labored; evidences of patching and mending, pathognomonic of forgery, are clearly apparent; the shading is freakish; the *printing* of the letters and the absence of connecting links heighten our suspicions; the impossible (*i.e.*, the unnatural) joining between the *e* and the first *s* in "Mess" is, *per se*, sufficient proof of forgery. This *e* is not only wholly unlike Kyd's italic *e* as regards shading but is shaded in a manner impossible for a quill-pen. The very heavy left side of this *e* was evidently sketched with several downstrokes which left a faint clear space between them. The initial (ascending) stroke of the long *s* is not a continuation of the termination of the *e*, but begins where it has no business to begin. It is fairly certain that the scribe accidentally omitted the *e* and inserted it after he had made the *ss*. The overhead curve of the *T* presents a very odd feature: the right half is much thicker than the left half and suggests that it was not written continuously with it. The abrupt stop in the shading of the *G* is another feature suggestive of a labored imitation. The first *o* is not like *C*'s *o* and is mended with a bit of extra shading in the upper half of the right side of the letter. The second *o*, inexplicably regarded by some as an *e*, is neither an *o* nor an *e*; to me it seems fairly certain that the forger was about to make a *d* ("Godall") when he realized his error and stopped. The *d* is a curious concoction:

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the forger was so disturbed by his error with the second *o* that he now made another *o*; to change this to a *d* he added, very clumsily, an ascending terminal. This *d* alone would be almost sufficient to prove the memorandum a forgery.

Some readers, not satisfied with the paleographic argument alone, will undoubtedly want to know—just as I did when I first mentioned my suspicions to Professor E. H. C. Oliphant some two years ago—whether there are any external facts in corroboration of the suggestion that the *Moore* manuscript had been tampered with; whether the document was known to anyone prior to its publication (in 1844) by Reverend Alexander Dyce, its first editor; whether Dyce could have perpetrated the forgery; and, above all, whether someone else, known to be addicted to the mischievous practice of corrupting historical documents, could have been guilty of the fabrication. Fortunately for our inquiry, all these questions can be answered satisfactorily.

From A. F. Hopkinson (*Sir Thomas More*, London, 1915, p. iii) we learn that Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, "evidently saw and handled the MS, for he tells us he had seen 'a MS in the nature of a play or interlude, entitled, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore.*' The date would probably be between 1705 and 1715, after it had been acquired by Herley Earl of Oxford."[3] That Hearne was well acquainted with the contents of the Harleian collection we know. It is also known that in the British Museum's last (1808) edition of the Harleian Catalogue (Vol. III) *Moore* was listed and was mentioned together with the *Humorous Lovers*. The play was therefore accessible to the public for many years prior to its publication by the Shakespeare Society.

That Dyce was not the forger and that the manuscript had passed through the hands of one of the most notorious forgers in English history is proved by the fact that Dyce, on p. 53 of his edition of the play, tells us, in connection with the "T. Goedal" entry, that "Mr. Collier (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. cix.) says that this person was the 'Goodale' who had a share in the Blackfriars theatre in 1589; but [objects Mr. Dyce] the Christian name of the sharer was 'Baptiste'; and here the MS has distinctly 'T. Goedal'." This quotation from Collier must give us pause. Collier's *Life of Shakespeare* was first published in 1841, three years before

[3] From Dr. Greg's statement that "nothing seems to be known" as to the history of the MS prior to 1753, when it was acquired by the English nation, it is evident that he was unaware of Hearne's acquaintance with it. To my regret Hopkinson does not give us the source of his knowledge.

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Dyce's edition of the play. That Collier should have silently identified this "T. Goodal" with "Baptiste Goodale" whose "Stratford name" (*sic* Collier) is included in a forged list of "her Majesty's poore Players . . . . sharers in the blacke Fryers playehouse" in 1589 —a forgery[4] concocted by Collier and printed by him in his *Life of Shakespeare* (p. cviii)—is such damaging evidence that there can hardly be any doubt that on the strength of it alone almost any jury would declare him guilty of having forged the *Moore* memorandum. It also seems fairly certain to me that any person acquainted with the methods and psychology of forgers would agree that the badly made *T* in this memorandum probably represents an attempt on the forger's part to make a *B* (for "Baptiste") and a sudden change of mind to finish it as a *T*. Collier must have thought that no one would ever check up his statements.

But this is not the whole, or even the most serious, count in the case against Collier. Dr. Greg (*op. cit.*, p. xx) calls attention to the fact that Collier had also asserted that Laneham, too, acted in *Sir Thomas Moore*. "But," says Dr. Greg, "the only possible trace of Laneham to be found in the manuscript is the somewhat illegible scribble *Lanehā* in the margin of fol. 3^b, and since *this is very probably in modern ink* it cannot be accepted as altogether satisfactory evidence" (Italics mine). On p. x Dr. Greg says that the scribble "looks like modern ink;" on p. v he says that the word is written "in what seems to be modern ink." Dyce—note this!—did not mention the occurrence of the word "Laneham"; nor did Hopkinson; nor did Brooke. And yet the word is undoubtedly there and is written in a hand which poorly imitates Mundy's penmanship. The forger seems to have intended to imply that Laneham played the rôle of the Lord Mayor.[5] That Collier should have had no difficulty in deciphering the name—though it is so inconspicuously written as to have escaped the attention of two such fairly scrupulous editors as Dyce and Brooke—and that it is written in what to Dr. Greg looks like modern ink, are sufficient evidence for me that the name "Laneham" is a fraudulent addition which was in all probability written by Collier.[6] And this becomes

[4] This fraudulent document was first published by Collier in 1835 in his *New Facts Regarding the Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 12–13.

[5] To Dr. Greg the "ane" is doubtful. I can see no certain trace (in the Farmer facsimile) of the mark of abbreviation which Dr. Greg indicates above the final *a*.

[6] There is no doubt some significance—if philosophy could find it out—in the fact that in 1835 Collier said only that it "is known that he [Baptiste Goodall, or

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almost a certainty when it is considered that the final *s* in "Mess" —a remarkable letter—is an exact replica of many such final *s*'s in Collier manuscripts.

Taking all the foregoing facts into consideration, there can be no doubt that the "T Goodal" notation is another one of Collier's fabrications. And with this vanishes the evidence for the theory that *Moore* was acted, or even cast for presentation, and that it was the property of Lord Strange's men.

III

Now that even Dr. Greg recognizes (*Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 24, and Dec. 1, 1927) that Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's case for Shakspere's authorship of "the addition" (the revised insurrection scene, II. 4) has not, as far as the handwriting goes, withstood the test of criticism,[7] I think that we are ready to consider another line of reasoning which also tends to confirm the view that Shakspere could not have written the scene in question.

1. Sidney Walker long ago drew attention to the fact that in the First Folio "the interpolation of an *s* at the end of a word—generally, but not always, a noun substantive—is remarkably frequent." He was of the opinion that "those who are conversant with the MSS of the Elizabethan age may perhaps be able to explain its origin." He was, in fact, inclined to think "it originated in some peculiarity of Shakespeare's handwriting." That Walker was right I have not the slightest doubt. The frequency with which this superfluous final *s* occurs, for example, in such a well-printed play as *The Winter's Tale*—a play which was probably set up from the poet's holograph manuscript—confirms Walker's conjecture. To understand this peculiarity in Shakspere's text we need only remember that Elizabethans employed a final *e* much more frequently than we do, and that an Italian *e* at the end of a word—if the downstroke on the left side (the back of the letter) was made slightly longer than was strictly proper, being prolonged below the line—would be exactly like the old English symbol for the letters *s*, *es*, *is* and *ys*. Such Italian *e*'s are so common in Eliza-

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Goodale] was an actor with Laneham"; whereas in 1841 he wrote that "Goodale" "bore a Stratford name" and "was one of the actors with Laneham, in the anonymous manuscript play of *Thomas More*."

[7] Dr. Greg wholly ignores five of Sir Edward's points, concedes that two of the four most important points "must be abandoned as doubtful," and that "the other two are somewhat reduced in force."

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bethan manuscripts that one does no violence to probability in assuming that Shakspere often employed them. Now, the curious and significant thing is that *D*, the writer of "the addition" never, apparently, made such an *e* or such a final *es* symbol.[8]

But, someone may urge, isn't it possible that Shakspere, assuming that he was *D*, made no such final *e* and *es* in 1593 but did so toward the end of his dramatic career? That Shakspere did not change his writing habit as to this final *e* (*es*) is fairly deducible from such considerations as the following:

(1) The Folio text of *The Merchant of Venice*, an early play (*c.* 1594), differs from the text in the Roberts Quarto not less than fifteen times as regards final *s* and *es*. In five of these the Quarto has a final *s* where the Folio does not; in the other ten the Folio has final *s* or *es* where the Quarto does not. And there are eight other passages[9] in the text of this play in which the Folio has a final *s* which most modern editors reject.

(2) Equally, if not more, convincing evidence is furnished by Shakspere's early poems, *The Rape of Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, both of which were in all likelihood printed directly from the author's original manuscripts. In the latter there are a number of singulars which some editors change to plurals and plurals which they change to singulars. These occur in ll. 272 ("stand"), 632 ("Paies"), 840 ("answer"), 988 ("makes"), and 1027 ("falcons"). In the former this phenomenon is illustrated in lines 168 ("wakes"), 277 ("beseems"), 550 ("blow"), and 1335 ("blasts"). That the poet's manuscript must have presented to the printers many more difficulties in this regard than is indicated by the text of some of the extant Quartos and modern editions is convincingly shown by the occurrence of such *e-es* errors in the unique copy (in the Bodleian Library)' which Sir Sidney Lee edited for the Clarendon Press in 1905—errors which are not to be found in other copies of the first edition.[10]

[8] *D*'s *es* symbols descend below the line and terminate with a curve to the left instead of, like an *e*, to the right. For a striking illustration of how closely a final *e* may resemble an *es* symbol, and vice versa, see the word "merittes" in the fifth line of the text of Shakspere's will.

[9] These textual errors occur in II, ix, 35 (*multitudes*), III, i, 7 (*gossips*), ii, 20 (*puts*), 99 (*makes*), 127 (*hairs*), IV, i, 35 (*flints*), 55 (*masters*), 116 (*Messengers*). In three of these the Quarto differs from the Folio.

[10] In the unique quarto of the first edition of *Venus and Adonis* (1593), the *e-es* error occurs only four times, possibly five times (lines 272, 632, 840, 988, and 1027).

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3. Another peculiarity of Shakspere's penmanship was probably the habit of making initial and mesial *s*'s which looked exactly like his initial and mesial *t*'s and bore a rather close resemblance to a kind of elongated "8" (such as we see, for example, in the word "that" in l. 132 and "the" in l. 121 of Sir Edward's facsimile of "the addition"). Such a *t* would easily be mistaken for an *s* in such words as "to," "tame," etc., and such an *s* might readily be mistaken for a *t* in such words as "same," "so," etc. For examples of *s-t* errors, *cf.* L. Kellner's *Restoring Shakespeare*, pp. 104 and 111.[11] And note the difference between "so" and "to" in l. 124 of "the addition." Such *s-t* confusions would not be so likely to occur in the case of *D*'s manuscripts, inasmuch as he seems to have been careful to distinguish between his initial and mesial *s*'s and *t*'s: though these *t*'s often resemble an Italian *s*, his initial *s* is invariably the old English letter.

4. In *Coriolanus* (I. 4, 57), in all probability printed from the author's manuscript, there is an error ("Calues" for "Catoe's" or "Cato's") which shows that Shakspere not only sometimes made his *t* like an *l*—a common enough phenomenon,—but that he sometimes made his *o* like an old English *v* (misprinted as a *u*). Though *D*'s *t*'s sometimes remotely resemble an *l*, his *o*'s never suggest a *v*.

5. Professor Kellner (*op. cit.*, p. 125) records a few instances of a confusion between Shakspere's *a* and his &. Professor Kellner thinks that this resulted from the poet's habit of writing "a." for "and"; but it seems to me more likely that the error resulted from the compositor's failure to distinguish between Shakspere's *a* (with a long, curved initial upstroke) and his ampersand. If so, it is noteworthy that *D* never, apparently, employed the & symbol.

6. From a study of Shakspere's extant autographs we know that he was in the habit of occasionally terminating words with an overhead backward flourish.[12] *D* never did this, as far as we have any means of knowing. Shakspere's flourish must sometimes have

[11] An interesting instance of an initial *s* mistaken for a *t* occurs, I think, in the famous crux in *The Winter's Tale* (I, 2, 529, ed. Furness): "The gracious Queene, part of his Theame; but nothing of his ill-ta'ne suspition." Read "shame" (written "sheame" and meaning "disgrace") for "theme." If it be objected to this emendation that the Folio prints the objectionable word with a capital letter, I shall reply (1) that the compositor need not have followed his manuscript as to majuscules and minuscules, and (2) that a capital *S* could also be mistaken for a capital *T*. Note, for example, Mr. Yeatman's mistaking the *T* on page 1 of Shakspere's will for an *S*.

[12] See my *Problems in Shakspere's Penmanship* (Revolving Fund Series, *MLA*, N. Y., 1927).

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been mistaken by the compositor for final *r* or *er*. This may account for such errors in his text as the following: "A' made a finer [*sic* for 'fine'] end," in *Henry V*, II. 3. Such flourishes were very frequently employed by Elizabethans to denote the omission of an *n* or an *m* after the letter bearing the flourish. This fact undoubtedly explains the misprint of "Colatium" for "Colatia" in the Argument and in lines 4 and 50 of *The Rape*; Shakspere's *a*, open at the top (see my study of his signatures), was mistaken for a *u*, and the succeeding flourish for an *m*. It is interesting to note that the error in l. 50 was detected and corrected as the poem was going through the press.

7. The frequency with which errors in Shakspere's text are due to his failure to make his *b*'s, *l*'s and *k*'s carefully is evident from a study of Professor Kellner's book. That this confusion between his *b*'s, *l*'s, and *k*'s was largely due to his habit of deeply indenting the vertical stem of these letters as he approached the base-line is rendered highly probable from a study of his signatures. A striking instance of such an error is the famous line in *Henry V* (II. 3, 17): "and a Table of greene fields." Theobald, we know, brilliantly emended this to "and a' babled [*i.e.*, babbled] of green fields." But I am fairly certain that this almost universally accepted reading does not give us Shakspere's text; Shakspere most probably wrote "and a' Talkd of greene fields," but the compositor mistook the *l* for a *b*, the *k* for an *l*, and the final *d* for an *e*—easy mistakes in Elizabethan script. The capital *T* in the Folio text is to me almost sufficient disproof of Theobald's reading. A *B* could not be mistaken for a *T*. (I am aware that a friend of Theobald's had also suggested "talk'd.") *D*'s *b*'s, *k*'s and *l*'s lack the indentation in the main stem of these letters and can hardly be mistaken one for another.

8. An important and perhaps decisive point in differentiating *D* from Shakspere is to be found in their spelling. As standards we have, in *D*'s case, the three pages of "the addition"; in Shakspere's case, the printed text of *The Rape* and of *Venus and Adonis*. *D*'s orthography presents certain highly characteristic features. Thus, for example, he has an extraordinary fondness for writing a *y* instead of an *i* in such words as *if*, *it*, *office*, *simple*, *list*, *nine*, *credit*, *times*, *sit*, *like*, *lift*, etc. He never writes the word "give" or its compounds ("forgive") with an *i*; his associates (Mundy, Chettle, Heywood, Dekker, Kyd) never, I think, write it otherwise. In *The Rape* and in *Venus and Adonis* the word is invariably

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spelled with an *i*. The rule I have just demonstrated applies not only to the word "give" but also to the word "live."

An important orthographic test is furnished us by the word "self" and its compounds. *D* has the word some six or seven times, and in each instance the word is spelt with an *a* after the *e*, thus: *sealf*, *sealues*, *himsealf*, etc. In *The Rape* the word occurs fifty-one times, but not once with an *a*. In *Venus and Adonis* it occurs thirty times, but not once with an *a*. In view of the orthographic aberrations which characterize these two Quartos, it can hardly be doubted that such *a*-spellings would have been found in them occasionally if that had been Shakspere's way of spelling the word. We have no alternative, then, but to conclude that *D* and Shakspere were not one.

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XLIII

THOMAS HEYWOOD AND *THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HECTOR*

In the Stationers' Registers[1] under the date of January 3, 1613 [1614], appears the entry:

Thomas Purfoote the younger. Allowed afterward by master Taverner.	Entred for his Coppie under master warden ffeildes *the life and death of Hector*. . . . . vj^{d}.

In the same year the work was published with the following elaborate title-page:

The Life and Death of Hector. One, and the First of the most Puissant, Valiant, and Renowned Monarches of the world, called the Nyne worthies. Shewing his invincible force, together with the marvailous, and most famous Acts by him atchieved and done in the great, long and terrible Siege, which the Princes of Greece held about the towne of Troy, for the space of Tenne yeares. And finally his unfortunate death after hee had fought a Hundred mayne Battailes in open field against the Grecians: The which heerein are all at large described. Wherein there were slane on both sides Fourteene Hundred, and Sixe Thowsand, Fourscore, and sixe men. Written by John Lidgate Monke of Berry, and by him dedicated to the high and mighty Prince Henrie the fift. King of England. At London, Printed by Thomas Purfoot. 1614.

The title-page, it will be observed, gives us only the names of Lydgate and the printer, Thomas Purfoot, without any indication of the person who was responsible for the revision of Lydgate's poem.

However, the modernization of *The Life and Death of Hector* on no very satisfactory grounds has generally been ascribed to Heywood. The British Museum Catalogue, among the works listed as Heywood's, includes the following item: "*The Life and Death of Hector, etc.* [A modernisation by T. H. of Lydgate's original poem.] 1614. fol." In a continuation of the Catalogue the same poem is recorded under Lydgate with the variant notation, "by T. Heywood of Lydgate's original poem," and with the name of the printer, T. Purfoot. The actual authority for this assignment I have not been able to discover. Possibly there was in the earlier manuscript catalogue of the British Museum a tentative attribution of the work to Heywood which led to the general acceptance of the statement by users of the Library.

[1] Arber's *Transcript*, iii, 539.

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Whatever the basis of the theory, the tradition has almost become an established fact. Lowndes[2] notes that *The Life and Death of Hector* is "a modernization . . . . generally attributed to Thomas Heywood." Warton[3] asserts that "T. Heywood published a modernized version . . . . entitled *The Life and Death of Hector*, &c., 1614, folio." Allibone[4] quotes a "Ms note" by Dr. Farmer: "This modern versification . . . . is generally attributed to T. Heywood." Hazlitt,[5] without citing any authority, asserts: "This is a modernization by Thomas Heywood, whose name does not, however, occur, of Lydgate's original poem, the dedication to Henry V. *Envoy*, &c, included." Sir Sidney Lee[6] writes positively: "Thomas Heywood produced a modernized version as *Life and Death of Hector*." Both Sir Adolphus Ward[7] and A. W. Pollard[8] list the poem among Heywood's works.

Dr. Franz Albert in his study of the poem,[9] compares it in workmanship and subject-matter with Heywood's *The Brazen Age*, *The Iron Age*, and *Troia Britanica*. On the basis of probable resemblances between the Lydgate poem and Heywood's three poems, Dr. Albert unhesitatingly accepts the attribution of the modernization to Heywood. G. C. Moore Smith[10] is in hearty accord with that conclusion, repeating Dr. Albert's supposition that Heywood revised Thomas Marshe's edition of the *Troy Book* (1555), and asserting that Dr. Albert had found "solid grounds for what had been merely a plausible suggestion."

On the other hand, Professor Tatlock[11] rejects Dr. Albert's argument and opposes the following objections to Heywood's authorship: the agreements in the language of *The Life and Death of Hector* and the poems by Heywood "are unimportant"; the ascription of the poem to "T. H." has no foundation; and the verbal similarities between Lydgate's poem and Heywood's undoubted works are "due to imitation." Professor Tatlock argues further that Heywood would hardly have written two poems (*Troia*

[2] *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, edited by Bohn, 1864, ii, 1419.

[3] *History of English Poetry*, edited by W. C. Hazlitt, 1871, iii, 81 n.

[4] *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 1872, i, 1146.

[5] *Collections and Notes*, 1876, p. 269.

[6] *D.N.B.*, 1893, xxxxiv, 312.

[7] *C.H.E.L.*, 1910, vi, 487.

[8] *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books*, 1926, p. 297.

[9] *Über Thomas Heywood's "The Life and Death of Hector," Eine Neubearbeitung von Lydgates "Troy Book," Münchener Beiträge*, 1909, xlii.

[10] *M.L.R.*, v (1910), 222–3.

[11] *PMLA*, xxx (1915), 691–7.

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Britanica and *The Life and Death of Hector*) on the same subject. Too much weight however, should not be given to this latter point in view of the fact that in *Englands Elizabeth* (1631) Heywood repeats the material of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, Part I, (1605).

To the objections raised by Professor Tatlock, still others may be added. *The Life and Death of Hector* contains none of the customary acknowledgments such as are found in the majority of Heywood's authorized works. The unsigned epistles and addresses ("Epistle, as it was dedicated unto the high and mightie Prince Henry the Fift," "The Translator to his Booke," and "The Preface to the Reader"), though they are in verse, are not in Heywood's style. Nor does an examination of the text of the poem itself disclose anything which can be set down as distinctively characteristic of him.

Again, it was Heywood's frequent practice to refer in his books to other works of his, either actually written or projected. Thus in the epistle to Nicholas Okes, affixed to *An Apology for Actors* (1612), he writes of *Troia Britanica* (1609): "The infinite faults escaped in my booke of *Britaines Troy* by the negligence of the printer." He also recalls *The Silver Age* (1613), *The Brazen Age* (1613), and *The Iron Age* (1632):

> To see a Hector all besmered in blood, trampling upon the bulkes of kings; a Troilus returning from the field .... as if a man and horse .... had bene together plunged into a purple ocean .... to see as I have seene, Hercules .... hunting the boare, knocking downe the bull .... squeezing the dragon, dragging Cerberus in chaynes..... Oh, these were sights to make an Alexander!

Of the translations, which he had made in his youth, and which he had lent to one Austin, a school teacher, he complains:[12]

> A Pedant about this Towne .... borrowed from me certaine Translations of Ovid, as his three books *De Arte Amandi*, & two *De Remedio Amoris* .... which out of my iuniority and want of iudgement, I committed to the view of some private friends, but with no purpose of publishing or further communicating them.

In *Gunaikeion* (1624, p. 174) he refers to *The Lives of All the Poets:*

> But I may have occasion to speake of him in a larger worke entituled *The Lives of All the Poets Moderne and Forreigne*, to which worke (if it come once againe into my hands) I shall refer you.

[12] Epistle "To the Reader" of *The Brazen Age*, edited by Pearson, *Works*, iii, 167–8.

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In order to avoid the repetition of facts contained in *The Lives* Heywood breaks off in the midst of an exposition in *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells* (1635) to remark:

> But I had almost forgot my self; for in proceeding further, I might have forestalled a Worke, which hereafter (I hope) by Gods assistance, to commit to the publick view; namely, *the Lives of all the Poets, Forreine and Moderne, from the first before Homer, to the Novissimi and last, of what Nation or Language soever; so farre as any Historie or Chronologie will give me warrant.* Therefore here in good time I breake off. (p. 245).

In commendatory verses prefixed to Shakerley Marmion's *Cupid and Psiche*[13] the poet refers to his own *Love's Mistress* (*S. R.* September 19, 1635). For the like purpose of condensation he digresses in the explanation of his pageant, *Londini Porta Pietatis* (1638), by reminding the reader of his pamphlet, *The Description of the King's Great New Ship at Woolwich* (*S. R.* September 15, 1637):

> I have lately delivered my selfe so amply in a booke published the last summer, of his majesties great shippe called *the Soveraigne of the Seas*, that to any who desire to be better certified concerning such things, I referre them to that tractate, from whence they may receive full and plenteous satisfaction.

In the epistle "To the general Reader" of *The Exemplary Lives* (*S. R.*, September 19, 1639) he alludes to a work which was probably never written: "What thou findest worthy just taxation, correct without malace: which granted, *the Nine Worthy men* may at some small distance follow." In pleasing apologies for possible unnecessary repetition of details of Queen Elizabeth's life, Heywood calls attention to his own *Englands Elizabeth* (1631) in both *The Exemplary Lives* (p. 194) and *Merlins Prophesies and Predictions* (1641, p. 346), in which also *The Exemplary Lives* is definitely cited:

> To write largely of her troubles, being a princesse, or of her rare and remarkable Reigne after she was Queen, I should but feast you with dyet twice drest: Having my selfe published a discourse of the first: from her cradle to her crown: and in another bearing Title of *the nine worthy Women*. . . . . I will give you only a capitulation in briefe, of those passages which were at large related in the former.

In view of this trick of Heywood's of introducing references to his own works, one might fairly expect him to make some allusion

[13] 1637. Reprinted by George Saintsbury in *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, 1906, ii.

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to *The Life and Death of Hector* if he had revised this Lydgatean poem. However, so far as my search has gone, I have been unable to find any passage in which he refers to it.

Finally, it is important to note that all of Heywood's non-dramatic writings—leaving *The Life and Death of Hector* out of consideration—carry formal acknowledgement of his authorship. Comparatively few of his extant works were published without epistles to the readers or dedications to patrons, or both. It is true that some of his plays—for example, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*—appeared without any notice by the author. The reason for this may be inferred from the Epistles to the Reader which Heywood prefixed to two of his published plays. In the Epistle accompanying *The English Traveller* (1633) he writes:

> it never was any great ambition in me, to be in this kind voluminously read. . . . . This Tragi-comedy . . . . coming accidentally to the press, and I having intelligence thereof, thought it not fit that it should pass *filius populi*, a bastard without a father to acknowledge it.

His attitude is even more clearly set forth in the Epistle prefixed to *The Rape of Lucrece* (1608):

> It hath been no custom in me of all other men (courteous reader) to commit my plays to the press . . . . for, though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage, and after to the press, for my own part I here proclaim myself ever faithful in the first, and never guilty of the last. Yet since some of my plays have (unknown to me and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the printer's hands, and therefore so corrupt and mangled (copied only by the ear) that I have been as unable to know them as ashamed to challenge them, this therefore I was the willinger to furnish out in his native habit.

Whatever Heywood's practice may have been in the matter of his plays, he did not, so far as is known, omit to acknowledge his non-dramatic works. It is difficult to see why he should have neglected to append his name to this modernization of Lydgate's poem. The Greek heroes in this poem were the same whom Heywood celebrated in *Troia Britanica* and *The Iron Age*. If he was indeed the author of *The Life and Death of Hector* we should certainly have expected him to refer to it, even with some complacency.

Altogether, then, one can hardly accept the claim which has been put forward for Heywood, especially since definite evidence connecting him with this poem is entirely lacking.

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XLIV

CAMPION'S *ART OF ENGLISH POESIE* AND MIDDLETON'S *CHASTE MAID IN CHEAPSIDE*

THE study of certain metrical problems brought me recently to examine more carefully than hitherto Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesie.* In illustrating his points regarding verse writing Campion, it will be recalled, makes use of "diuerse light poems" of his own, and in Chapter VI, devoted to "English Trochaick verse," he includes one entitled *The eight Epigramme.* While reading this I was teased by the impression of having heard the scandal there related somewhere else in one of the dramas of the time, but it was not until I had canvassed a large number of Elizabethan plots that the christening scene in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* came to mind.

Upon turning to the play its similarity to the poem appeared more striking even than at first thought. The epigram, fortunately short enough to be quoted in full, runs thus:

> Barnzy stiffly vows that hees no Cuckold,
> Yet the vulgar eu'rywhere salutes him,
> With strange signes of hornes, form eu'ry corner;
> Wheresoere he commes, a sundry Cucco
> Still frequents his eares; yet hees no Cuccold.
> But this Barnzy knowes that his Matilda,
> Skorning him, with Haruy playes the wanton.
> Knowes it? nay desires it, and by prayers
> Dayly begs of heau'n, that it for euer
> May stand firme for him; yet hees no Cuccold.
> And 'tis true, for Haruy keeps Matilda,
> Fosters Barnzy, and relieues his houshold,
> Buyes the Cradle, and begets the children,
> Payes the Nurces, eu'ry charge defraying,
> And thus truly playes Matildas husband.
> So that Barnzy now becomes a cypher,
> And himselfe th' adultrer of Matilda.
> Mock not him with hornes, the case is altered;
> Haruy beares the wrong, he proues the Cuccold.

Here we have rather a unique situation, that of a man aware of his dishonor, and fearful only lest it cease. The eternal triangle is delineated with Shavian disregard for the conventional reactions.

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Turning to Middleton we have three persons in the same relationship as that above. Allwit, described as a wittol (a contented cuckold), basks in his shame, and, like Barnzy, is in a panic for fear the *status quo* may change. Sir Walter Whorehound, who bears all the expenses of Allwit's establishment for the sake of having his wife as a mistress, parallels Harvey as sketched by Campion. The wife plays but a passive part in both versions. She is so little individualized that she may be dismissed from consideration in a few words. The story is thus seen to be identical in its broad outline. But it will be necessary to look at each more closely.

Analyzed specifically, the points of the poem catalogue in this fashion.

Statement about the Wife

1. She is unfaithful to her husband:

> Skorning him, with Haruy plays the wanton.

Statements about Harvy

1. He "keeps Matilda"
2. "Fosters Barnzy"
3. "Relieues his houshold": "every charge defraying"
   a. "Buyes the cradle"
   b. "begets the children"
   c. "Payes the nurces"
4. "Haruy bears the wrong" (*i.e.* he becomes the cuckold because he "truly playes Matildas husband").

Statements about Barnzy

1. He outwardly ignores the situation:

> vows that hees no Cuckold

2. But inwardly acknowledges the truth:

> But this Barnzy knowes that his Matilda,
> Skorning him, with Haruy playes the wanton

3. And is not only cognizant of the affair
   a. but also desirous of its continuance
   b. and prays heaven it may last:

> Knowes it? nay desires it, and by prayers
> Dayly begs of heau'n that it for euer
> May stand firme for him.

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4. Though he is a nonentity in his own house he is not to be derided, since he has the best of it:

> So that Barnzy now becomes a cypher.
> Mock not him with hornes, the case is altered.

Just how, in the next place, does *The Chaste Maid in Cheapside* reflect this? As already indicated, the wife's part is negligible but not out of harmony with the point made in the verses. In Act I, Scene 2, page 181,[1] we find her no martyr to her lot. Her husband says she

> longs
> For nothing but pickled cucumbers and his [Sir Walter's] coming.

Her greeting of Whorehound when he arrives, is

> Sweet Knight,
> Welcome! I've all my longings now in town[2];

In the case of Sir Walter a larger number of details are given which essentially agree with those concerning Harvey. In the excerpt which follows certain phrases which for graphic reasons are italicised are identical as to words used, or are very near the phrasing of the earlier work.

> The founders come to town . . . .
> I thank him, has maintained my house this ten years;
> Not only *keeps my wife, but 'a keeps me*
> And all my family; I'm at his table:
> *He gets me all my children*, and *pays the nurse*
> Monthly or weekly; puts me to nothing, rent,
> Nor church-duties, not so much as the scavenger[3]:

Of course many realistic items are added in the dramatic account. Allwit, for example, is shown dressing up for the christening party for Whorehound's newest child in that obliging person's clothes.[4] Other points in which this Lothario "defrays every charge" come

[1] All page references are to the Mermaid edition of Middleton, Volume I, edited by Havelock Ellis.

[2] Page 186, same scene.

[3] Page 182.

[4] *Allwit.* How does this suit fit me, Davy?
Davy. Excellent neatly;
My master's things were ever fit for you, sir,
E'en to a hair, you know.
Allwit. Thou'st hit it right, Davy:
We ever jumped in one this ten years, Davy; (II, 3, 202).

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up on this same occasion. Noting the consumption of wine and comfits by the guests, the supposed host exclaims to himself:[5]

> Had this been all my cost now, I'd been beggared;
> These women have no consciences at sweetmeats.

Meeting such costs would have broken his back:

> Mine had been all in fitters seven years since,
> But for this worthy knight,
> That with a prop upholds my wife and me.[6]

As the healths go round, he comments

> Now the cups troll about
> To wet the gossips' whistles; it pours down, i' faith;
> They never think of payment. . . . .
> It would kill me, an I paid for it.[7] —

Inspecting the state of the furniture after the old wives' departure he says,

> Fair needlework stools cost nothing with them, Davy.

And Davy replies

> Nor you neither, i'faith.[8]

Later in the play there is substantially the same account of the Allwit-Whorehound ménage as in Act I, Scene 2. This is when, in an attempt to foil Sir Walter's purposed marriage, Allwit disguises himself as a country cousin and goes to Yellowhammer, father of the girl, to remonstrate against the match.[9] The would-be bridegroom is, he informs him, an unsuitable person:

> an arrant whoremaster,
> Consumes his time and state—[10]
> Whom in my knowledge he hath kept this seven years;

[5] III, 2, page 211.
[6] III, 2, page 212.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, page 217.
[9] IV, 1, page 233.
[10] There is a similar break in the old edition, says Havelock Ellis. This passage has evidently suffered some change here, or else has been hastily and carelessly written. If the former suggestion is correct, there might possibly be something in Mr. Fleay's guess—*A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559–1642*, II, 96—that "the Master of the Revels corrected this play before publication."

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Nay, coz, another man's wife too.
Yel. O, abominable!
Allwit. Maintains the whole house, apparels the husband,
Pays servants' wages, not so much but—[11]
Yel. Worse and worse; and doth the husband know this?
Allwit. Knows? ay, and glad he may too, 'tis his living . . . .
Yel. What an incomparable wittol's this!
Allwit. Tush, what cares he for that? believe me, coz,
No more than I do . . . .
All's one to him; he feeds and takes his ease,
Was ne'er the man that ever broke his sleep
To get a child yet, by his own confession,
And yet his wife has seven.
Yel. What, by Sir Walter?
Allwit. Sir Walter's like to keep 'em and maintain 'em.

The foregoing discussion has covered statements 1–3 as given above. How the "Harvy" of The Chaste Maid "beares the wrong" (statement 4) may be seen in his jealousy of the husband and in his final humiliation when repulsed with disdain by both the Allwits, and thrust from the door.[12] Doubts and fears, the husband's usual lot in these circumstances, are transferred to the lover,[13] and he "truly plays the husband."

Sir Wal. What entertainment has lain open here?
No strangers in my absence?
1st Ser. Sure, sir, not any.

If the story did hit actual persons, it may have seemed wise to omit any libelous portions. If another writer collaborated with Middleton, such a poor joining could easily come about in adjusting the separately written scenes.

[11] Another break occurs in the old text, records Ellis. Here again the same factors operate as in the preceding case. Note also the discrepancy in time here in "kept this *seven* years," as also on page 212 (III, 2), whereas on page 182 (I, 2) and page 202 (II, 3), the length of time of maintenance is *ten* years. Such confusion is common enough in plays of the period, of course, and whether this slip was due to collaboration, or to copyist, or to a revival "with additions" we cannot know until more objective data are at hand.

In connection with the dating of the drama the reference to "ten years" is suggestive. If the gossip had been public since 1602, the time intervening between its origin and the acting of *The Chaste Maid in Cheapside* at the Swan would be about that, for the critics place the period of production between 1611 and 1614. Add Allwit's ten years to 1602 and we have 1612. It fits rather neatly, and until research in stage history turns up something conclusive one may speculate comfortably unhampered by facts.

[12] V, 1, page 245.

[13] I, 2, page 184.

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Allwit. His jealousy begins; am not I happy now,
That can laugh inward whilst his marrow melts? (Aside.)
Sir Wal. How do you satisfy me?
1st Ser. Good sir, be patient!
Sir Wal. For two months' absence I'll be satisfied.
1st Ser. No living creature entered—
Sir Wal. Entered? Come swear!
1st Ser. You will not hear me out, sir—
Sir Wal. Yes, I'll hear't out, sir.
1st Ser. Sir, he can tell himself—
Sir Wal. Heart, he can tell?
Do you think I'll trust him?
. . . . . .
Believe him? Can the devil speak ill of darkness?—
What can you say, sir?
Allwit. Of my soul and conscience, sir,
She's a wife as honest of her body to me
As any lord's proud lady e'er can be!
Sir Wal. Yet, by your leave, I heard you were once offering
To go to bed to her.
Allwit. No I protest, sir!
Sir Wal. Heart, if you do, you shall take all! I'll marry.
Allwit. O, I beseech you, sir!

On the same theme compare Allwit in Act I, Scene 2, page 182–3.[14] In all this detail there seems to be between poet and dramatist a marked similarity of flavor if not in actual ingredients.

Looking at Campion's account as summed on page two we see that his Barnzy puts on a bold form of denial of his domestic régime. In Middleton's picture Allwit does also. Sir Walter has

[14] And where some merchants would in soul kiss hell
To buy a paradise for their wives, and dye
Their co nscience in the bloods of prodigal heirs
To deck their night-piece, yet all this being done,
Eaten with jealousy to the inmost bone—,
As what affliction nature more constrains,
Than feed the wife plump for another's veins?—
These torments stand I freed of; I'm as clear
From jealousy of a wife as from the charge:
O two miraculous blessings! tis the knight
Hath took that labor all out of my hands:
I may sit still and play; he's jealous for me,
Watches her steps, sets spies; I live at ease,
He hath both the cost and torment: when the string
Of his heart frets, I feed, laugh, or sing,

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come home to his house and yet before the servants the husband-but-in-name brazens out the assumption of his mastership.[15]

Allwit. Now sirs, Sir Walter's come.
1st Servant. Is our master come?
Allwit. Your master! what am I?
1st Servant. Do you not know, sir?
Allwit. Pray, am I not your master?
1st Servant. O, you're but
Our mistress's husband.
Allwit. Ergo, knave, your master.[16]

His assurance is equally great when in turning Sir Walter over to the law he says to his very face:

I tell you truly
I thought y' had been familiar with my wife once.[17]

In short, his attempt is to deceive the public:[18]

I see these things, but like a happy man,
I pay for none at all; yet fools think's mine;
I have the name, and in his gold I shine.

The second statement appropos of Barnzy, that he is no dupe, is obvious as applied to Middleton's Allwit in the light of the previous discussion. The third, eagerness to keep his state unchanged, has its parallel in the incident[19] where Davy for reasons of his own informs his ostensible employer that his master Whorehound is "upon marriage." The happy-to-be-wronged husband cries out,

Marriage, Davy?
Send me to hanging rather.
Davy. I have stung him! (Aside.)

[15] I, 2, page 183.

[16] A slight similarity to Campion's second and third lines is found here. The servants seeing Allwit take off his hat at Sir Walter's approach comment on his condition.

1st Ser. Now 'a stands bare as well as we; make the most of him,
He's but one peep above a serving-man,
And so much his horns make him.

The epigram reads:

Yet the vulgar eu'rywhere salutes him
With strange signes of hornes . . . .

[17] V, 1, page 245.

[18] Page 182.

[19] III, 2, page 218.

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Allwit. When? Where? What is she, Davy?

. . . . . .

I have no time to stay, nor scarce can speak:

I'll stop those wheels, or all the works will. break. (Exit.) That by both writers the matter of praying for the duration of ignominy is spoken of is an interesting fact. Close indeed to

Knows it? nay desires it, and by prayers
Daily begs of heau'n that it for euer
May stand firm for him. . . . .[20]

is this from Allwit's delighted welcome of the open-handed benefactor.

The founder's come to town: I'm like a man
Finding a table furnished to his hand,
As mine is still to me, *prays for the founder,*—[21]
Bless the right worshipful the good founder's life!

Just, also, as Barnzy should not be mocked since he has the more enviable rôle, so Allwit lives up to his name and has the better of the case. Not only is he well housed, fed, warmed, but is moreover free from jealousy and care, enjoying

The happiest state that ever man was born to![22]

In view of the points of resemblance between poem and play, in the essential facts, the characters, and even the phrasing, as we have seen, the question arises: was this epigram the inspiration for a portion of the plot of *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, or did the author of *The Observations* and Middleton both draw upon common material, a scandal of the day? I think that the epigram is the direct source of the Allwit-Whorehound episode of the play, whether the incident is original with Campion or not. It is reasonable enough to suppose that the poet-critic knew such a tale and used it,—indeed his editor, Percival Vivian, thinks he even referred to certain well-known individuals of the day,[23] but it was his formulation of the story rather than Dame Rumor's that Middleton used. *The Observations in the Art of English Poesie* was published in 1602,

[20] Campion, lines 8, 9, and 10.

[21] I, 2, page 182. The italics are mine.

[22] I, 2, page 182.

[23] *Campion's Works*, Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1909, page 360: "In spite of Campion's disclaimer of any personal point in these lines, they certainly seem to refer to Barnabe Barnes and Gabriel Harvey."

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and the earliest date suggested by the critics for *A Chaste Maid* is 1611.[24] Now, a local scandal would be changed in details, or forgotten in seven or ten years. Is it not likely, therefore, that the dramatist chanced in his reading upon Campion's verses, and with his keen eye for a telling situation saw in a flash that the poem deserved a larger stage for its daring and unexpected plot?

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[24] F. G. Fleay gives 1612, *Biographical Chronicle*, II, page 96. Professor A. H. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theater*, page 50, says "about 1611–1614."

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XLV

THE AUTHORSHIP OF *ANYTHING FOR A QUIET LIFE*

IN AN article entitled "A Webster-Middleton Play: *Anything for a Quiet Life*"[1] Mr. Sykes asserts "That this play is partly Middleton's there is no reason to doubt, but most of it is Webster's."[2] The purpose of the present paper is to show that Mr. Sykes has greatly overstated the case for Webster. Whether Webster or Shirley[3] be regarded as the collaborator or reviser, the work of Thomas Middleton is recognizable to such a considerable extent that the principal share in writing this play may hardly be ascribed to another. Surely there is an important difference between the work of the dramatist who organizes the plot and sketches the characters, and the contribution of another who by means of dialogue more closely individualizes the characters. Such seems to be the differentiation between the shares of Middleton and Webster in writing this play.

That the earliest print of the play bears Middleton's name on the title page[4] should make us wary about transferring to another dramatist at least the major share in its composition until clear evidence has been presented. When *Anything for a Quiet Life* appeared in print Middleton had been dead thirty-five years and his vogue and influence, as appears from Genest's indispensable

[1] H. Dugdale Sykes, *Notes and Queries, Twelfth Series*, IX (1921), London' pp. 181 ff, 220 ff, 225 ff. The article is reprinted in *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 159–172. For convenience I shall refer to the pagination of the second printing of Mr. Sykes' article.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

[3] "The characterization of Lady Cressingham is drawn very much in the manner of Shirley, who delighted to ridicule the whims and extravagances of high-bred ladies. Perhaps Middleton left the play unfinished and Shirley completed it." A. H. Bullen, "Introduction," *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, London, 1885–86, pp. lxxxvii–iii. A. C. Swinburne observes, "Mr. Bullen ingeniously and plausibly suggests the partnership of Shirley in this play (*Anything for a Quiet Life*)," "Introduction," *The Best Plays of Thomas Middleton, Mermaid Edition*, edited by H. Ellis, London, 1887, p. xviii. On the other hand, another investigator has observed differences in the characterization of women and their importance to the plots in the plays by Middleton and those by Webster. See G. Bradford, "The Women of Middleton and Webster," *Sewanee Review*, XXIX (1921), pp. 14–29.

[4] The title page, as reprinted by A. H. Bullen, *Op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 239, reads as follows: *Anything for a Quiet Life. A Comedy, Formerly Acted at Black-Fryers, by His late Majesties Servants. Never before Printed. Written by Tho. Middleton, Gent. London: Printed by Tho. Johnson for Francis Kirkman and Henry March, and are to be sold at the Princess Arms in Chancery Lane.* 1662. 4to.

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notes,[5] was at that time very inconsiderable[6] far less at all events than that of John Webster, whose influence upon the dramatists of the Restoration has been definitely demonstrated.[7] The appearance of Middleton's name on the title-page seems, then, to imply the existence at that time of an established tradition of his authorship.

As evidence to substantiate his theory that the principal share in the writing of *Anything for a Quiet Life* belongs to John Webster,[8] Mr. Sykes presents twenty short passages in this play for which verbal borrowings and parallel passages are cited, not only in Webster's plays but in Sidney's *Arcadia* and in Overbury's *Characters*. The possibility that the borrower was Middleton Mr. Sykes dismisses with the observation that "Middleton was not in the habit of borrowing phrases from the *Arcadia* or from the works of his friends."[9] As a matter of fact, however, A. H. Bullen in his edition of Middleton's works, cites numerous references to the works of Middleton's contemporaries, and also, in editing *Anything for a Quiet Life*, notes one of the closest parallels to Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, III, v.[10] In particular Mr. Sykes observes that "the chief characters, Sir Francis and Lady Cressingham, Lord Beaufort, Knavesby and his wife" are Webster's, and that "the subsidiary action involving George Cressingham, Franklin junior, Water-Camlet, his wife and apprentices, and Sweetball, the barber-surgeon"[11] are Middleton's.

[5] J. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*, Bath, 1832, 10 vols.

[6] Betterton, of course, played the rôle of De Flores in *The Changeling* with great success (*Ibid.*, I, 31; II, 458), but as *The Changeling* was written in collaboration with William Rowley, Rowley rather than Middleton may have been responsible for the elements in this play that appealed to the taste of the Restoration audiences. (See, P. G. Wiggin, *An Inquiry into the Authorship of the Middleton-Rowley Plays*, Boston, 1897, pp. 49–50.) Other plays referred to by Genest are: *The Widow* (*Op. cit.*, I, 340), *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (*Ibid.*, I, 62), *The Witch* (*Ibid.*, I, 141–2), *No Wit No Help like a Woman's* (*Ibid.*, I, 212–3), *A Mad World My Masters* (*Ibid.*, IV, 95–6), *The Mayor of Quinborough* (*Ibid.*, IV, 113–4), and *The Roaring Girl* (*Ibid.*, IV, 176).

[7] A. Nicoll, *Restoration Drama* (*1660–1700*), Cambridge, 1923, pp. 84, 111, 120, 134, 138, 144, 150, 152.

[8] Mr. Sykes declares that "To me the evidence of Webster's authorship is conclusive," *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

[10] Bullen, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 304.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

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That is, according to Mr. Sykes, "Webster wrote practically the whole of Act I, Act II, sc. i, Act III, sc. i, Act IV, sc. i, the dialogue between Knavesby and his wife at the beginning of Act IV, sc. ii, Act V. sc. i and ii, and collaborated with Middleton in the final scene, V, iii."[12] Inasmuch as Middleton's work in the remainder of the play (Act II, ii, iii, iv; III, ii; IV, ii, iii, iv; V, ii.) is unquestioned, I shall omit references to these scenes in order to simplify the presentation of the evidence. Nevertheless, the occurrence of Middleton's distinctive style in these scenes, must be borne in mind. In view of the fact that the characteristic qualities of Middleton's work in these undisputed portions of the play are found also in the scenes ascribed by Mr. Sykes to Webster, I cannot agree that "Until the final scene is reached the shares of the two authors are quite distinct."[13] Such a statement explains neither the manifestations of Middleton's dramatic method nor the verbal borrowings from Middleton's plays to be observed in these passages ascribed to Webster.

Let us now examine the particular scenes given to John Webster. In Act I, i, occur several unmistakable characteristics of Middleton's recognized work. Bear in mind that Middleton has distinguished himself in this particular genre, the comedy of London life, to such a degree as to be called, "the most veritable realist of his age."[14] In the Webster canon, moreover, I find no play entirely by Webster located in London;[15] nor, for that matter, do I find a play by Webster suffused with the hardly mistakable spirit of rampant boisterousness such as dominates Middleton's comedies of London life. In lines 53–54, occur not merely a reference to Cheapside,—which Middleton used as the specific locale of *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*,—but a reference to a conduit, the "Standard," which is also mentioned in Middleton's comedy of London life, *Michaelmas Term*.[16] In line 150, a reference to a *Black Book* becomes significant, when one recalls that Middleton himself wrote a *Black Book*.[17] In line 222, mention is made of Michaelmas Term, that particular period represented by Middleton as the most auspicious for the cozenry

[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 159.
[14] F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, Boston, 1908, I, 587.
[15] W. Hazlitt, *The Dramatic Works of John Webster*, London, 1857, 4 vols.
[16] *Op. cit.*, II, i, l. 109.
[17] Bullen, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 4–15.

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of country gulls by shopkeepers and by gamesters in his play, *Michaelmas Term*.[18] The determination of George Cressingham to live by his wits recalls the same motive for the machinations of Witgood,[19] Follywit,[20] Touchwood Sr.,[21] Gerardine,[22] Easy,[23] and Fitsgrave.[24] Although such short "character sketches" as those, for example, in lines 209–214 and 216–232, are, of course, not peculiar to Middleton's method, their occurrence here is in accord with Middleton's haste to individualize his dramatis personae.[25] Another dramatic element which deserves particular attention is the use of satire. In the first act of *Anything for a Quiet Life*, which Mr. Sykes gives almost entirely to Webster, occur three delightful bits of satire executed in the best Middletonian manner:[26] (1) satire upon gallants in lines 252–7;[27] (2) satire upon students of Cambridge University in lines 261–7;[28] and (3) satire upon lawyers in lines 271–282.[29]

From the entrance of Lady Cressingham at line 291, until the close of the act (1. 379), the work may not be Middleton's, but here strangely enough Mr. Sykes adduces no evidence of Webster's hand. If, however, Middleton's method be recognizable throughout Act I, as the evidence seems to indicate, why should the act be given to Webster?

[18] In *Michaelmas Term*, Quomodo, a draper, assisted by his apprentices, Falselight and Shortyard, tries to cheat Easy, a country gull; in *Anything for a Quiet Life*, Water-Camlet, a mercer, assisted by his two apprentices, George and Ralph, tries to cheat George Cressingham. Moreover, the treatment of the wives of these shopkeepers in the two plays is very similar.

[19] *A Trick to Catch the Old One.*

[20] *A Mad World My Masters.*

[21] *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside.*

[22] *The Family of Love.*

[23] *Michaelmas Term.*

[24] *Your Five Gallants.*

[25] W. D. Dunkel, *The Dramatic Technique of Thomas Middleton in His Comedies of London Life*, Chicago, 1925. In my study no evidence from *Anything for a Quiet Life* is used. See p. 55.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 87–90.

[27] Cf. *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, I, iv, 63 ff; *Your Five Gallants*, throughout, but particularly I, iii, 21–46; V, ii, 40–46; *The Family of Love*, I, i, 4–8; I, iii, 21–46 II, i, 13 ff; III, iv, v, vi.

[28] Cf. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, I, i, 52–97; III, ii; IV, i, 1–21, 100 ff; V, i 82 ff.

[29] Cf. *Michaelmas Term*, I, i, 27–33; *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (Dampit), I, iv; III, iv; IV, v; *A Mad World My Masters*, III, iii, 148; *The Family of Love*, V, iii, 1–29; and *The Phoenix*, I, iv; II, iii.

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In Act II, sc. i, the opening line presents very significant evidence of Middleton's work: Knavesby asks his wife, "Have you drunk the eggs and muscadine I sent you?" In Middleton's *The Family of Love*, occurs a line with verbal similarity, "I think thou manuredest thy chin with the droppings of eggs and muscadine before it bristled."[30] But more significant than this verbal similarity is the likeness in spirit between the Knavesby contention[31] and the quarrel between Lord and Lady Kix in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*.[32] Against the case for Middleton, Mr. Sykes offers a parallel between a "wretched quibble" from the dialogue between the Knavesbys and an instance of the same device found in Webster's *Fair Maid of the Inn*.[33] Although I do not claim the "wretched quibble" as peculiar to Middleton's methods,—it is a familiar device among the Elizabethan dramatists,—I may cite one of many such quibbles from *The Family of Love*, III, iii, 87–106. It is not, however, my intention to disparage entirely Mr. Sykes's evidence, for in line 50, occurs the very striking phrase, "sweet breathed monkey" which is also found in Webster's *The Devil's Law Case*.[34] But since the phrase may have been taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, Bk. III, as Mr. Sykes points out,[35] this evidence is hardly sufficient in itself to give the scene to Webster. In this scene, furthermore, the satire upon the Puritans,—frequent in Middleton's comedies of London life,[36]—becomes of peculiar significance as the reference in line 100, is directly to the "Familists,"—a sect which Middleton severely satirizes in *The Family of Love*. With the exception, therefore, of the single phrase, "sweet breathed monkey,"—which Middleton might have borrowed from Sidney,—the evidence seems to indicate that Webster had no part in writing II, i. In the three remaining scenes of the act, Mr. Sykes finds, "no vestige of Webster's style."[37]

In Act III, sc. i, with the resumption of the Knavesby-Lord Beaufort intrigue,—for which in the analysis of Act II, i, evidence

[30] *Op. cit.*, V, i, ll. 17–19.

[31] Cf. *Anything for a Quiet Life*, II, i, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, III, iii.

[32] III, iii, 48 ff.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] See *The Family of Love* throughout, but particularly, I, iii, 101–113; III, iii, 100–132; IV, i, 81–83; *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, I, i, 109–110; II, iii, 13 ff, iv; III, i, ii, iii; *Your Five Gallants*, I, i, 253; *A Mad World My Masters*, I, ii, 73.

[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

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has been presented in this study,—Mr. Sykes to support his theory that Webster wrote this scene introduces one passage of four lines from *A Cure for a Cuckold*.[38] Since Webster presumably wrote *A Cure for a Cuckold* in collaboration with Rowley, the evidence is hardly convincing.

In Act IV, sc. i, Mr. Sykes finds rather conclusive evidence for the work of Webster, though in calling attention to the interesting parallel in *The Duchess of Malfi*, III, v, he failed to note that this passage had been cited by Bullen in his edition of *Anything for a Quiet Life*.[39] In a footnote Bullen gives credit to Dyce,[40] for noting that the expression may be traced to Sir Philip Sidney.

Act IV, sc. ii, returns to the Knavesby intrigue, which Mr. Sykes assumes without evidence to have been written by Webster. In view of his belief concerning the authorship of Act II, i, and Act III, i, he may have deemed no evidence necessary. Inasmuch, however, as somewhat definite evidences of Middleton's hand appear in Act II, i, and Act III, i, and as this scene, Act IV, ii is in the same manner, the writing of the scene may hardly be assigned to Webster without further reason.

Of Act V, sc. i, Mr. Sykes remarks: "This is wholly Webster's."[41] But this scene contains several technical devices which seem too much like Middleton's hurried work as he approaches the dénouement to be dismissed without consideration. For example, the mourning of Franklin Sr. for his supposedly dead son, who stands before him in disguise, is a device used by Middleton in *Michaelmas Term* and in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*.[42] In *Michaelmas Term*, for example, as in *Anything for a Quiet Life*, not only does the person reported as dead appear to his relatives in disguise, but dramatic irony dominates the scene.[43] Another device used frequently by Middleton[44] is the reading aloud of various items for comic effect as in lines 99–112. And finally, the invitation of Lord Beaufort to all the other guests to dinner[45] is reminiscent of the endings of *Michaelmas Term*, *A Trick to*

[38] *Op. cit.*, pp. 166–7.
[39] Bullen, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 304.
[40] A. Dyce, *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, London, 1840, 4 vols.
[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.
[42] Dunkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–26.
[43] IV, iv, 1–15.
[44] Dunkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–71.
[45] Ll. 382–7.

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Catch the Old One, *A Mad World My Masters*, *Your Five Gallants*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, and *The Family of Love.*

Since, from the evidence examined, the hand of Middleton is apparent in all the scenes except IV, i, ascribed by Mr. Sykes to Webster, it is fair to conclude that *Anything for a Quiet Life* is a typical comedy of London life by Thomas Middleton, but probably revised by John Webster. Let me repeat that there is a significant difference between the work of the dramatist who organizes the plot and sketches the characters, and the contribution of another who by means of dialogue more closely individualizes the characters, for even those scenes which show traces of Webster's hand are typically Middletonian in dramatic structure; moreover, the particular lines, reminiscent of Webster's work, do not change the plot structure, but do affect certain characters, chief among whom is Lady Cressingham. Webster may have taken the play written by Middleton and revised it; or, on the other hand, Webster may have suggested lines and may even have written portions of scenes in the original play.

In conclusion, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, even though ascribed to Thomas Middleton thirty-five years after his death, is a play in many scenes of which Middleton's work has not been questioned. Even in the scenes ascribed to John Webster we find not only examples of Middleton's dramatic method but also verbal borrowings from Middleton's comedies of London life. Although Webster may have revised a few characterizations, the share of the collaborator or reviser, as the case may be, is too slight to give warrant for rejecting *Anything for a Quiet Life* from the Middleton canon.[46]

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[46] Mr. F. L. Lucas, the most recent editor of the *Works* of Webster (Lond., 1927) includes the text of *Anything for a Quiet Life*. In his discussion of the question of its authorship he restates the theory put forward by Mr. Sykes, and adds: "I have nothing to subtract from his conclusions and only a couple of dozen new parallel passages to add to his evidence for Webster's share" (IV, 66). The additional evidence does not, I believe, affect any point made in the present paper.

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XLVI

THOMAS RANDOLPH AND *THE DRINKING ACADEMY*

THE purpose of the present paper is to demonstrate on the basis of internal evidence that the anonymous play, *The Drinking Academy, or the Cheaters' Holiday*, which was recently printed for the first time,[1] is in all probability the work of Thomas Randolph. As has long been known, much genuine material was omitted by Randolph's literary executors in the first and subsequent editions[2] of his collected works. At least one lost play is known to us by title,[3] and modern scholars—Hazlitt, Parry, and more recently Professor Moore Smith[4]—have had notable success in recovering authentic poems and fragments from Randolph's pen. Under these circumstances there is nothing essentially unreasonable in proposing, even at this late date, to claim for Randolph a play whose authorship has hitherto been wholly unknown.

It is to be noted, first, that certain situations and characters in *The Drinking Academy* bear such marked resemblance to those in Randolph's *Aristippus* and *The Jealous Lovers* that they compel us to suppose either common authorship or extremely servile borrowing. For example, the conception of a school for the instruction of young gentlemen in the fashionable vices, though not so fully developed in *The Drinking Academy* as the title would imply, seems to have been a particular favorite with Randolph. His *Aristippus* could with equal fitness have been called *The Drinking Academy*, and the opening scenes of *The Jealous Lovers* deal largely with a young prodigal who is learning, under the guidance of his tutor, how to "spend and buy his pleasures." Compare also *The Muses' Looking Glass* (III, i):

> *Ban.* O, I have thought on't: I will straightway build
> A free school here in London; a free school
> For the education of young gentlemen,

[1] Ed. Hyder E. Rollins, *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 837–871, from the anonymous MS formerly in the possession of the late Mr. W. A. White, now in the Huntington Library.

[2] 1638, 1640, 1643, 1652, 1664, 1668 (twice)—J. J. Parry, *The Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph*, 1917, pp. 39-40.

[3] "On June 29, 1660, 'The *Prodigall Scholar*, a Comedy by Tho. Randall' was registered with the Stationers' Company by Humphrey Moseley, but nothing further is known of it." *Ibib.*, p. 42.

[4] *Palæstra*, 148. Cf. also *Thomas Randolph*, 1927, Prof. Moore Smith's admirable Warton Lecture before the British Academy.

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To study how to drink and take tobacco;
To swear, to roar, to dice, to drab, to quarrel.[5]

In *The Drinking Academy* (I, ii and iii) the wealthy dotard Worldly is the gleeful spectator of his son Knowlittle's progress in vice under the instruction of the tutor, Cavaliero Whiffe. This situation is developed in precisely the same manner in *The Jealous Lovers*, where, however, the names are changed to Simo, Asotus, and Ballio. In both plays the course of study consists of gaming, drinking, quarreling, and similar accomplishments, the distinctive feature in each case being the father's approval of the son's extravagance. The same "humour" is touched upon also in *The Muses' Looking Glass:*

a niggard churl
Hoarding up dicing-moneys for his son.[6]

'Slid, father, I shall never live to spend
That you have got already.[7]

Finally the practice wooing in *The Drinking Academy* (III, i) furnishes the basis for the two real wooings in *The Jealous Lovers* (I, viii and III, vi).

As regards the similarities in characterization, the correspondance between Worldly, Knowlittle, and Cavaliero Whiffe of *The Drinking Academy* and Simo, Asotus, and Ballio of *The Jealous Lovers* has already been pointed out. In addition, the servant Simple, who in *The Drinking Academy* (I, i) is learning the "gentile quality" of "this tobaccho," is clearly the prototype of the scholar Simplicius in *Aristippus;* while Cavaliero Whiffe, described in the list of characters as the "master of the drinking Academy," appears throughout the play as Knowlittle's tutor, and thus corresponds both to Ballio of *The Jealous Lovers* and to the jovial philosopher Aristippus.

Still more arresting are the verbal parallels between *The Drinking Academy* and Randolph's work, especially *The Jealous Lovers*. The most significant are here listed.

The Drinking Academy (List of Characters, 5–6)[8]:

The Persons.
Worldly an old doting vser
Knowlittle his prodigall sone

[5] Randolph's *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, 1875, I, 219.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 189.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 210.
[8] Line numbers refer to Prof. Rollins' ed.

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The Jealous Lovers (I, 68)[9]:

Dramatis personae
SIMO, an old doating father
ASOTUS, his prodigal son

The Drinking Academy (Prologue, 5):
Melpomine hath taken cold of late.
The Jealous Lovers (I, 114):
Ha! has Melpomene ta'en cold of late.
The Drinking Academy (Prologue, 9):
the thrice three learned sisters
The Jealous Lovers (I, 115):
the thrice-three sisters
The Conceited Peddler (I, 37):
the thrice-three sisters.

The Drinking Academy (Prologue, 9–11):
(so that he can neuer hope againe to mount Pegasus and make him curuet Caprials of nonsence)
To Master James Shirley on his Grateful Servant (II, 648):
Thy Pegasus, in his admir'd career,
Curvets no capreoles of nonsense here.

The Drinking Academy (42–43):
Harmus and Pactolus rowle ther golden wandes into thy cofers
Poems (II, 524):
Into my chest the yellow Tagus flows,
While my plate-fleet in bright Pactolus rows.[10]

The Drinking Academy (44–45):
her welthy bosome stor'd with riches may out ere both the Indies.
Poems (II, 539):
As if both the Indies did supply his store.
Poems, Oxford, 1668, p. 1:
Should both the *Indies* spread their laps to me.[11]

The Drinking Academy (56–57):
Kno. Come tutor left vs haue repetitions in our drinking lesson.
Aristippus (I, 24):
Sim. But what shall we have for repetitions now?

[9] Unless otherwise noted, volume and page numbers refer to Hazlitt's ed.

[10] Hermus, the suggestion of F. P. Magoun, Jr., for Harmus, *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 679ff., is supported by the fact that Randolph mentions Pactolus in juxtaposition with another river (Tagus), I, 367, and II, 524, 538, 539, 571, and 630.

[11] Hazlitt (II, 519) has *ladies* in this line instead of *Indies* as in the early editions.

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The Drinking Academy (119–121):

thy father hath made his will indeade and his will is to raine downe showers of gold on thee my boy. take this and this. my whole estate is thine.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 69):

Each piece I finger makes me start, and cry,
This—this—and this—and this—is for Asotus.
Aso. Take this, and this, and this, and this again:

(I, 72):

And take it, boy—and this—and this, beside.

The Drinking Academy (123–127):

Kno: What? no thing else but plane kisse as I am gentle man father thou wants manners. hads thou my breding thou woldst haue first taken me by the snowy [rist] hand then gazing on my rubie nose (eyes I wold say) in flowery language haue desier to tast the nectar of my [ruby] azure lippe. O the want of a tutor!

The Jealous Lovers (I, 73):

Sim. Come hither, dear; come, let me kiss my son.
Aso. There's a sweet kiss indeed! this 'tis to want
A tutor. Had you had my education,
You would have ta'en me by the lily hand,
Then gaz'd a while upon my flaming eyes,
As wondering at the lustre of their orbs;
Then humbly begg'd in language strow'd with flowers,
To taste the cherries of my ruby lip—

The Drinking Academy (130–133):

do you thinke Ile alow tow spenders in the same house? go get you home you haue got enuffe in getting me. go brode ouer your mouldy bags and hark more mony.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 126):

Aso. No, I will not have
Two spenders in a house. . . . .
. . . . Go, you have done your share
In getting me. . . . .
Lie with your musty bags, and get more gold.

The Drinking Academy (135–138):

the only care wch hath fild thy fathers head with so many siluer hairs hath bin least thou shold not fiend ways to spend what I haue all ready got.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 70):

Sim. When I see this, I cannot choose but fear
Thou canst not find out ways enou' to spend it.

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The Drinking Academy (140–141):

My coffers are so cramb'd with gold the very ground bends to hould them.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 70):

How large my coffers, yet how cramm'd with wealth.

The Drinking Academy (144):

condem 2 bags of a 1000 pounds a peace

The Jealous Lovers (I, 114):

Ballio, condemn a bag.

The Drinking Academy (153–158):

Whif: Sir y^{e} se the effects of my skil that in a moments space was able by my chimistrie to extract so compleat a gentleman out (as I may say almost) of a dung hill. he is now the Phenix of the age who was latly alumpe of Pesantry the gallants adore him and happy is he who can pay homage to his potent toe.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 73):

the study I have ta'en
In moral alchemy, to extract a gentleman
Almost out of a dunghill. Still do I see
So much of peasant in you?

(I, 114):

Who dares offend thee, lord of fortitude,
And not pay homage to thy potent toe.

The Drinking Academy (160–161):

I must acknowledg my sone is happy only in a tutor

The Jealous Lovers (I, 137):

He is rich
In nothing but a tutor.

The Drinking Academy (260–261):

by a mettaphor I am a fouler and my game is gold finches

Hey for Honesty (II, 479):

Flying is running away by a metaphor.[12]

The Drinking Academy (312–313):

Kno: Noe, no. what a blockhead is my father he dus not vnderstand Poetry!

(324–328):

O let me coole it on that bed of violets wch couers your azure lip. let it fiend shelter amoung thos blushing roses your ruby noses discouers or in the Elizian valies of your goosbery cheakes for euer fix its habitation.

[12] In the conversation between Mercurius and Carion (II, 477–479), this jest is elaborated at great length.

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The Jealous Lovers (I, 82):

Aso. 'Tis no matter.
The silly damsel understands no poetry. [*Aside*]
Deign me thy lip, as blue as azure bright.
Bal. As red as ruby bright.
Aso. What's that to the purpose?
Is not azure blue as good as ruby red?

The Drinking Academy (314):

Whif: Good sir be silent you hender him in his lesson.

Aristippus (I, 16):

2d Schol. You interrupt him, sir, too much in his lecture.

The Drinking Academy (338–341):

Kno: Content. Maddam honoure me with your lilly hand .... permit me to trvge the path your feete makes flowery with ther scared tuch.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 73):

You would have ta'en me by the lily hand,
. . . . . .
Then humbly begg'd in language strow'd with flowers.

The Drinking Academy (345–347):

can thos two radiant stars your eyes wch giues a better day then Phoebus to the world be so blind as not to se the beuty of the orbe they shine in.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 73):

Then gaz'd a while upon my flaming eyes,
As wondering at the lustre of their orbs.[13]

The Drinking Academy (355–358):

Worl: How! a groue of gould in my heire? O wrech wrech that I was for sauing the expences of looking glace shold be thus ignorant of such a treasure.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 123):

Simo. That I should have so ravishing a face,
And never know it! Miser that I was!
I will go home and buy a looking-glass,
To be acquainted with my parts hereafter.

The Drinking Academy (363):

How the rogue abuses him with his grecy fists.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 124):

The rogue abuses him
With his greasy fists.

[13] For a discussion of Randolph's characteristic use of the words *orb* and *shoot* (*Drinking Academy*, 305 and 549), see Moore Smith, *Rev. of Eng. Studies*, I (1925), 320–3.

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The Drinking Academy (364–368):

O what oders exhale your fragrant breath!
. . . . the ambrosian diet of the Gods that maks you breath so sweet an odor

The Jealous Lovers (I, 123):

Good sir, another kiss. You have a breath
Compos'd of odours.

The Drinking Academy (531–533):

if I thriue in my suet to my
lady Pecunia (as I hope I shall) by this light Ile sheabt ye all in satten.

(576–577):

for this Ile sheath thee on our marige day in scarlet.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 114):

See 'em both arm'd in scarlet *cap-a-pie.*

(I, 115):

For this I'll sheathe thee in a new serge scabbard.

The Drinking Academy (662–663):

it is a pretty natural vizard you haue on.

The Muses' Looking Glass (I, 184):

We want you to play Mephistopheles.
A pretty natural vizard!

The Drinking Academy (903), concludes with the fragment: *Valeat res ludicra.* The same quotation appears in *The Jealous Lovers*, on the title-page of the early editions:

valeat res ludicra, si me
Palma negata macrum, donata reducit optimum.[14]

In view of the striking similarity of the passages quoted above, it is plain that Randolph either wrote *The Drinking Academy*, or stole from it with remarkable persistance. Like his contemporaries, it is true, Randolph was accustomed to plunder whenever and wherever he chose. *The Jealous Lovers* (IV, iii), for example, is based upon *Hamlet* (V, i); *Aristippus* contains several lines (I, 21) taken over almost verbatim from the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales;* and elsewhere Randolph makes free use of Ben Jonson.[15] But in the case of *The Drinking Academy*, the

[14] Horace, *Epistles*, II, i, 180.

[15] Prof. Rollins has kindly called my attention to the following instances in *The Drinking Academy* itself of borrowing from Jonson. The ballad sung by Bidstand (III, ii) appears also in Jonson's *Masque of Augurs* (1622), where it consists of ten stanzas. Bidstand sings 1–5 and 8. The name Bidstand itself occurs in *Everyman out of his Humour* (IV, iv), as does also the name Whiffe (II, ii). The Latin line "Et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu" (I, iii) is apparently taken from

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borrowings are too numerous and too widely scattered throughout Randolph's poems and plays to support the hypothesis of theft. It should be observed, also, that the parallels cited above by no means exhaust the verbal similarities between *The Drinking Academy* and Randolph's work. Characteristic Randolphian turns of phrase and methods of thought appear on every page, so that without further evidence the style of the play alone would be a clear indication of Randolph's authorship. Matters of style, of course, are subject to differences of opinion, and cannot well be assembled and categorically presented. Nevertheless such expressions as "his pocket is pick'd ha ha he!" (477) "my young master Knowlittle hath past his accidence of drinking and is now in his quarreling grammar whilst I like a blocke head stay yet in the A B C of tobaco." (28–31); "What a thimble full? tis a drought for a flie. giue me the whole pot. a bucket is not enuffe to quench my thirst." (100–101); the whole of Simple's long monologue (II, i)—these, with many other passages which might be quoted, unmistakably suggest Randolph's characteristic high-spirited style. To my mind, therefore, it seems almost certain that *The Drinking Academy* and the plays of Randolph are the work of one and the same author, and that Randolph was borrowing, not from a predecessor, but from himself.[16]

The handwriting of the manuscript, assumed by Prof. Rollins to be the playwright's, resembles neither Randolph's signature,[17] nor the manuscript of the *Praeludium*,[18] which, it has been suggested, may be in Randolph's autograph.[19] The numerous corrections

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Epicoene (IV, i); and finally the plot of Act V was suggested by Act IV, Scene i, of *The Staple of News*, 1626, modern reckoning, where Pecunia complains of her ill-treatment at the hands of the elder Pennyboy.

[16] It was by no means uncommon, as a matter of fact, for Randolph to make use more than once of a particularly happy phrase or line. Cf. Moore Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 309–10, and the following:

The Muses' Looking Glass (I, 258):

> I have such strange varieties of colours,
> Such shifts of shapes, blue Proteus sure begot me
> On a cameleon.

The Jealous Lovers (I, 162):

> I do not think but Proteus, sir, begot you
> On a chameleon.

[17] Two of Randolph's signatures are reproduced in facsimile beneath the portrait, Hazlitt's ed., 1875, vol. I.

[18] Addit. MS. 37,425.

[19] W. W. Greg, quoted by Moore Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 320.

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and erasures, however, which seem to indicate the hand of the playwright, can be accounted for on other grounds. For example, the manuscript which has come down to us may have been the copy of a friend, or actor (if the play was produced), corrected either from the author's revised version, or at the verbal direction of the author during production. Such an hypothesis is supported by the character of the emendations, which seem to have been added at a later date, and are in most cases interlinear. In five instances,[20] furthermore, the speaker was at first incorrectly designated by the scribe, and the correct designation superimposed later, a type of error certain to have been detected if the play was acted, as well as more likely to have been made by a copyist than by the author himself. Thus, while the nature of the alterations indicates that they proceeded from the intelligence of the playwright, the evidence is inconclusive that they are recorded in his own handwriting.

In any case, the date must be advanced to 1626, or later, on account of the indebtedness of Act V to Jonson's *Staple of News*.[21] Randolph had entered Trinity College, Cambridge, on July 8, 1625,[22] and if he wrote *The Drinking Academy* soon afterwards, we have, possibly, his earliest essay in dramatic composition, as well as visible proof that he lost no time in entering that "arena in which a brilliant student could show his wit and humour and literary skill—College Plays."[23] Of course, it is impossible to determine whether or not the play was ever acted, but, as Prof. Rollins points out, it is peculiarly appropriate, by its brevity and its compact cast of eight male characters, for "school-boys or home-talent." No great effort of the imagination, certainly, is needed to picture the young dramatist's fellow-students applauding his playlet at some Christmas or Shrovetide entertainment.

The possibility of identifying *The Drinking Academy* with Randolph's lost play *The Prodigall Scholar*[24] is suggested by the prominence in the plot of Knowlittle, the "prodigall sone" of Worldly. The latter title, even if not so vivid, would be as ap-

[20] Lines 165, 342, 525, 598, 849.

[21] See above, footnote 15.

[22] Moore Smith, *Thomas Randolph*, 1927, p. 8.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[24] See above, footnote 3. M. W. Black, *Richard Brathwait: An Account of His Life and Works*, 1928, p. 83, suggests that *The Prodigall Scholar* may have been a translation of *Cornelianum Dolium.*

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propriate as the former—perhaps more so—for the drinking academy itself receives scant mention in the play, while Know-little is both a prodigal and, in his way, a scholar. Speculation, however, is idle without more definite information concerning the lost piece; yet because of the suitability of the later title, there seems to be more than an even chance that the two are identical.

It is less difficult to perceive why, if the play is Randolph's, it was omitted in the early editions. Assuming that its existence was known to his literary executors, it may have been regarded as an early and immature work. The subject, also, had been more fully and more skilfully treated in *Aristippus* and the first part of *The Jealous Lovers*. And finally, the verbal borrowings in *The Jealous Lovers* were so numerous that the appearance of the two plays in one volume would have invited the reader to doubt the fertility and originality of the poet's genius. On the other hand, it is not impossible that Randolph himself, after incorporating in *The Jealous Lovers* those scenes which most suited his purpose, allowed the play to drop from sight, and that it was either unknown or unavailable to his publishers.

The latter hypothesis, perhaps, is the more tenable, for the play is not unworthy of Randolph's talent. It suffers, no doubt, by comparison with the brilliant *Aristippus*, or with Randolph's masterpiece, the pastoral *Amyntas*, but it is scarcely inferior to his other plays. In spite of the extravagance of its dénouement, it is rather more satisfying in form than *The Conceited Peddler*, a mere dramatic monologue, or even than the much-praised *Muses' Looking Glass*, which is admittedly no more than a series of disconnected scenes. *The Jealous Lovers*, of course, is a full-length play of five acts, and represents a sustained creative effort; yet the humour of the borrowed scenes is only sporadically heightened. Indeed, aside from its evident importance for our understanding of Randolph's development as a dramatist, *The Drinking Academy* may well claim, by virtue of its own excellence, a not unworthy place in the canon of Randolph's dramatic works.

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XLVII

MELODRAMA AND TRAGEDY

CLEAR distinctions between the genres, relatively unimportant in an historical study of the drama, are, or ought to be, of vital importance in a more absolute criticism. But though the term "tragedy" is loosely applied to some of the crudest as well as some of the greatest productions of the stage, and though for the last hundred and twenty-five years the term "melodrama" has been in current use, no critic has made more than a casual attempt properly to distinguish them. Indeed, such is the power of tradition that ill-formed and sensational productions of the Elizabethans or of the Restoration, because they were styled tragedies by their authors or contemporaries, continue to bear that proud title along with *Lear* and *Œdipus the King*. It would seem obvious that a term so stretched as to include within its limits *Hoffman* and *Hamlet*, *Lust's Dominion*, *The Revenge* and *Othello*, will not serve for purposes of strict definition.

Current conceptions of the two terms are manifestly confusing. Any sensational play is generally considered to be a melodrama, but great tragedies are also sensational in their outward aspect. A tragedy, one may say, ends with a death or other calamity, but so do many melodramas. Again, melodramas are crude productions, but crude productions are also called tragedies. Moreover, not all melodramas are "crude." Indeed, if crudity were the test, the distinction would become a mere question of technique: Scribe would be more "tragic" than Shakespeare. The present study is an attempt to find a fundamental distinction between the two genres.

I

We shall deal only with plays which have succeeded on the stage, those alone being, in the strict sense of the term, plays at all. And among such plays we shall find, I believe, distinction to consist in the emotional effects they produce on the audience.

This response of the audience I consider fundamental. Just as music cannot be judged till heard, so drama cannot be judged—as drama—till produced; at least till produced imaginatively in the mind of a reader trained to read plays dramatically. We have to-day, one may hope, got clear from the medieval tradition that a tragedy is a poem to be read.

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In one fundamental respect both melodrama and tragedy have the same effect: they both produce in the audience an illusion of reality. The audience, to use the Coleridgean expression, willingly suspend disbelief; for the time they identify themselves with the action. The extent and force of this illusion will, of course, vary with the individual and the play. The most naïve spectator, for example, seldom loses the sense of his own identity to such an extent as to forget that the play is "only a play"; otherwise, as I shall show later, he could not enjoy the horrors in a melodrama. The extent of the illusion, however, is, generally speaking, in proportion to the *naïveté* of the spectator, and no melodrama succeeds as melodrama unless it can create this illusion in the minds of the audience. When the action is so preposterous as to destroy illusion in all but the most childish, it may indeed succeed as burlesque, as have succeeded *The Tavern* or *The Gorilla* of recent years, or, in the heyday of Parisian *mélodrame*, *L'Auberge des Adrets* with Lemaitre as Robert Macaire. Burlesque, however, is a form of farce, not melodrama.

Indeed, farce and pure, unsentimentalized comedy like Molière's may be distinguished from both tragedy and melodrama in this respect. For the play of laughter a certain degree of detachment on the part of the spectator is necessary, since in order to laugh we must be able to see the absurdity of the action by contrast with past experience. The sense of the comic is, broadly, a mental process of sudden comparison, chiefly between the real world of the spectator and the makebelieve world of the stage, and hence includes a continual awareness, more or less conscious, that the doings on the stage are *play*.[1] Indeed, if spectators seriously identified themselves with the actions of many farces, how painful they would find them!

Romantic or sentimental comedy, in contrast with the purely comic play, is obviously a mixed genre, at one time appealing to the sense of the comic through detachment, at another appealing to the emotions that come from identification. Such plays differ from melodramas often only in the proportion of their elements. In melodrama, however, the passages known as "comic relief" must be strictly subordinate to the serious action, lest otherwise

[1] It will be observed that for brevity's sake I simply accept the "contrast" theory. My argument, however, merely requires recognition of the spectator's relative detachment from the action.

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they break the illusion necessary for the effect of that action. Francisque Sarcey writes:

> Try to recall your past theatrical experience; you will find that in all the melodrama, in all the tragedies, whether classical or romantic, into which the grotesque has crept, it has always been obliged to take a humble place, to play an episodic part; otherwise it would have destroyed the unity of impression which the author always tries to produce.[2]

The conventional method of the melodramatist is strictly to separate the serious from the comic characters, allowing the farcical scenes to be played solely by comic and subordinate characters, and making them thus extraneous interludes in the pauses of the action. At times indeed a fool may be seen on the stage with a hero; but then the folly of the one and the serious qualities of the other are heightened by contrast, not confused. Such is the method of the Elizabethan stage, of course, and of Shakespeare; and there are few English-speaking critics, and no audiences, who find that the "comedy" in *Lear* or *Hamlet* interferes with the tragic mood.

We can, then, with all proper allowances, make the general statement that the identification of the spectator with the action is a perequisite to the arousing of the emotions characteristic of both genres under discussion.

There is one further psychological process which may profitably be dealt with . . . . as it is intimately related to the phantasy construction to which our attention has so far been devoted. This process, technically known as "identification," is of considerable importance, and in its minor degrees is frequently manifested in normal mental life. It consists in identifying ourselves with another individual, either real or fictitious, so that we experience his joys, sorrows, and desires, as if they were our own. So long as the identification holds we feel that he is part of our personality, and that we are living part of our lives in him. Identification is frequently encountered in both normal and abnormal psychology—it includes many of the phenomena generally grouped under the head of "sympathy." The meaning of the conception will be made clearer by the consideration of some illustrative examples. One of the best instances is afforded by the reader of a second-rate romantic novel. The explanation of the interest which this type of fiction arouses lies in the fact that the reader identifies himself with the hero, lives with him through a series of astonishing adventures, falls in love with the heroine, and lives happily ever afterwards. The novel, in fact, permits the reader to experience the fascinations of day-dreaming without the trouble of constructing the imagery himself.

[2] Tr. in Barrett H. Clark, *European Theories of the Drama*, Cincinnati, 1918 p. 397

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An even better example is presented by the audience of a melodrama. Everybody who has observed the gallery during an entertainment of this kind is aware that its inmates are living on the stage, and always, of course, in the part of the hero or heroine. The illusion of reality which attaches to the play allows the day-dreaming to be conducted much more efficiently than in the case of the novel—hence the greater popularity of the drama. It is because the audience insists that its day-dreaming should be catered for, that the playwright is compelled to provide a liberal supply of peers, and to cast his scenes not too far from Mayfair.

If we rise higher in the scale of art and consider the first-rate novel or play, we find the mechanism of identification still at work, but appearing now in a less simple form. The reader no longer identifies himself merely with the hero, but rather with all the characters at once.[3]

So writes the psychologist, and his description of identification gains added weight for our purpose because written in an entirely different connection.

In contrast to this identification of the audience with the action of a melodrama, there is an attitude of mind which comes only with sophistication, and which we may call conscious detachment —the attitude of the professional critic. This is clearly a highly artificial and unstable attitude, and even the hardened dramatic reporter sustains it ill, I imagine, in the presence of a good play. Far more important is the intermediate attitude which is experienced by the majority of educated persons. For them during a performance there is a constant oscillation between emotional identification and critical detachment. But it is the former which the educated playgoer, as well as the uneducated, seeks in the serious play; and he will judge the play, primarily, according to the power and quality of the emotions it has aroused in him through identification.

II

(a) Aristotle rested his definition of tragedy upon the emotions of pity and fear aroused in the spectator. "Accurately conveyed emotion is the great fundamental in all good drama,"[4] writes Professor Baker. We may well follow the lead here given us. An audience enjoys a play because the play excites certain feelings. Methods of arousing these feelings will change, but the emotions aroused remain the same, because human nature does not change. If in all the plays one may consider as clearly melodrama we can

[3] *The Psychology of Insanity*, Bernard Hart, M.D., Cambridge, Eng., pp. 158 ff.
[4] *Dramatic Technique*, George P. Baker, Boston, 1919, p. 46.

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find an appeal to the same emotions, and if we can show that these emotions differ from those aroused by tragedy, we shall have a psychological distinction between the genres which will include plays of widely different appearance but which will be founded firmly on the solid basis of human nature.

The typical audience of melodrama is particularly simple-minded, and particularly capable of child-like self-identification with the action on the stage. It thus is able to find in that action, as Dr. Hart points out, a vicarious expression of its desires, an escape from reality, a fictitious wish-fulfillment, a satisfaction for emotional hunger. But the wishes of the audience are various and often conflicting; the play cannot satisfy them all; inevitably the playwright will have selected from the range of human desires those that are keenest, that can best be satisfied through drama, and that can naturally be met without mutual interference. The playwright is not a philosopher in this; he follows his own instinct, and he is greatly influenced by theatrical tradition. But his aim will be to satisfy the human craving for a fuller emotional life.

What are the emotions that the melodramatist has actually sought to arouse?

(b) First to occur to our minds are the thrills that come from the contemplation of danger. These, however, are always kept within the bounds of the agreeable by the subdued but ever-present consciousness that it is "only a play." It is this detached awareness that makes the thrills delightful, in spite of horrors on the stage; but it must be definitely subordinate to identification if the spectator is to have the thrills at all. The more *sensible* and naïve in the audience, indeed, will at times find even moderate horrors painful; they identify themselves too completely, or feel too keenly. When Æschylus produced his *Eumenides* "the aspect of the chorus created something like a panic in the theater, and it became a reproach to Æschylus that he had added horror to horror, had been the first to clothe the Furies in black and to put snakes in their hair."[5] And if identification does not cause such a spectator pain, it often causes him to express his feelings in a manner startling to more staid persons. "Vice is vice on the Boulevard," writes Thackeray in his *Paris Sketch Book*; "and it is fine to hear the audience, as a tyrant king roars out cruel sentences of death, or a bereaved mother pleads for the life of her child, making their remarks on the circumstances of the scene. 'Ah, le gredin!'

[5] *A Short History of Greek Literature*, W. C. Wright, New York, 1907, p. 207.

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growls an indignant countryman. 'Quel monstre!' says a grisette, in a fury. You see very fat old men crying like babies; and, like babies, sucking enormous sticks of barley-sugar."

The more sophisticated and detached the audience, the harder it becomes to produce the thrills of fear or horror. It would seem significant of this fact that horror, so important an element in Elizabethan or Jacobean plays designed for a popular audience of little cultivation, was reduced, relatively speaking, to a minor position in the melodramatic plays of the Restoration, when audiences were more sophisticated; and regained supremacy in the eighteenth century, particularly toward its close, together with the renewed predominance of the populace in the theatres. There would, indeed, seem to have been no limit to the "Gothic" extravagances that such audiences during the Romantic period were ready to swallow. In our later day most melodramatists of the stage, if not the screen, wisely avoid the danger of ridicule which they would run if they included in their *dramatis personae* the Wood Demons and Castle Spectres and Bleeding Nuns of such dramatasters as "Monk" Lewis; but nearly all seek to hold the interest chiefly through the dangers to which their hero or heroine is exposed; and if these dangers are not extremely violent, to fill an evening they must be numerous, and thus give rise to a play in which action dominates over character. It is this fact which has been made the core of most definitions of the genre. Professor Babbitt speaks of melodrama along with other manifestations of romanticism as "the irresponsible quest for thrills." Professor Brander Matthews:

> Although the true dramatist cannot but conceive both the incidents of his play and its personages at the same moment, yet we are accustomed to consider tragedy and comedy nobler than melodrama and farce, because in the former the characters themselves seem to create the situations of the plot and to dominate its structure; whereas in the latter it is obvious rather that the situations have evoked the characters, and that these are realized only in so far as the conduct of the story may cause them to reveal the characteristics thus called for.[6]

And William Archer:

> Melodrama is illogical and sometimes irrational tragedy. It subordinates character to situation, consistency to impressiveness. It aims at

[6] *The Development of the Drama*, New York, 1906, p. 75.

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startling, not at convincing, and is little concerned with causes so long as it attains effects.[7]

The illogicality of melodrama emphasized by this definition we shall consider later; the purely descriptive portion applies here. Finally, Professor Baker:

> Throughout the ages, the great public, cultivated as well as uncultivated, have cared for action first, then, as aids to a better understanding of the action of the story, for characterization and dialogue. Now, for more than a century, the play of mere action has been so popular that it has been recognized as a special form, namely, melodrama.[8]

These pronouncements, I believe, except William Archer's, oversimplify the case by considering only the chief characteristic of melodrama, but they emphasize the fact that the thrill of violent action *is* the chief characteristic. What they do not mention regarding these thrills is that they result from the identification of the spectator with the actor.

As a result of the search for this sensationalism, the writer of melodrama builds up suspense, piles event on event, utilizes calmer periods for the contrast of "comic relief" as a sop to the weaker spirits in the audience, and even brings in the alien art of music to underline the emotion in the "big" scenes, or in scenes when the effect needs bolstering. How moving would the melodrama of the screen be without its orchestra or organ? The word melodrama itself was originally a synonym for opera; and the tradition of specially composed orchestral accompaniments, inherited from the *mêlodrames* of the Parisian stage of 1800 and later, according to a recent statement still persists in the French provinces.

(c) But the thrills of suspense, dread, and horror are not the only ones that melodrama excites. There is a second type which comes not from the fearful identification with a character in danger, but as a direct effect upon the spectator of something spectacular, strange, startling, wonderful. Evidently the two effects are often united, yet there is a distinction between them. A man may be represented on the stage as sitting alone in a room; nothing is visible to threaten him, yet we know that danger menaces, and feel the thrill of identification. On the other hand, the curtain may rise to disclose a stage flooded with water, and miniature boats floating; the illusion of a real sea is startling, and the audience, surprised

[7] *About the Theatre*, London, 1886.
[8] *Dramatic Technique*, p. 20.

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and pleased at the success of the illusion, applauds; it receives a thrill, but one of detachment. When at the end of W. T. Moncrieff's *Cataract of the Ganges*, a typical melodrama of 1823, the "cataract of Gangotri" was suddenly disclosed by the collapse of burning trees, and the audience saw "real water" falling, it must have applauded for the same reason. But as the hero and heroine were in mortal danger, the audience must also have experienced a thrill of the other sort in its anxiety for them.

As we see at once, diverse means have been found to excite the thrill of wonder. Here belong the ingenious productions of the stage mechanic for spectacular effect: the Elizabethan "nimble squibs," or vanishings of ghosts through traps, or descents of gods, after classic precedent, in "creaking thrones." Here come the "discoveries" and "transformations" of Caroline masks and later; the "painted cloths" that gave Settle's *Empress of Morocco* its brief notoriety early in the Restoration. Here come that monstrosity, the double-decked ship, rigged for Parisian audiences by the master of early *mêlodrame*, Pixerécourt; the four-roomed house with all rooms visible invented by Edward Fitzball in 1833[9] (and recently re-invented by Eugene O'Neill); the "aqua-drama" which gave Sadler's Wells its renown a century ago; the "sensation scenes" of later years, as in Boucicault's *Colleen Bawn*, ever growing in complexity and ingenuity. To join their company come the performing animals brought up from the circus and the variety stage to enliven tottering melodrama. Here belong the acrobatics so familiar in the filmed thriller, and twenty years ago a characteristic element in the thrillers of the stage.

A pertinent further quotation from Professor Babbitt emphasizes wonder as central in romanticism:

> . . . . The uncultivated human imagination in all times and places is romantic. . . . . It hungers for the thrilling and the marvelous and is, in short, incurably melodramatic. All students of the past know how, when the popular imagination is left free to work on actual historical characters and events, it quickly introduces into these characters and events the themes of universal folk-lore, and makes a ruthless sacrifice of reality to the love of melodramatic surprise.[10]

But unfortunately for the melodramatist, "the pleasures of sudden wonder," as Doctor Johnson observed, "are soon exhausted." The

[9] In *Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Road-side Inn.*

[10] *Rousseau and Romanticism*, Boston, 1919, pp. 4–5.

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play-maker, however, instead of seeking, like the lexicographer, to rest on the "stability of truth," has constantly been forced to find ever new sensations to delight "by that novelty of which the common satiety of life sends us all in quest."

Closely allied to the outer effects of mechanism and trickery is the more legitimately dramatic effect of plot surprise. The skillful builder of plays who so orders his events that he can give them a sudden and unexpected turn, which shall be at once plausible and startling, produces in his audience a sensation of wonder. Contemporary critics praised Douglas Jerrold for the unexpected discovery of gold in the old arm chair, in his *Rent Day* (1832), and for the device in *Black-Ey'd Susan* (1829) of having the discharge of the hero from the navy dated back, so that after all he was not guilty of striking his officer when he delivered the almost fatal blow to the villainous Captain Crosstree. Many melodramas, indeed, have been written solely around such "big scenes." A recent example was the revival of the old play *Forget-Me-Not*, which toured the country a few years ago under the name *Foot-loose*. In this play the happiness of the heroine depends on the astute hero's ability to induce the villainess to leave the house forever. The hero has fortunately discovered a desperate Corsican who has vowed both eternal gratitude to the hero for having saved his own life, and eternal vengeance against the villainess for a former misdeed. The hero brings this fearsome person into the room; he requires him on oath to look fixedly at one spot; he then shows the villainess the back-turned figure. She creeps fearfully out, emitting only a little gasp of terror as she is safe and the curtain drops. Suspense enters into our sensations here, but the dominant feeling at the end is one of surprise and wonder. Thus also the modern "crook" plays, with their elaborate devices for throwing suspicion on everybody but the true criminal, much as they depend on suspense, culminate in the surprise of discovery. In contrast to all such devices, we may well remind ourselves that, in the words of A. B. Walkley, "the aim of the great artist is not to surprise the spectator with an unforeseen, but to gratify him with an 'inevitable' action."[11]

Romantic wonder of a special nature has at all times been excited by the presentation of the supernatural. The peculiar shiver of superstition, which comes from facing the incomprehensible and inimical, may indeed be properly considered a type of emotional

[11] *Drama and Life*, London, 1907, p. 116. This is also Lessing's point in *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, No. 48.

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response distinct from those we have observed; yet perhaps it is nothing more than the feeling of wonder very much heightened. Such an emotion might indeed be proper matter for the psychologists if they any longer concerned themselves with introspective problems. The feeling includes a sense of defenselessness, of powerlessness, and what may well be considered an instinctive fear of the unknown. To arouse such a feeling in an audience requires of course, either spectators who believe more or less in the powers represented, or a play that is extraordinarily plausible.

Such superstitious dread must have been the response of the Elizabethan audience to the appearance of ghosts like those in *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*; such must explain in part the terror aroused by Æschylus' furies. As Professor Whitmore points out in his study, *The Supernatural in Tragedy*,[12] the classical tradition stemming chiefly from Euripedes flourished in the Renaissance and died finally during the Restoration period. A renewed interest in the supernatural comes, of course, with the "Gothic" romance and *mélodrame*. But the two periods differ rather fundamentally. The classic use of the supernatural goes back to a period of genuine religious belief, and however debased to the service of mere sensation it became later, it always maintained the tradition of dignity that was suitable to the presentation of spectral visitants in tragedy. Men like "Monk" Lewis and Dumas *père*, on the other hand, frankly employed ghosts, vampires, ghouls, demons, and other creatures purely to thrill susceptible hearers and readers; they sought not awe but wonder. The legitimate tragic use of the supernatural is well expressed by Professor Whitmore:

> We must agree that tragedy is that form of drama which seeks to penetrate as far as possible into the mystery of existence, and to reveal the secret sources of human action. It is inevitable that this should involve some opinion of those forces beyond man of whose existence, however to be conceived, we must be conscious. But such forces are precisely what we understand by the supernatural, taken in its widest and also its deepest sense. When a writer has penetrated to the very verge of human existence, he must confront the question, what lies beyond? And it is in some aspect of the supernatural that he will find whatever answer he chooses to give.[13]

Such questions, obviously, do not concern ordinary melodrama. The essentially false and hence melodramatic quality even of

[12] C. E. Whitmore, Cambridge and London, 1915.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 356.

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George Lillo's *Fatal Curiosity* and its spawn of German *Schicksalsdramen*, is, I think, not likely to be questioned. About a large number of plays, mostly recent, however, we cannot be so easily sure. What shall we say of the symbolism of Ibsen or Maeterlinck or Südermann, suggesting or presenting supernatural powers in the lives of men? The answer will depend on our belief in the sincerity of the authors. Are they sincerely and profoundly plumbing the mystery of existence? Or do they occasionally yield to the temptation to gain a theatrical thrill at the expense of truth?

Every dealer in the supernatural or the extraordinary must face a certain amount of skepticism in his audience; and the natural method he takes to overcome that skepticism is to make as plausible and realistic as possible every element in his fable except those that cannot be rationalized. We thus can understand the development among the nineteenth-century romanticists of that superficial realism which disguises to the superficial reader the essential romanticism of their work. Pixerécourt passed among the audience bibliographies of historical works as evidence for the truth of his entirely imaginary plays, and was meticulous over the verisimilitude of his settings. It was in the melodramas of such men that novelists like Balzac and Dickens found their method. With Balzac the interminable inventories of household goods and the jargon of the banking house go along with the violence of extraordinary passions and events; Dickens' works, though written by a genius, are obviously novelized melodramas.

(d) Lucretius noted that it is pleasant to stand on the shore and to watch the terrific labors of others on the stormy sea. It remained, however, for Emile Faguet to propound the theory that the pleasure we derive from tragedy is "une jouissance barbare," and that comedy, even, differs from tragedy in this respect only in degree. "A la comédie comme à la tragédie nous venons pour voir souffrir."[14] He remarks upon the exploitation of horror in the theatre:

> Périodiquement le théâtre essaye de *pousser jusqu'á l'horrible* la peinture des malheurs humains, obéissant à la loi *de plus en plus fort*, qui gouverne tout ce qui est exhibition. . . . . [But] l'homme aime la souffrance humaine *jusqu'á un certain point.* Il n'est point un sauvage. Il lui reste, seulement, de la sauvagerie.[15]

[14] *Drame Ancien Drame Moderne*, Paris, 1903, Avant-Propos, p. 5.
[15] *Ibid.*

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He tells a story of certain solemn Hollanders who, after seeing two or three murders exhibited, marched upon the stage to protest that that was enough; and he admits that an audience at a tragedy also finds intellectual pleasure in considering human affairs seriously. But fundamentally man is a fighting animal, and even high French tragedy ministers to his love of strife in representing men struggling against their passions. Man "éprouve des plaisirs infinis à les vaincre, à les dompter; et c'est encore l'ancien dompteur de bêtes féroces qui se retrouve là."[16]

Most critics who consider Faguet's theory admit it only as partial truth, and do not agree that it can explain all or even the chief pleasure we receive from tragedy.[17] When we turn to melodrama, however, it is interesting to find at least one critic who puts this pleasure of cruelty central in his definition of that genre.

War, hunting, and persecution are the constant diversions of the primitive mind. And these that mind seeks in the gross mimicry of melodrama. Violence, and especially moral violence, is shown forth, and the audience joins vicariously in the pursuits and triumphs of the action. Thus it is hot impulses are slaked. It sees itself righteous and erect, and the object of its pursuit, the quarry, discomfited or dead. For the great aim of melodrama is the killing of the villain. Whether he be tribal enemy or moral or social dissenter, he is permitted small successes, shadowy evasions, brief exultations. But these are known to be momentary, and felt as rudely ironic. The net tightens, its cords cut closer and closer into the victim's flesh until the magnificent instant of the clicking handcuff or the whirring bullet is ripe.

Stronger and deeper is the final instant that adds fierceness and joy to the mimic man-hunt of melodrama. The villain, whether tribal enemy, merely foreigner, or rebel against dominant order, is always represented as an unscrupulous rake. He attacks the honor of native women, and thus —especially if his skin is a tinge darker—there is blended with the other motives of pursuit the motive of a vicarious lynching party of the orthodox kind. The melodrama of this approved pattern brings into mimic play those forces in human nature that produce mob violence in peace and mass atrocities in war. Natures addicted to physical violence of a directer and simpler kind have cultivated the arena and the bull-ring. Those, like ourselves, who desire their impulses of cruelty to seem the fruit of moral energy, substitute melodrama.[18]

But such an analysis does not tell the whole story! It may be

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Cf. Dixon, *op. cit.*, Ch. V; Allardyce Nicoll, *An Introduction to Dramatic Theory*, London, 1923, pp. 86–87.

[18] Ludwig Lewisohn, article from *The Nation*, reprinted in *The Drama and the Stage*, New York, 1922.

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pointed out that the very force of the blood-lust aroused by the pursuit of the villain depends, in the average melodrama, on the antithetical identification with and sympathy for the victim. Even the lynching party of the South is moved in part by pity and just anger; it is not merely an exhibition of cruelty for its own sake like that of the sadistic maniac.

Yet with all we can say in extenuation, the blood-lust Mr. Lewisohn describes is a thing only too close to the surface of civilization. I have a vivid recollection of the effect of the notorious screen melodrama, *The Birth of a Nation*, on a certain Northern audience of presumably average law-biding citizens. A negro had violated a white woman; the mounted Ku Klux Klan were thundering in pursuit. The excitement of the audience was tremendous, and I can remember as the most impressive thing in the whole performance my sudden terrified feeling that I had become part of a mob thirsting for blood. Modern melodrama in general excites this blood-lust only in a minor degree, yet we have but to recall Elizabethan plays like *Titus Andronicus* or *The Spanish Tragedy* or *The Devil's Charter*, or even Senecan "tragedies" like *Thyestes*, to see that it may be dominant.

(e) Any imitation of human life, even crude melodrama, will rouse emotions too subtle and interdependent ever to be completely analyzed. I confine myself, therefore, to discussing only what seem to me the chief responses from melodrama; and to those already dealt with I shall add but two more. These are the vicarious satisfactions which the play gives, on the one hand to egocentric desires for power and success, and on the other to the more altruistic sentimental emotions, pity and love.

If the hero or heroine is represented as at first a humble person like ourselves, and then if through a sudden revelation of power —such as cleverness, bravery, beauty,—he wins final success and happiness, the identifying spectator vicariously exults in the hero's glory, and perhaps feels that he too, ordinary enough to all appearances, harbors within himself extraordinary powers. Thus admiration and self-congratulation are mingled; vanity is tickled and selfish longing momentarily assuaged.

Likewise sexual desires find a temporary and partial satisfaction. The perfect mate of adolescent day-dreaming is here for the nonce embodied, and the happy ending with the long delayed kiss is the fulfillment of those dreams. But melodrama is seldom salacious; there seems to be something inherent in human nature which shrinks from a *serious* presentation of the more bestial manifesta-

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tions of the sexual instinct. These are made to happen offstage, or, when shown at all, are usually softened and rendered less discomfiting by the detachment of comic treatment. For the "homme moyen sensuel" vice is made agreeable by a glozing of romance, and nakedness, to be seductive, must be partially covered.

Allied to love-longing in its regardfulness of another is pity, but the feeling is so distinct and so important in the study of the drama that it might well be given separate treatment. I shall speak later of "tragic" pity; at present we are concerned rather with that sentimental indulgence in tears for their own sake which was so striking a feature of eighteenth century *drame*, and was thence inherited by nineteenth century melodrama and preserved as subordinate to the more vigorous emotions therein solicited. The extremes of sentimentality excited by Richardson or Diderot have not been common in melodrama, but throughout the last century there has been enough of it to make it a marked characteristic of the genre. We need instance only the death of Little Eva, with its tableau of descending angels. And we should not be surprised that the emotional instability that permits sentimentality makes it possible for the same spectator to feel at the same play a lust for blood or horror. The liberated pendulum of passion swings from the one to the other; and unreasoning sympathy for a victim demands an unreasoning hatred for an oppressor. Little Eva finds her complement and compensation in the death of Legree.

One may say in praise of Elizabethan audiences that much as they delighted in slaughter, they were not sentimental. Their melodrama appealed mainly to their love of the wonderful, of violence, of horror, of revenge, and it was natural that their plays should often end, not with compensation, but rather with a climax of horrors. For them the more blood the better, as for the Roman of the Colosseum. The "happy ending," on the other hand, came inevitably when melodrama began to emphasize the softer emotions. A person who feels irrational pity will accept an irrational dénouement, provided it leave the victim happy. When the *New English Dictionary* states that the name melodrama "now denotes a dramatic piece characterized by sensational incidents and violent appeals to the emotions, but with a happy ending," the definition evidently refers to the stage-traffic of the last hundred years. The happy ending is a frequent but not universal corollary of an appeal to a particular kind of thrill. The thrill for its own sake is the essential in melodrama.

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III

Just as melodrama is built upon the emotional hunger of its audience, so is it circumscribed by that audience's intellectual limitations. The happy ending, a natural result of sentimentality, not only indicates emotional uncontrol, but, since the happy ending is more often than not in cheap melodrama at plain defiance of necessity and probability, illustrates Bacon's observation that "a mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure."

This consideration leads us back to William Archer's definition of the genre as "illogical and sometimes irrational tragedy." Illogicality as a test is also made by several other critics, such as Brunetière, who demands "une logique intérieure" for tragedy.[19] By logic one would naturally think is meant that effects are the plausible if not inevitable outcome of causes shown or implied. The test on this basis seems at first glance sufficient, and certainly applies to many melodramas. But there is one objection: it proves too much. I venture to assert that a criticism keen enough to find such illogicality in some of the plays which are obviously melodramas, would on the same grounds find it in such great tragedies as *Lear* and *Hamlet*.

A priori, indeed, it is clear from former considerations that in melodrama illogicality, or merely superficial plausibility, is, like the happy ending, a usual but not necessary result of the central fact about the genre. William Archer puts his finger on this central fact when he says, "it subordinates . . . . consistency to impressiveness;" the thrill as an end justifies illogical means. The melodramatist is not averse to logic and plausibility; he is simply indifferent to them so long as he gains his effects. But there are melodramas—obviously such—that, although they deal with exceptional events, happen to show or suggest rather well the causes for their effects. Of these a number were based on fact and so were ready for the playwright's hand. Such are the so-called *Yorkshire Tragedy*, or Pixerécourt's *Latude*, which represents the sorrows of a political prisoner under the *ancien régime*, or the once-famous *Courier de Lyon*, as originally produced with its fatal ending. Even a romantic play like William Gillette's *Secret Service*, for example, which depends on chance for some of its effects, preserves on the whole a sobriety of motivation

[19] *Mélodrame ou Tragédie? A Propos du Dédale*, Revue des Deux Mondes, 50e Période, T. 19, Jan. 15, 1904; also in *Variétés Littéraires*. Cf. also Thorndike, *Tragedy*, pp. 3–4; Clayton Hamilton, *Melodramas and Farces*, Forum, Vol. XLI, 1909, p. 24.

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and a logic (in a causal sense) that many so-called tragedies do not possess.

And if melodramas are sometimes logical, in this sense, tragedies, on the other hand, are often illogical. In using chance, for instance, frankly as a convenience in altering the logical course of events, Shakespeare readily followed the practice of his stage; and Hardy's novels, so often compared to Greek tragedies, are notoriously full of accidental mischance. Life itself is full of accidents, as English writers, more often than French, seem to have felt, with the result that they have been willing enough to let fortune solve their difficulties. With this fact in mind Clayton Hamilton, with evident relish for the paradox, glorifies melodrama for showing "the persistency of chance in the serious concerns of life."[20] Obviously, however, chance exists in melodrama not from any philosophical conviction of the playwright's that it is an essential fact of life, but because it is convenient. It is, on the contrary, in great tragedy if anywhere that we shall find a serious imitation of the operation of chance in life.[21]

In general correct, the test of the critics cited fails in that they seem wrongly to assume that tragedies are wholly logical, in the ordinary sense of the word, whereas they are not and should not be.[22] If by logic, however, is meant rather a larger fidelity to this illogical human life than mere syllogistic sequence, the test may be accepted; but if so used the word is ambiguous. Furthermore, logic in any sense is a test of the reason, and to make rationality the touchstone by which to judge works which succeed only by an appeal to the emotions is to fall into the error of neo-classic criticism. We need a definition which shall avoid the ambiguity of "logic," and which shall divide melodrama from tragedy in terms of emotion.

IV

It is in terms of emotion that Aristotle defines tragedy; tragedy

[20] *A New Defense of Melodrama*, in *Studies in Stagecraft*, New York, 1914, pp. 210–211.

[21] Cf. Bradley, in *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 15: "Now this operation of accident is a fact, and a prominent fact, of human life. To exclude it *wholly* from tragedy therefore, would be, we may say, to fail in truth. And besides, it is not merely a fact. That men may start a course of events but can neither calculate nor control it, is a *tragic* fact. . . . . Any *large* admission of chance into the tragic sequence would certainly weaken, and might destroy, the sense of the causal connection of character, deed, and catastrophe. And Shakespeare really uses it very sparingly."

[22] Cf. *infra*, note 37.

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is a play which arouses and "purges" pity and fear. But we cannot merely accept "pity" and "fear" without examination. On the one hand, melodrama also may be said to arouse them; and on the other, they seem scarcely comprehensive enough for modern tragedy. "The word φοβος," Professor Thorndike remarks, ". . . . hardly indicates the emotions of admiration, awe, hate, horror, terror, despair, and dismay, which belong to tragedy, and modern tragedy has appealed more largely than classical to pity and sympathy."[23] Furthermore, we must decide what kind of pity and fear we mean. Did Aristotle have in mind the actual emotions as experienced in life, or did he mean æsthetic pity and fear? And in the latter case, may there not be more than one kind of such emotions?

Something like a scientific approach to the problem might be made if it were possible to collect from a considerable number of qualified spectators their actual feelings at a tragedy. But even if the spectators were really qualified and could tell what they felt, who would pin his artistic faith to a questionnaire? What the critic actually does, however, is much more limited: he examines his own feelings, and assuming them representative, uses them alone as data. We must admit at the outset the chance of error in that they may not be representative.

Having made this admission of fallibility, let us consider a passage from Professor Butcher:

> Fear Aristotle defines to be "a species of pain or disturbance arising from an impression of impending evil which is destructive or painful in its nature." Moreover, the evil is near not remote, and the persons threatened are ourselves. Similarly, pity is "a sort of pain at an evident evil of a destructive or painful kind in the case of somebody who does not deserve it, the evil being one which we might expect to happen to ourselves or to some of our friends, and this at a time when it is seen to be near at hand." Pity, however, turns into fear when the object is so nearly related to us that the suffering seems to be our own. Thus pity and fear in Aristotle are strictly correlated feelings.[24]

The emotions thus described are real. But the mimic life of the stage can rouse them in us only as we join imaginatively in it through identification. And as has been pointed out, such emotions of identification are always weakened and rendered more pleasurable by the ever-present consciousness that the events are imaginary. The modified pity and fear of the spectator

[23] *Tragedy*, Ch. I.

[24] S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London, 1895, p. 237.

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may be distinguished from direct emotions by being called æsthetic.

So far as these æsthetic emotions are concerned, however, we can hardly distinguish melodrama from tragedy. The spectator at either play who identifies himself with the action feels fear in the presence of danger, pity for the victim. The comparative justification for the feelings is beside the point. Whatever a play's motivation, if it succeeds it has thereby proved that it has given its spectators genuine emotions. And as a matter of fact, as has been noted, the uncritical spectator is likely to feel more strongly —in the sense we are now discussing—inasmuch as his identification tends to be more complete.

Let us admit, then, that tragedy, though it may avoid some of the less creditable emotions exploited by melodrama, nevertheless gives and should give the spectator the same identifying thrills as melodrama. It cannot live on the stage, it is not truly dramatic, unless it does. Nay more, to the average spectator great tragedy is effective merely as melodrama; *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* have won their stage popularity through dealing melodramatically in suspense, wonder, hatred, pity, and horror. The judicious may grieve, but the fact remains that the playwright, unlike the novelist, must adapt his material to the unreflecting as well as to the critical; he cannot hold his audience unless he serves the stuff that is the food of identification. If as a result he must often be less subtle than the novelist, his compensation is in the much greater emotional force of his presentation. And as a result of this moving power a tragedy can generate among the more thoughtful overtones of reflective emotion that the novel can rarely excite. It is then that the play, which is merely melodrama to the unthinking, becomes something more. And it is here that we have the clue to the difference between melodrama and tragedy.

V

The more thoughtful spectator at tragedy finds a compensation for the comparative incompleteness of his sense of identification. As he can enter into the action emotionally, and at the same time reflect, so as a result he perceives depths of meaning totally beyond the comprehension of the simpler mind. This perception, morever, is not coldly intellectual, but leads directly to an emotional response of a new order. Whereas melodrama can arouse but one type of æsthetic response through identification, tragedy may be said to arouse two. The emotions peculiar to tragedy

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result from reflection: the spirit, elevated by the particular action of the stage, seeks to harmonize the emotions it feels with past experience and with its habitual sentiments and faiths; it faces ultimate terrors of life and in facing them in some measure reconciles them to the rest of life; by this activity it lifts the particular events into the realm of the universal and experiences the awe that comes from glimpsing the fundamental mystery of existence.

Writing of the great Shakespearean tragedies, Professor Allardyce Nicoll says:

> In every one there is an outer and an inner tragedy, the outer sometimes working in direct contrast to the inner. The outer tragedy is laid down on lines of the utmost sensationalism, dealing with murder and torture and bloodshed; the inner tragedy is quieter and more poignant, involving usually a struggle between emotion and intellect, or between habits and custom. So in *Hamlet* it is a struggle between the emotion of revenge, and perhaps also of love, warring against a certain quality which Hamlet himself names as "religion" and which we might call moral scruple.[25]

Critics disagree as to the precise nature of this "inner tragedy" in *Hamlet*, but none denies its existence. It is this inner tragedy which the naïve spectator misses; it is in the emotional realization of it that we find the peculiar effect of tragedy.

Æsthetic fear of this second order, in Professor Butcher's words,

> is the reflex of the pity that we feel for the tragic hero. His misfortunes make us tremble for ourselves, and for the possibilities of human nature—unlikely as we are ever to be placed in circumstances precisely identical with his.[26]

Pity becomes not a narrowly personal feeling, but the universalized pity-that-such-things-should-be. Pity and fear are merged in awe.

> The true tragic emotion of fear attaches itself not to this or that particular incident, but to the general course of the action, it is for us an image of human destiny. We are thrilled with awe at the tragic issues thus unfolded, and with a sense of the inevitableness of the result. In the awe so inspired the emotions of fear and pity are blended.[27]

As a result the spectator "forgets his own petty sufferings. He quits the narrow sphere of the individual. He identifies himself

[25] *An Introduction to Dramatic Theory*, London, 1923, p. 127.
[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 239.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

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with the fate of mankind."[28] In Shakespearean tragedy in particular, Professor Bradley points out, is developed the sense of waste—waste of the best and most precious. "We seem to have before us a type of the mystery of the whole world, the tragic fact which extends far beyond the limits of tragedy." Tragedy "forces the mystery upon us, and it makes us realize so vividly the worth of that which is wasted that we cannot possibly seek comfort in the reflection that all is vanity."[29] The result, in the broadest sense in which that much-debated physiological figure can be taken, is a καθάρσις of the tragic emotions.

The tendency of recent times has been to carry this philosophical pity far beyond the nice balance whose maintenance made possible the greatness of Greek tragedy. Mr. Lewisohn, for example, in the essay already quoted, thinks that tragedy has only in this advanced age attained a proper measure of pity. Gone is any attempt, as with the Greeks, to fix at least a portion of men's calamities upon themselves; modern tragedy, as he sees it, deals not with the sins of men but with their mistakes. In future "guilt and punishment will be definitely banished to melodrama, where they belong. Tragedy will seek increasingly to understand our failures and our sorrows." Ethical drama thus being relegated to the proletariat who still think there are such things as right and wrong, tragedy will produce for the enlightened a καθάρσις after the manner of a Turkish bath. There is behind such a passage the attitude of mind engendered by scientific determinism, an attitude which would seem to be fatal to tragedy, inasmuch as for those who hold it a dramatic conflict of wills must be set aside for what might be called the adjustments of environmental factors. For the more feeling of mankind such views of tragedy, as with Schopenhauer, tend toward hopeless resignation. In other hands, it would seem, they tend toward farce: if we can believe the words of a noted Chicago lawyer given to advanced ethical dicta, men must in future consider their lives, in their absence of self-direction, as analogous to the career of a Ford car.

Contrary to this view some recent critics, like Prosser Hall Frye in *Romance and Tragedy*,[30] have even argued the superiority of Greek to Shakespearean tragedy because of its clearer ethical point of view. But such considerations will lead us beyond our

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 23.
[30] Boston, 1922.

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province, which is the consideration of the emotional effect of tragedy. And within our own province it is enough, in meeting those who advocate excess of pity, to point out that great tragedy of the past has exalted men through heroic though failing struggle, by spiritual victory in spite of physical defeat, with the result that pity has been mitigated by admiration.

> For the interest of tragedy is in no small measure the interest of heroic story heightened by defeat, the history of an excellence we desire to keep alive, whose passing we regret and admire the more passionately for its departure. "I would not give my dead son," said the Duke of Ormond, "for the best living son in Christendom."[31]

Indeed, from this consideration we are impelled to go a step further and add to the fear and pity of reflection as essential to great tragedy a feeling of admiration, an admiration for nobility, the very cause for Professor Bradley's sense of waste, and in itself and in its ennobling power upon ourselves in some degree a compensation for that waste. Heroism is exalted in tragedy; pity of a personal sort goes chiefly to minor characters. As Steele observed:

> Gallant men who are cut off by the sword, move rather our veneration than our pity, and we gather relief enough from their own contempt of death, to make it no evil, which was approached with so much cheerfulness, and attended with so much honor. But when we turn our thoughts from the great parts of life on such occasions, and instead of lamenting those who stood ready to give death to those from whom they had the fortune to receive it; I say, when we let our thoughts wander from such noble objects, and consider the havoc which is made among the tender and the innocent, pity enters with an unmixed softness, and possesses all our souls at once.[32]

Thus it is Ophelia, not Hamlet; Desdemona, not Othello, who excites our keenest pity. The gallant heroism in such natures as that of Antigone or Cordelia mitigates our distress at their calamities.

And it is not without reason that the more heroic figures have been the central figures of tragedy. Doubtless Steele, the originator of sentimental comedy, would have desired it otherwise; but tragedy is too stern, too faithful a portrayal of the indifference of nature to human sorrows, too universal, to permit personal pity to usurp the central place. One critic, indeed, goes

[31] W. M. Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
[32] *The Tatler*, No. 181, June 6, 1710.

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so far as to deny it altogether:

> Tragedy, after all, is not a thing of tears. Pathos stands upon a lower plane of dramatic art, just as sentimentalism is lower than a genuine humanitarian spirit. Pathos is closely connected with pity, and neither is generally indulged in by the great dramatists as the main tragic *motif*. The air of Æschylus is stern and hard. . . . . There is no call for "sympathetic tears" toward Prometheus or Orestes, precisely because in the grandeur of their being they are greater than we are. We do not sympathize with Othello to the extent of feeling pity, because Othello is a force beyond our ken, primitive perhaps, but strong and majestic. We do not weep at the death of Cordelia, because she has a power and a firmness in her nature which defy our analysis.[33]

This is somewhat overstating it, I believe most will agree: I doubt whether many will admit no pity for Othello, and the extreme distress that so hard-headed a critic as Doctor Johnson has recorded at the death of Cordelia indicates that we feel distress in good company. For the true tragic hero admiration mitigates but does not destroy pity; and one of the chief points in the *Poetics*, we must remember, is that the hero must not be exalted so far above us that we cannot enter into his sorrows as into those of a being like ourselves.[34]

Greatness, it would seem, must exist in the tragic protagonist; and the whole history of tragedy up to the emergence of the *drame bourgeois* has shown an insistence on all that would elevate and dignify the central figures. If many of us find much of the "tragedy" of recent times dispiriting instead of exalting, it is probably because, as I have suggested, the playwright's purely deterministic philosophy does not allow his heroes greatness and strength of will. Greatness, indeed, in spite of Aristotle, can even exalt a wicked figure to tragic proportions. Such is the thesis of one doctoral dissertation,[35] in which Richard III, Mac-

[33] A. Nicoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[34] Cf. Butcher, *op. cit.*, p. 289, who argues that the martyr is unsuitable for tragedy because his moral victory drowns fear and awe in admiration; and Lessing, *Dramaturgie*, No. 2, who argues similarly against a tragedy representing Christian martyrs. But the difficulty with such a character, for example, as the heroine of Massinger and Dekker's *Virgin Martyr* is not that she is a martyr but that she is totally unbelievable as a human being, so that we cannot identify ourselves with her misfortunes. Antigone, for a modern if not for a Greek audience, is a martyr in Butcher's sense, and is none the less a tragic heroine. No moral victory can drown our sense of pity and waste at a violent death of one whom we can admire and love.

[35] Dr. Clarence V. Boyer, *The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy*, London and New York, 1914.

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beth, and Lady Macbeth are the chief exemplars. And Professor Butcher admits that Aristotle, of course with only Greek drama before him, "fails to take account of two exceptional types of tragedy—that which exhibits the antagonism between a pure will and a disjointed world, or between a grand but criminal purpose, and the higher moral forces with which it is confronted."[36]

The existence of evil and sorrow and the irrational fact of death are the central problems that tragedy has to face. It has found for them but a partial answer in man's moral responsibility;[37] and it has never been helped by the supernatural creeds of religion. Yet it is the paradox of tragedy that it gives pleasure and inspiration by the representation of defeat and death. Where else indeed, does it derive this power to exalt if not by the admiration it excites for heroism?

What then in tragedy escaped Aristotle? That from its poverty we extract sustenance, from its wretchedness, satisfaction, from its discouragement, confidence. He overlooks the violent paradox of tragedy, that it presents the worst and excites in us the best, that it appears to sum up and complete the accusation against life, to be occupied with the case for the opposition, that there poetry meets the hostile facts, the injustices, the cruelties, the dark forbidding elements, the aspects of the world which profoundly discourage us and *mirabile dictu*, to our comfort and delight.[38]

VI

We may now draw our conclusions by which to distinguish tragedy from melodrama. It is not to be distinguished by its power to excite the immediate emotions of identification; its peculiar effect comes for the competent spectator as a result of reflection upon it, and is thus essentially emotion of detachment. We may thus establish it as a principle that the peculiar aim of tragedy is to arouse such feelings as universalized pity, fear, and admiration, which shall mingle in the emotion of awe; and that to arouse this awe a tragedy must possess such insight into the significance of life and such power of presentation that the universal application of the particular events will be force-

[36] *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

[37] Cf. *A Criticism of Some Attempts to Rationalize Tragedy*, Lucius W. Elder, U. of Penn. dissertation, undated, whose thesis is (p. 3): "There is an unknowable element in the universe which passes over into the corresponding conception of tragedy as an element not amenable to human will; and that, therefore, it is something which cannot be completely rationalized."

[38] Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 302. In less emotional language the modern psychologist ascribes the value of tragedy to its release of "sublimations" and "suppressions."

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fully and poetically impressed upon the mature and sympathetic spectator. Briefly, tragedy must possess universality. It is thus a part of the great poetry which Aristotle found "a more philosophical and higher thing than history" through its expression of the universal.

Aristotle himself, however, in the passage in which he defines the universal, puts the whole emphasis upon a rational view of life. "By the universal I mean how a person of a certain type will on occasion speak or act, according to the law of probability or necessity."[39] Considering this passage alone, one would be led to think that a logical development is the only requisite of tragedy; that proper motivation and clear causal sequence will yield universality. But taken in conjunction with the philosopher's emphasis on the tragic emotions, and his praise of poetry, the word becomes more comprehensive. "Probability" and "necessity" may then include something of the irrational if the poet's experience teaches him that the irrational is probable and even necessary in life. Moreover, Aristotle urges "probable impossibilities" as against "improbable possibilities," whereby he sanctions the use of the supernatural, provided that the action proceeds according to the laws of human nature and is "consistently inconsistent."

We may now once more revert to our earlier discussion of "logic." Tragedy may succeed in its aim, may arouse awe, in spite of some illogicality. The illogicality may extend even so far as to result in obscurity of exposition, but may not abate the awe felt for the total production when other qualities are great enough. Such seems to be the case of *Hamlet*, for example, since so many critics disagree about the character of the Prince; so great are the fascination and compelling reality of that hero that whether or not we have plucked the heart of his mystery, we believe in him and experience the deepest tragic emotions in witnessing his fate.

If by illogicality we mean a superficial view of life that does not penetrate to the fundamental problems of existence, we can, as I have said, agree with William Archer. But it would avoid

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'The joy which is so strangely the heart of the experience is not an indication that 'all's right with the world' or that 'somewhere, somehow, there is Justice'; it is an indication that all is right here and now in the nervous system," I. A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 246.

[39] *Poetics*, VIII, Butcher's translation.

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the ambiguity in the word, and at the same time provide scope for the proper use of the irrational and for poetic emotion, to say rather that melodrama lacks universality.

Professor Whitmore is the only critic I have found who, in speaking of melodrama, suggests this distinction between "logic" and "universality"; and his remark is merely in passing:

> Æschylus does not shrink from revealing Clytæmnestra bedewed with her victim's blood, but what in Seneca and his school would be a mere delight in the shambles is in the Greek only the prelude to a great moral revelation. Just here, I suspect, is the ground for a more rational division between melodrama and tragedy than the familiar formula which would base the difference on the presence or absence of a thorough-going causal connection.[40]

If we take "moral" in the broad sense of a philosophical insight into life, we may accept this statement without qualification.

Thus we may conclude that melodrama is a play which arouses merely the identifying emotions of terror, wonder, hatred, sense of power, sentimentality, erotic satisfaction, and the like, but which fails through lack of universality to arouse the reflective emotion of awe.

VII

It is perfectly proper, to be sure, to object to this definition on the ground of inclusiveness. Thus the definition would include as melodrama the sentimental comedy or *drame*, so far as successful on the stage, and most "problem plays"; and it would seem perhaps to obscure the real differences which we feel between the sensationalism of out-and-out melodrama and the quieter emotions of these other types. But the proportions in which the various identifying emotions may be compounded are infinitely various, and one type of play may—and actually does—pass by almost insensible degrees into another. The gradual transitions in the eighteenth century from comedy to sentimentality and thence to sensationalism, familiar to those who have read the minor dramatists of the period, is a perfect illustration of the fact. The one thing essential is to recognize that a definite and clear distinction exists between the type of play which possesses universality, and the type of play which does not.

The implications of this distinction, especially as applied to particular plays, are numerous, and would require the space

[40] C. E. Whitmore, "The Nature of Tragedy," *PMLA*, XXXIV (1919), 346.

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of a separate paper. Two further observations, however, seem important enough to be included here. The first is, that no tragedy has ever succeeded on the stage which has not been built solidly on a basis of "melodrama." That is to say, of course, that a tragedy must first excite the identifying emotions such as we have described before it can pass to the universal one. Even Æschylus utilized sensational situations, though the religious feeling connected with the Dionysiac festival made his hearers less critical than we of the purely dramatic merits of his tragedies. And Euripides clearly shows what way dramatic evolution, in the hands of practical playwrights, inevitably tends when non-dramatic aids like religious feeling begin to fail. Shakespeare obviously built his masterpieces on the rude foundations of contemporary melodrama. And if works of the neoclassicists, like *Cato*, and productions of the "closet dramatists," failed, it is because their authors attempted universality without first conveying by means effective in the theatre the emotions of identification.[41]

The second observation is, that the distinction, inasmuch as it puts among melodramas many plays that are usually classified otherwise, leaves few plays which can rightfully be called tragedies. If this is an objection, the reply is that there is no good reason why we should not reserve the high title of tragedy only for the greatest. Clearly in this sense to write a tragedy is a task of supreme difficulty. The author must not fall into the error of the literary man and the scholar, of avoiding melodrama; rather he must build in a fashion possible only to the trained playwright upon devices and situations successful in the theatre. He cannot ignore the demands of the groundlings, for every normal human being who loves the theatre has much of the groundling's desires in his nature. He must utilize this cheaper material not by avoiding but by transcending it. He must possess rare gifts of poetic expression, high imaginative perception, a lofty, heroic, stern, and yet pitiful view of life; and he must convey powerfully and beautifully to those able to receive it the universal significance of his mimic action.

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[41] "The dramatist who serves his apprenticeship in melodrama .... follows the course of the development of the art he pursues," Robert P. Utter, *Low Tragedy*, University of California Chronicle, Jan., 1928. An excerpt from a witty and suggestive article.

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XLVIII

VOLTAIRE AND PETER ANNET'S *LIFE OF DAVID*

IN THE history of the interplay of English and French liberal thought in the eighteenth century, too much attention has been given to the supposed influence of such well-known deists as Bolingbroke and Toland, much too little to Voltaire's definite and direct borrowings from the radical and late deist, Peter Annet, whose method and style were more closely akin to Voltaire's own than were those of any other English deist. Although Voltaire was well acquainted with, and influenced by, certain of Annet's earlier tracts, especially his *History of Saint Paul*, it is from his *Life of David, the Man after God's own Heart*, apparently more than from any other treatise from across the channel, that Voltaire borrowed directly in spirit and in detail, and translated faithfully whatever passages suited his needs. In this work, he found practically all the material for his frequent and varied animadversions on David from the beginning to the end of his Biblical criticism. Indeed, study of his use of Annet's *Life of David* throws light upon the extent, the nature, and the moment of the influence of the English deistic movement on Voltaire's attacks on the established religion.

Annet has been called the last and most thorough-going of the deists. His writings were "a connecting link between the deism of the earlier part of the eighteenth century and the more aggressive and outspoken deism of Paine and the revolutionary period."[1] In this later period, Annet's works were singled out among English deistic writings to be reprinted with Voltaire's and Holbach's.[2] He entered the main current of the deistic controversy in 1744 with his *Resurrection Consider'd* in answer to Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses*, which in turn was an answer to Thomas Woolston's *Sixth Discourse on the Miracles of our Saviour*. His tracts appeared at frequent intervals and anonymously until 1761, when he was condemned for blasphemy for his *Free Enquirer*, obliged to stand twice in the pillory, imprisoned for a month with an additional year of hard labor, and released only on parole. The authorship of the *Life of David*, which appeared that same year, was so

[1] Leslie Stephen, *English Thought in the 18th Century* (London, 1881); I, 247.

[2] J. M. Robertson, *Short History of Free-thought* (London, 1915), II, 327. See R. Carlile, *The Deist* (London, 1820).

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carefully guarded that John Leland, the hostile critic of the deistical writers, did not know who had written it when he published his *View of the deistical Writers* three years later.[3]

Leslie Stephen writes that the *Life of David*

> is interesting only as the original pamphlet—which is really well written—seems to have supplied the hint for one of Voltaire's keenest satires, the drama of *Saul*.[4]

Beside being well written, however, the pamphlet is one of the keenest bits of English deistic criticism and well deserved Voltaire's attention. And it gave Voltaire much more than the hint. A drama could hardly be adapted from a narrative and follow more closely the original. Voltaire was only half lying when he said that his play was *traduit de l'anglais de M. Hut*.[5] Moreover, Annet's narrative has many of the qualities of a drama, and lent itself readily to Voltaire's facile pen and biting sarcasm.

Voltaire had Annet's story in hand in October of the year of its publication, in 1761. On the tenth of that month, in a letter to M. Bret, he writes:

> Je suis très-fâché que votre Bayle ne soit pas encore imprimé. On craint peut-être que ce livre, autrefois si recherché, ne le soit moins aujourd'hui: ce qui paraissait hardi ne l'est plus. On avait crié, par exemple, contre l'article *David*, et cet article est infiniment modéré en comparaison de ce qu'on vient d'écrire en Angleterre. Un ministre a prétendu prouver qu'il n'y a pas une seule action de David qui ne soit d'un scélérat digne du dernier supplice; qu'il n'a point fait les Psaumes, et que d'ailleurs ces odes hébraïques, qui ne respirent que le sang et le carnage, ne devraient faire naître que des sentiments d'horreur dans ceux qui croient y trouver de l'édification.[6]

Two years later, the year of the publication of his own drama, Voltaire has invented a name for his English author:

[3] London, 1764, 2 vol. The *Life of David* was attributed some hundred years later upon very uncertain evidence to Archibald Campbell, and again to Peter Noorthouck. See *Notes and Queries*: 1st series, xii, 204, 255; 5th series, viii, 98. Convincing internal evidence of Annet's authorship is found in his *Supernaturals examin'd, Collection of Tracts* (s.l.n.d.): pp. 160–62, where much of the identical material appears and the *Life of David* is clearly presaged.

[4] *Op. cit.*, I, 247, n. 1.

[5] *Œuvres* (éd. Moland), V, 569. Voltaire refers to the English author invariably as Huet, Hut, or Hutte, and assigns to the work the fictitious date of 1728, which he later corrected. It appears very probable that he never knew Annet by name.

[6] *Œuvres*, XLI, 472. Cf. *Life of David*, pp. 62–64 (Carlile's *Deist*, vol. I, reprint of edition of 1766).

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M. Hut, qui a fait imprimer à Londres *l'Histoire de David*, l'appelle sans façon le Néron de la Palestine. Personne ne l'a trouvé mauvais: voilà un bien abominable peuple! Tendresse aux frères. *Ecr. l'inf.*[7]

These passages explain clearly why Voltaire preferred Annet to Bayle, and show that he had Annet's material in hand before his first frontal attack on Christianity, the *Sermon des cinquante*. It was in 1762 that he was beginning to use also his other important English deistic material, Tindal's *Christianity as Old as Creation*, and Woolston's *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour*.

Several noteworthy passages of Annet's criticism of David must be given to show how Voltaire borrowed from, and often improved upon, Annet in his drama *Saul*, which appeared in 1763. Aside from several passages directly translated, the influence here is most remarkable in character study and general tone. Leslie Stephen has shown how Waterland's reply to Tindal on the brutal injustice of Samuel's slaying of Agag sounded much like Voltaire in one of his scoffing moods.[8] Waterland insisted that Samuel was justified in obeying a command from God. Annet could hardly accept this justification. He writes:

> We are not to imagine that the sparing Agag, king of the Amelekites, was the only cause of this rupture between him [Saul] and Samuel. For we may gather from other parts of his story that Saul was not over-well affected towards his patrons the Levites; in subjection to whom he had too much spirit to continue. Samuel quickly perceived he had mistaken his man, he haughtily avowed his intention of deposing him; and ordering Agag to be brought into his presence, he hewed him to pieces—"before the Lord."[9]

In his drama, Voltaire has carefully preserved this relationship between Samuel and Saul. Saul is introduced, in the first act, in mortal terror of Samuel, yet nobly pardoning Agag. Samuel enters "de la part de Dieu," and announces that God has repented making Saul king, because he had spared Agag. The dialogue which follows illustrates the full and brilliant use that Voltaire made of Annet's analysis:

> *Agag.* Comment! la plus belle des vertus serait regardée chez vous comme un crime?

[7] XLII, 560. Cf. *Life of David*, p. 64. Beuchot checked this epithet in Holbach's translation of Annet's work in 1768.

[8] *Op. cit.*, I, 258 ff.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

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Samuel (à Agag). Tais-toi, ne blasphème point. (A Saül) Saül, ci-devant roi des Juifs, Dieu ne vous avait-il pas ordonné par ma bouche d'égorger tous les Amalécites, sans épargner ni les femmes, ni les filles, ni les enfants à la mamelle?

Agag is then cut up on the very stage, contrary to all the rules and regulations not only of morality but of the French stage, while Samuel says:

Donnez-moi cette hache, au nom du Seigneur; et tandis que je couperai un bras, coupez une jambe, et ainsi de suite, morceau par morceau.

Voltaire has added in a footnote: "Le texte de la pièce anglaise porte: *Heu,* [sic] *him into pieces before the Lord.*"[10]

Voltaire's second act likewise follows closely Annet's account of David's treachery and cruelty and of his love affairs with Michal and Abigail. Saul had demanded of David one hundred foreskins as the price of his daughter Michal. David produced double the number. Annet describes his triumphal return with the booty thus:

if Miss Michal was present, how must her pretty little heart exult when the required number being told off, as many more were gallantly presented at her feet.[11]

David's boast to Michal of this feat forms the introduction to Voltaire's second act. Annet shows here the characteristic incapacity of the deists to view the customs and morals of other times with other than the eyes of eighteenth-century decorum. The flippancy and the lack of historical perspective which marks Voltaire's Biblical criticism and in a measure condemns it defines even more clearly than his use of details his debt to the English deistic school. It was left for the Germans and for Renan to collect what was valuable for the purposes of serious exegesis.

If Annet's humour is often imaginative, Voltaire's sarcasm is more biting. David continues thus his boast to Michal:

Akis m'a traité comme son fils, il a eu en moi une entière confiance; mais je n'ai jamais oublié que je suis juif; et ayant des commissions du roi Akis pour aller ravager vos terres, j'ai très souvent ravagé les siennes .... je tuais tout sans miséricorde, ... afin d'être pur devant le Seigneur .... je faisais scier en deux, par le milieu du corps, ces insolents rebelles, ou je les écrasais sous les dents de leur herse, ou je les faisais

[10] V, 578, 580 and note.
[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

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rôtir dans des fours à brique. Voyez si c'est aimer ma patrie, si c'est être bon Israélite.[12]

Voltaire, with an eye to unity and the exigencies of the drama, has here combined two instances of David's cruelty. Later, in his *Bible enfin expliquée*,[13] he translated Annet's account word for word, but in the transposition above, he brings out the horror implied in Annets' words, "how shall a man, not steeled to a very Jew, find expressions suited to the occasion?"

Annet treated Abigail as a flirt who helped David get rid of her husband and then married him. Voltaire has Abigail enter with dramatic effect to disturb Michal's tranquillity. David's account of the winning of Abigail is almost a direct translation of Annet's account, somewhat softened. Annet wrote at the end of the story:

David loses no time, but returned God thanks for the old fellow's death, and then Mrs. Abigail was promoted to the honour of being one of the Captain's ladies.[14]

Voltaire's ending is pithier:

David. . . . . au bout de huit jours le brutal mourut!
Michal. Je m'en doutais bien.
David. Et j'épousai la veuve.

Eighteen wives, he adds, are not too many "pour un brave homme."

Rather than follow Annet's remarks on Saul prophesying naked, Voltaire introduces the witch of Endor, a "Pythonisse, arrivant avec un balai entre les jambes." This is one of his few departures from Annet's text, but it leads one to suspect that he was acquainted with Annet's earlier tract, *Supernaturals examined*, in which the *Life of David* is clearly presaged. He returns to the English original for his entire third and fourth acts, in which Bathsheba, wife of the deceived and slaughtered Uriah, is prominent. His climax is the last scene of the fourth act, in which he has transferred to Bathsheba, Michal's reproaches on David's dancing before the Lord, and shows David composing his Psalms in the midst of revelry. Annet's interpretation of David's dancing is original and indelicate. Voltaire's transposition is merely indelicate:

[12] V, 583. Cf. *Life of David*, pp. 35, 49.
[13] XXX, 193, note 1. Cf. *Life of David*, p. 50.
[14] *Life of David*, p. 33. Cf. Voltaire, V, 384, 385.

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Bethsabée. Je m'en vais, si vous continuez à chanter ainsi, et à sauter comme un ivrogne. Vous montrez tout ce que vous portez: fi! quelles manières!

David. Je danserai, oui, je danserai; je serai encore plus méprisable, je danserai devant les servantes, je montrerai tout ce que je porte, et ce me sera gloire devant les filles.[15]

Voltaire had found in Annet a man truly after his own heart, a Bayle untrammeled.

Voltaire's versification of the Psalm which David had been singing, and which Bathsheba had characterized as "airs de corps de garde" began thus:

> Chers Hébreux, par le ciel envoyés,
> Dans le sang vous baignerez vos pieds;
> Et vos chiens s'engraisseront
> De ce sang qu'ils lècheront.

This is a free translation of the version given by Annet, who added:

> Very pious ejaculations for the whole congregation to *sing to the praise and glory of God.*[16]

Both men treat in similar fashion the treachery of David on his deathbed. Voltaire seems to have gone back to Bayle for his account of the jealousy of David's sons over the Shunamite maid who kept David warm in his old age, but the other details of David's last acts and death are from Annet. Annet approaches the end of his treatise with an apostrophe most typical of the attitude of English deism adopted by Voltaire:

> These, Christians! are the outlines of the life of a Jew, whom you are not ashamed to continue extolling as a man after God's own heart! This, Britons! is the king to whom your late excellent monarch has been compared! What an impiety to the Majesty of Heaven! What an affront to the memory of an honest prince![17]

Apart from any consideration of detail, all that was most radical in Voltaire's attitude and method in dealing with the Christian tradition can be found in Peter Annet.

Voltaire continued to use Annet's material whenever he had occasion to mention David. His dictionary article on *David,* in 1767, a year before Holbach's translation of Annet's work, is a

[15] V, 608. Cf. *Life of David,* p. 41.
[16] *Op. cit.,* p. 63. Cf. Voltaire, V, 608.
[17] *Op. cit.,* p. 67.

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several page summary of the latter's material. M. Hut has now become "membre du parlement d'Angleterre." His twenty-five page account of Saul and David in his *Bible enfin expliquée*, published the year before his death, follows Annet's account even more closely than his drama. Many direct borrowings and several translations are attributed directly to "M. Huet," and the material appears on practically every page, with Dom Calmet often employed to set it off. For example, on the incest of Amnon and Tamar, Voltaire comments as follows:

> M. Hut s'exprime violemment sur cet inceste d'Amnon, et sur tous les crimes qui en résultèrent. "On ne sort, dit-il, d'une horreur que pour en rencontrer une autre dans cette famille de David."[18]

It is here also that he translates Annet's treatment of the inconceivable barbarities which David perpetrated upon the citizens of Rabbah. He preferred in every case his own free translations to Holbach's, which had appeared in 1768.

It is evident that Voltaire favored and used Annet rather than Bayle in his criticisms of David. Yet Bayle, who wrote very few anti-Biblical articles, was especially daring on the subject of David.[19] However, Bayle was as certainly used by Annet, who appeals to him to explain some of the difficulties he found in the Scriptural account of the life of David.[20] By the latter half of the century, authority was relaxing and the Jesuits were fast falling into discredit. Voltaire complains as early as 1752 that "Bayle n'est pas encore assez sceptique," and he would cut Bayle's dictionary down to a thin volume, which nevertheless would contain the article on David. Bayle was very thorough in his criticism and Voltaire could have gone to him for much of his material. But he preferred Annet because the latter was more brutally outspoken.

The study of the influence of Annet's *Life of David* on Voltaire has thus revealed some interesting facts in regard to the attitude and methods of the French author in the handling of his sources. Lanson, who studied Voltaire's relations to the earlier deists, believed that his method of dealing with critical material was his chief debt to the English school. It is true that the historical argument against the foundations of Christianity, which forms

[18] XXX, 193, note 2. Cf. *Life of David*, p. 50.
[19] G. Lanson, in the *Revue des Cours et Conférences* (June 18, 1908).
[20] *Life of David*, pp. 33, 34.

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the bulk of Voltaire's critical work, was not derived from the English controversy, but from common scholarly sources. It was the so-called moral argument, represented by Woolston, Tindal, and especially by Annet, which had an important direct influence upon Voltaire's work; from them, Voltaire borrowed directly both detail and method. In 1761, the date of Voltaire's unreserved entry into the field of Biblical criticism, English books were being sent to him with extraordinary dispatch. With the *Life of David* in hand, he immediately digested thoroughly the English original and transformed the subject matter into his drama *Saul*, one of the most sarcastic and witty that he ever wrote. If his direct English sources were few, he nevertheless wasted nothing that he had once mastered, and continued to use them, with variations and adaptations, to the very end of his life. He appears eager to seize upon the most radical works that English deism produced, and was easily influenced by their tone and style. But his borrowings were never servile. He fitted Annet's *Life of David* into many moulds. For his own drama he took the best that Annet had to offer, and transformed the latter's heavier British humour into that brilliant, light and racy wit which set an indelible mark of originality upon so much of his work.

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XLIX

THE SPIRIT OF THE *NAIN JAUNE*.[1] ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHATEAUBRIAND AND ROMANTICISM

IN RECENT years the value of the newspaper in the study of literary movements in France is being recognized more than ever before. In such a study the *Nain Jaune* has its place, voicing as it does the literary and political views of an influential group of writers in the critical period of the early Restoration, an epoch when literary criticism and political expediency went hand in hand. A study of the literary history of such writers as Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël would not be complete without the political and social background furnished by such publications. An unusually faithful presentation of the spirit of the times is portrayed by the *Nain Jaune* because of its anonymous character, the greatest secrecy being maintained as to the names of the

[1] The *Nain Jaune* was founded Dec. 15, 1814, was suppressed July 15, 1815 and re-appeared in Brussels, Belgium as le *Nain Jaune Réfugié*, March–November 1816. In November 1816 it was attached to a Belgian daily paper, le *Mercure-Surveillant* and appeared under the name of le *Libéral*, "journal philosophique, politique et littéraire," until March 1, 1817, when the two papers separated, the *Libéral* continuing independently as le *Vrai Libéral*. The following is the heading of the first number of the *Nain Jaune:* LE NAIN JAUNE OU JOURNAL DES ARTS, DES SCIENCES ET DE LA LITTÉRATURE.—*Vexat censura. . . . . Corvos* No. I^er^. In small print above the title is found the line: "No. 337 (Cinquième Année). 15 décembre 1814." This serial number refers to the original *Journal des Arts, des Sciences et de la Littérature* of which the *Nain Jaune* is the successor. There were usually six numbers, in-8°, a month. The first number in Belgium bears the title LE NAIN JAUNE RÉFUGIÉ.—Par une Société d'Anti-Eteignoirs. Motto: Le *petit homme vit encore.* The collection of the *Nain Jaune* is available in book form under the following titles: le *Nain Jaune* publié à Paris de l'Imprimerie de Fain, rue de Racine, près de l'Odéon, 1815 (43 numbers), Vol. I (Dec. 15, 1814–Apr. 5, 1815)—Vol. II (Apr. 10, 1815–July 15, 1815); le *Nain Jaune Réfugié* publié à Bruxelles, 1816 (42 numbers), Vol. I (March 1816–May 1816)—Vol. II (June 1816–December 1816). Eugène Hatin in his *Bibliographie de la Presse Française*, Paris, 1866 (p. 323) states that "Les collections complètes du *Nain Jaune* sont très rares."

Edmond Biré in *Victor Hugo avant 1830*, Paris, 1903, p. 300, corrects a mistaken statement of Victor Hugo: "M. V. Hugo a écrit dans les *Misérables:* 'En 1817, le *Nain Jaune* se transforma en *Miroir* (Les *Misérables*, I^re^ partie, livre III, chap. I)' —Deux erreurs en une seule ligne. Le *Miroir* destiné à réfléter l'opinion libérale, et dont les principaux rédacteurs étaient MM. Jouy, Arnault, Emmanuel Dupaty, Gosse et Cauchois-Lemaire, n'a point été créé en 1817, pas plus que le *Nain Jaune* n'a terminé son existence à cette époque. Le dernier numéro du *Nain Jaune*, le 379^e^, est du 15 juillet 1815; le I^er^ numéro du *Miroir* est du 15 février 1821."

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editors and correspondents.[2] Absolute impartiality in the discussion of literary articles is claimed:

> Nous ne craignons pas de dire que nous sommes dans ce moment les seuls journalistes auxquels le public puisse ajouter foi; inconnus comme nous le sommes, nous pouvons nous expliquer librement sans blesser les convenances. Etrangers à toute coterie, à toute corporation littéraire, à toute société chantante ou non chantante, nous dirons franchement notre opinion sur la prose et les vers qui nous sont soumis. . . . . Enfin, les libraires, les auteurs et le public entendront une fois la vérité (I, lxxx).

This claim of an unbiased point of view is not justified by a study of the periodical nor of the careers of those of its editors whose names have since become known. Its guiding spirits are found in the ranks of the Liberal party, and in general are anti-royalist, anti-religious and pseudo-classic in their beliefs.

Politically, the *Nain Jaune* passes through three distinct stages: carefully disguised Bonapartism up to the *Cent Jours*, open imperialism during the *Cent Jours*, and violent anti-royalism during its exile in Belgium. In the first period there is no open propaganda for Napoleon; the main object seems to be to keep his name before the public. A number rarely appears without items of some kind referring to him personally or to books or articles concerning him or his family. Protestations of loyalty to the ruling government are made: " . . . . certains comme nous le sommes d'avoir toujours respecté l'autorité royale et cette charte constitutionnelle . . . . (I, 122): . . . . ce gentil *Nain Jaune* qui n'a jamais eu qu'un cri politique, LE ROI ET LA CHARTE (I, 310)." Furthermore, while

[2] E. Hatin, *op. cit.*, p. 320, names as editors of the *Nain Jaune* Cauchois-Lemaire, Etienne (C. G.), Merle (J. T.), and Jouy (E.); as main collaborators with Cauchois-Lemaire for the *Nain Jaune Réfugié*, Arnault (A. V.), and Guyot. Etienne in a letter to the *Nain Jaune*, Feb. 9, 1815, answering an accusation in the *Gazette de France*, denies editorship at that time of any "feuille publique." F. A. Harel, similarly accused also denies editorship. A study of the career of the members of the following group would make it reasonable to assume that they might be occasional contributors if not editors: A. Jay, E. Dupaty, Léon Thiessé, E. Dumoulin, A. J. Aignan, Lacretelle ainé, Etienne Gosse, and P. F. Tissot. The name of Cauchois-Lemaire, the acknowledged "propriétaire" of the *Nain Jaune* (see No. 18, Mch. 10, 1815) is found later on the staffs of the following papers, usually in collaboration with some members of the group mentioned above: le *Miroir* 1821–23, la *Pandore* (successor to le *Miroir*), 1823–28, le *Mercure du 19e siècle*, 1823, and les *Tablettes universelles*, 1820–24.

[3] For the purposes of this article the roman numerals I, II, III, IV, designate the four volumes of the collection; I and II indicate the *Nain Jaune*, and III and IV, the *Nain Jaune Réfugié*.

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the royalist press and its writers are attacked scathingly, the royal policy and the person of the king are treated with great circumspection. Definite approval of the reign is even registered at times "Les bienfaits de l'ordre et du repos se développent de jour en jour; les maux du passé se réparent insensiblement et sans secousse (I, xxvi)." While such an attitude may have been dictated partly by policy, yet it would appear that the paper and the King were at that time on a comparatively friendly footing. There is evidence that the King read the paper with enjoyment and gave it his support even to the point of contributing witty articles through the medium of the famous *Bouche de Fer* placed before the editorial office to receive anonymous contributions.[4]

Such support was needed because the publication was under the continual suspicion of the royalist organs which termed it the *Nain de l'île d'Elbe* (I, 411), and designated its editors as *"conspirateurs, agens secrets de Bonaparte* (I, 310)" and by similar appellations. Upon the return of Napoleon the periodical became openly imperialistic but at the same time disclaimed active participation in that return: "On a prétendu que nous étions *des agens de l'île d'Elbe*; nous ne nous en sommes que faiblement défendus lorsque le danger était imminent, et maintenant qu'il pourrait nous être avantageux d'accréditer cette idée, nous déclarons hautement que nous n'avions aucune connaissance des événemens qui se préparaient" (I, 470).

As might be expected, the suppression of the paper shortly after Waterloo caused intense bitterness, and the *Nain Jaune Réfugié* from its asylum in Belgium was vehement in its attacks on Louis XVIII and the royalists. Napoleon seemed also to have lost favor. The following quotation illustrates the boldness of its language: "On a dit de Bonaparte que c'était *Robespierre à cheval*; ne pour-

[4] Hatin, *op. cit.*, p. 322, discusses the aims of the *Nain Jaune* and the collaboration of the King as follows: "M. Merle, qui dirigeait alors le *Nain Jaune*, en compagnie de M. Cauchois-Lemaire, nous a révélé le secret de cette collaboration de Louis XVIII dans l'un des trop rares fragments qu'il a publiés de ses *Trente ans de souvenirs historiques, littéraires et politiques;* 'La pensée du *Nain Jaune*, écrit-il, fut de nous moquer des ridicules de tous les partis, de flétrir toutes les lâchetés et toutes les défections, de relever la gloire de la France en présence des baïonnettes étrangères, et de rire aux dépens des prétentions exagérées. . . . . Dans ces attaques, nous avions pour auxiliaire Louis XVIII, qui fut un de nos premiers abonnés, qui lisait avec empressement tous nos numéros, qui en riait de bon coeur, et qui nous envoya plusieurs fois des articles très bien tournés, fort spirituels et passablement malins, écrits de sa main royale. . . . .' "

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rait-on pas dire d'un autre souverain qui n'est pas empereur, que c'est *Robespierre cul-de-jatte* (IV, 21)?" One of its contributors states the position of the *Nain Jaune Réfugié* in Europe as follows: "Réfugié et accueilli en Belgique, il est bien vu en Russie, redouté en Angleterre, désiré en Prusse, toléré en Allemagne, mis à l'Index en Italie, proscrit en France et brûlé en Espagne (IV, 253)." Its adventures in being smuggled into France after its exclusion from that country would make an entertaining story. On one occasion a lively bridal party is held up at the frontier because the bride was evidently a storehouse for copies of the *Nain Jaune*, and a copy was even discovered in the *corbeille de mariage* of the duchesse de Berry.

While, at times, there may be some change in the attitude of the publication towards the ruling powers there is never any wavering in its onslaught on the royalist periodicals. The papers which are the main victims of its clever satire are the *Journal Royal*, *Journal Général*, *Journal de Paris*, the *Quotidienne*, the *Gazette de France*, and the *Journal des Débats*. The amenities of the Press common to all countries are abundantly in evidence. We find the following locution cited as an example of familiar speech used by a certain group of contributors: "Cela est faux comme le *Journal des Débats*, plat comme le *Journal Royal*, ridicule comme la *Quotidienne*, et bête comme la *Gazette* (I, 24)," and a news item gravely states that "Il avait été question de suspendre, pendant la quinzaine de Pâques, la *Gazette de France*, la *Quotidienne*, le *Journal des Débats* et le *Journal Royal*; mais comme c'est un temps de mortification et de pénitence, cette proposition n'a pas eu de suite (I, 363)." In answer to such attacks the *Journal Général* paints a picture of the position which the *Nain Jaune* holds in the journalistic world:

> Un enfant, habillé de jaune, de ceux qu'on appelle *polissons des rues*, marche au beau milieu, frappant du pied de manière à éclabousser des gens qui se promènent en tous sens. . . . . Les uns veulent corriger le petit drôle, les autres, plus sages, pensent qu'ils se saliraient en le touchant (I, lxiv).

The established institutions, especially those in favor with the Government, are not spared. Dissatisfaction is expressed by the theatrical critics with the condition of the state theaters; the actors (with Talma of course excepted) and actresses of the Théâtre Français are declared to be mediocre and the repertory not well

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chosen. The other theaters under governmental control according to one critic, are in poor condition:

> L'Opéra-Comique est plus fécond que le Théâtre-Français; je suis fâché de ne pouvoir pas lui en faire un compliment. . . . . Je n'ai rien dit du second de nos théâtres, du grand Opéra, qui, dans sa froide et stérile majesté, ne fournit que des occasions trop rares à l'éloge ou à la critique; je n'ai rien à dire de l'Odéon, dont l'existence soutenue par M. Maurice, est un véritable miracle, quoiqu'elle ne soit pas une merveille. Dans mon prochain article, je parlerai en peu de mots des travestissemens qu'on a fait subir à Molière sur ce théâtre (I, x–xi).

In the same number the spirit of the University Faculty is criticized in a news item concerning Professors Villemain and Lacretelle: "Nos professeurs du jour sont des hommes du monde, qui ne parlent que pour faire parler d'eux, et qui ne sollicitent une chaire que pour s'en faire une tribune (I, xvi)."

Varied and clever are the devices invented as vehicles for the dissemination of the Voltairean irony of this brilliant group. The most popular of these creations is the *Ordre des Chevaliers de l'Eteignoir*, with the candle-snuffer as its badge, and with its membership composed of the enemies of light and progress, particularly the representatives of the *Ancien Régime*. Lists of new members are published from time to time, and the names of such members whenever they appear thereafter in the publication are marked by a small *éteignoir* as insignia. Much space is given to the proceedings of the Order; the general statutes are published (I, 4),[5] reports are given of the initiation ceremonies (I, 99), of a meeting of the Grand Consistory (I, 305), a banquet with toasts and songs (I, 403), the discovery in the catacombs of the biography of the members (III, 19), the description of its foundation in Egypt in 4818 B.C. by an enemy of the Chaldean fire-worshippers (III, 34), etc. Chateaubriand, of whom the *Nain Jaune* was the inveterate enemy, is a knight of high standing with not one but three *éteignoirs* after his name. Napoleon after his fall was made a member.

Another order similar to that of the *Eteignoirs*, the *Ordre de la Girouette* is proposed in the *Nain Jaune* of February 15, 1815

[5] A general idea of the nature of the organization may be obtained from a few of the statutes: *Article 7.*—L'ordre ayant pour but l'extinction des lumières, nul ne pourra y être admis sans avoir fait preuve de quatre générations d'ignorance paternelle et maternelle; *Art. 9.*—Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre font voeu d'ignorance, d'impudence et de mauvaise foi; *Art. 12.*—Ils prêteront entre nos mains serment de haine à la *philosophie*, aux *idées libérales*, à la *charte constitutionnelle*.

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(I, 334) but the list of officers with their names given under anagrams does not appear until March 30, 1815, during the *Cent Jours* (I, 497). This Order is composed, as its name implies, of the political turncoats, the "weathervanes." "Nul ne pourra faire partie de l'Ordre de la Girouette s'il ne prouve avoir changé trois fois de suite d'opinions, et avoir servi au moins trois gouvernemens (I, 524)." The members of the Church party are satirized in two mythical organizations, one being La *Dernière Croisade*, supposedly preached by "un pair capucin, M. de Chateaubriand (III, 303)," and the other La *Chapelle de la Chambre* (III, 191), in which Chateaubriand's name likewise appears.[6]

While the sub-title of the *Nain Jaune* is *Journal des Arts, des Sciences et de la Littérature*, critical articles of considerable length are rare. The longest two articles of this nature are the *Nécrologie de Jean-François Ducis* (III, 252, 295), and the *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Marie-Joseph de Chénier* (IV, 510, 534, 554). Several pages of the latter article are given over to severe criticism of Chateaubriand. Most of the strictly literary criticism occurs in the brief reviews of the theatrical offerings of the day, and these are usually of restricted interest.[7]

The name "Chateaubriand" seems anathema to the *Nain Jaune*, especially during the period of its exile. His pamphlet *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons* with which he makes his real entrance into the field of politics appeared eight months before the founding of the *Nain Jaune*, and made him at once a marked man. The paragraph devoted to him in the *Biographie Générale des Chevaliers de l'Eteignoir* is a fair sample of the treatment which his name receives when it appears in the periodical:

Le vieux célibataire des mondes, a été prodigue de ses dons envers M. de Chateaubriand; d'abord il l'a fait naître vicomte, quand il ne tenait

[6] Two other long satirical articles are le *Livre de Lamuel* (III, 134, 182, 203, 279, 373, (IV) 147, 386), and le *Voyage en Enfer* (IV, 141, 175, 221, 266). The first is supposedly a fragment of a Hebrew manuscript composed of passages from the Old Testament and the Apocraphy describing in figurative terms the desolation of the land, with prophecies of relief. The second, which will be discussed later, describes Chateaubriand's trip to Hades.

[7] The place given to Voltaire in the world of drama is still an exalted one. The presentation of Crébillon's *Rhadamiste* inspires the following judgment: Crébillon, malgré ses admirateurs, n'eut qu'une partie des qualités qui constituent le génie dramatique, et *aucune d'elles ne manquait à Voltaire* (I, xxxv). Beaumarchais' *Mariage de Figaro* receives mixed praise and blame in a good description of its presentation in the Théâtre Français in May, 1815, with Monrose as *Figaro* (II, 249).

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qu'à lui donner pour père le simple artisan des cités ou le pâtre obscur des hameaux; il a fait plus en le douant de cette intelligence précieuse au moyen de laquelle il a composé tant d'écrits, et qui n'a que le désavantage de ne pas se communiquer à ses lecteurs; enfin, il lui a départi au plus haut degré cette sainte haine des lumières, cet heureux esprit d'intolérance qui, dans des temps meilleurs, aurait produit autre chose que de vaines discussions. Cette antipathie invincible pour tout ce qui a de l'éclat, a fait dire à quelques personnes qui parlent un langage moitié welche, moitié oriental, qu'à la naissance de monsieur le vicomte, le grand pendule des siècles s'était voilé pendant vingt-quatre heures. M. de Chateaubriand a découvert dans le christianisme un avantage singulier que personne n'avait soupçonné jusqu'alors. Il a démontré à merveille que notre sainte religion est plus riche que celle des payens en sujets de pantomime et de ballets pour le grand opéra (III, 112–13).

The whole question of Chateaubriand's election to the Academy as a successor to Chénier is discussed at length in the article *Sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. J. Chénier.* The author credits Chateaubriand with two principal motives in seeking the vacant chair: First, the desire held in common with others of the royalist party to obtain places of influence in order to use them to bring about the return of the Bourbons; Second, to obtain revenge on Chénier for his adverse criticism of Chateaubriand as a writer The second motive is explained as follows:

Chénier qui ne pouvait prendre le Calvaire pour le Parnasse, et des idées féodales pour des idées libérales, soutenait qu'en poésie il n'y avait pas plus de salut sans la mythologie de l'antiquité, qu'en politique, avec les préjugés et les institutions de l'ancien régime. Après avoir consigné ces opinions dans plusieurs satires fort piquantes, il les avait tout nouvellement reproduites dans un rapport fait au nom de l'institut sur l'état de la littérature en France depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1809, rapport où le système politiquement hétérodoxe, développé dans le *Génie du Christianisme*, est combatti avec peu de ménagemens; et où l'on trouve la critique la plus maligne comme la plus juste *d'Atala*, sous la forme d'une analyse faite dans le style et les expressions même de ce roman, que Chénier ne croit pas moins hérétique qu'érotique. Il parut très-piquant à l'auteur critiqué de succéder à son détracteur et de s'asseoir dans le fauteuil même de son juge pour le juger (IV, 557–58).

After painting an unpleasant picture of the means employed by Chateaubriand to obtain his election and describing the general feeling of disapproval caused by the speech of reception as prepared by Chateaubriand, the author closes the discussion with the following sentences:

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Les bons esprits ont blâmé et blâmeront M. de Chateaubriand d'avoir voulu entrer dans un corps pacifique pour y ressusciter les dissentions révolutionnaires, d'avoir provoqué de nouveau le choc des factions politiques, dans le sanctuaires des muses; dont la paix n'est que trop fréquemment troublée par les factions littéraires. . . . . Ce sont là de misérables succès. Ce sont aussi de misérables succès que ceux qu'a valus à M. de Chateaubriand la publication de son discours, où l'on retrouve bien plus ses passions que son talent; et qui en mécontentant les amis de Chénier, plus qu'il n'a contenté ses ennemis, n'a pas satisfait les amis des lettres (560).

Chateaubriand's part in the restoration of religion seems to arouse as much antagonism from our group as do his political activities. An article on Les *Escamoteurs* places him in the category of sleight-of-hand artists, people who substitute the reputation which they create for themselves for the one which they ought to have, and that by this means "M. de Chateaubriand passe pour un père de l'église (III, 207)." He is referred to henceforth as "le père Chateaubriand," and then becomes by a play on words "le pair Chateaubriand" and even "le pair capucin." Later he is credited with writing a new book, le *Génie du capucinisme* (3,404). We find his name again in the *Organisation définitive de la Chapelle de la Chambre* as the "Evêque ayant fait la dédicace de la chapelle (III, 192)," and the long production entitled La *Dernière Croisade* has for the introductory paragraph; "Un pair capucin qui voudrait faire prendre son froc pour un manteau de philosophe, M. Chateaubriant vient de prêcher une nouvelle croisade (III, 303)."[8] A full page description of his equipment as *Vicaire général* of the army is given, the general nature of which may be inferred from the fact that he is to have the spurs of Godefroi de Bouillon, the sword of Dom Quichotte and a "destrier le plus ressemblant au cheval de l'apocalypse (III, 328)."

One of the longest and most carefully elaborated articles in the *Nain Jaune* is the satire entitled Le *Voyage en Enfer* consisting supposedly of the personal narration by Chateaubriand of a trip through the infernal regions patterned on Dante's *Inferno*.[9] It

[8] The idea of the *Dernière Croisade* was to gather together all the undesirables in the country under the guise of a religious crusade and to lead them to destruction in Africa. The classification of the recruits, the organization, equipment and regulations of the army is worked out in detail.

[9] *Voyage en Enfer*. "Poëme en quatre chapitres et en prose sublime, par F. A. de Chateaubriant de l'académie française et chevalier du St.-Sépulchre, traduit

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is written in what the author would undoubtedly designate as "le style Chateaubrillanté" a neologism coined and used by the *Nain Jaune.*[10] Various passages from the works of Chateaubriand are woven into the tale, their presence being indicated by italics. While Chateaubriand as the protagonist is continually in evidence the large part of the work is devoted to a violent attack on the King and the members of the royalist party. In the course of his journey the traveller meets dignitaries of all kinds; magistrates, officials of the Church, soldiers, members of the nobility, including ladies of the Court, literary critics, members of the Academy, each one under his own name. They usually have the form of the inhabitants of Hell—animals, insects, reptiles, harpies, furies, allegorical figures representing the capital sins, etc. The narrative is introduced by a short *Préface des éditeurs* in the course of which the editors say:

> Ce poëme est originairement écrit en prose si sublime qu'il était presque toujours au-dessus de l'intelligence des lecteurs. C'est ce qui a déterminé le chevalier de Bicoqueterne à le traduire en prose vulgaire. . . . . La quantité de passages obscurs et bizarres, que les esprits timides croiront rencontrer dans cette traduction, attestent le respect et l'admiration de ce traducteur pour notre original (IV, 141–42).

The statement which follows is of interest when one considers the fact that the *Préface de Cromwell* did not appear until eleven years later:

> Dans ce poëme comme dans ses *Martyrs* l'auteur mêle souvent le profane et le sacré, la mythologie et la bible, le roman et l'histoire, le présent et le passé le grave et le bouffon, l'éloge et la satire. Il n'est pas inventeur en ceci. Un autre homme de génie, le Dante l'avait fait avant lui dans cette satire politique qu'il a intitulée *Divina Comedia.*

The story then begins. The narrator, Chateaubriand, while re-reading his own works in order to find original and sublime material for a new epic poem is overcome by ennui and falls into a profound slumber which resembles death. His spirit is seeking

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en langue vulgaire par A. F. Bicoqueterne, de l'académie de Beaune et chevalier de l'ordre de l'éteignoir (IV, 141, 175, 221, 266)."

[10] Chateaubriand's name is frequently spelled in the *Nain Jaune* with a final *t* instead of *d.* Victor Hugo in Les *Misérables* (1re partie, livre III, chap. I) refers to this orthography as being used later in la *Minerve;* "La *Minerve* appelait Chateaubriand *Chateaubriant.* Ce *t* faisait beaucoup rire les bourgeois aux dépens du grand écrivain."

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in vain the path to the realm of the shades when the voice of a woman strikes his ear. It is the voice of a sybil:

Cette pythonisse n'était ni celle de *Cumes*, qui conduisait les héros dans l'empire des morts, ni celle d'Endor qui évoquait les ombres des prophêtes; l'obscurité lui est cependant assez familière. Sans être assise sur le trépied, elle rend des oracles qui souvent ne sont pas plus clairs que ceux de Delphes. Vêtue d'une robe aux couleurs changeantes comme la gorge de l'oiseau qui roucoule, les bras nus, les cheveux en désordre, l'oeil égaré plutôt qu'inspiré, elle roule entre ses doigts une petite girouette, et débite au milieu d'un cercle de statues qu'elle prend pour des interlocuteurs, un éternel monologue qu'elle prend pour une conversation; torrent de paroles, assemblage bizarre de lumière et de ténèbres, de sagesse et d'extravagances, de poësie et de métaphysique, où tout le galimathias de *Kant* est allié à tout le galimathias de *Corinne* (IV, 143–4).

The reference in the last line to *Corinne* is scarcely necessary in order to recognize in the talkative sybil, Mme de Staël. Before the traveller has even a chance to ask a question she tells him that she divines his desire: "Sachez de moi, qui endoctrine volontiers les autres, quels moyens et quel chemin vous devez prendre." She then indicates the means by which Charon, Cerberus and Satan may be conquered. If additional evidence is needed as to the identity of the lady it is furnished by the final sentence: "Elle dit: et rentrant dans le cercle silencieux de ses immobiles auditeurs, elle reprit son incessable conversation sans me donner le loisir de lui adresser seulement une parole (145)."

The voyager then enters a road "large comme le lit du Meschassebé" filled with pilgrims some of whom are known to him. An old man attracts his attention:

C'était un homme à la taille élevée, à la figure pâle et décharnée; *on voyait que ses jours avaient été mauvais, et les rides de son front montraient les belles cicatrices des passions guéries; son nez aquilin, sa longue barbe avaient quelque chose de sublime dans leur quiétude et comme d'aspirant à la tombe par leur direction naturelle vers la terre.* Est-ce vous, père Aubry, criai-je à *cet homme des anciens jours?* Est-ce vous *enfant de l'homme à la chair blanche?* me répondit *l'ancien des hommes.* Où allez-vous avec tant de précipitation ajouta *le chef de la prière?* Au diable, répondis-je à *l'homme du désert.* Dieu vous y conduise, répliqua *l'homme de paix, dont les vieux os s'étaient ranimés par l'ardeur de la charité* (145–6).[11]

Before reaching the gateway of death a man and a woman are

[11] *Atala.*

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encountered; *je vis qu'il y avait des larmes au fond de leur histoire.*[12] A howling pack of dogs some of whom bear the names of royal prosecutors was pursuing them.

The Dreamer approaches the gateway, and bursts forth into an invocation to the dead, several lines of which are from *Atala* and the last three lines from *Corinne.* The infernal divinities are summoned, the dead who dwell in the bosom of eternal night, and their permission is asked to allow the Poet to:

révéler des secrets que personne n'ignore, et de les répandre parmi les hommes, comme la lune *répand dans les bois ce grand secret de la mélancolie qu'elle aime à raconter aux vieux chênes et aux rivages antiques des mers.* Et toi qui m'as dicté les lignes poétiques où j'ai chanté les *martyrs,* muse *des Agonnonsionis, muse* d'Atala! *toi qui sais des paroles magiques qui endorment,*[12] échauffe mon imagination, inspire mon génie; fais qu'on retrouve dans mes chants *cette incohérence, ce désordre, cette sorte de noir sublime, qui a quelque chose de disproportionné et de gigantesque, comme le chaos dont ils tirent leur origine* (175).[13]

The river Styx appears and on its banks in the midst of the unhappy victims we discover Chactas condemned to remain shivering there for one hundred years because:

aucun ami n'a songé à mettre un peu d'herbe sur son corps pour le garantir des mouches. Il me dit à ce sujet *des choses que je trouvai fort instructives et parfaitement belles, parce qu'il y mit la fleur du désert, la grace de la cabane, et une grande simplicité à conter la douleur.* Aussi lui promis-je, en récompense, qu'à mon premier voyage au pays des *Muscoculges,* je le ferais descendre *dans la petite cave garnie de peaux d'où l'on ne sort jamais* (176–7)[14]

The Styx is crossed successfully, the three heads of Cerberus are put to sleep by feeding them a complete edition of the author's works, and the traveller approaches the Court of Justice after traversing a district filled with insects, frogs, toads and reptiles representing critics and censors.

After being led into the Court-room by "un huissier qui avait l'air d'un diable, ou un diable qui avait l'air d'un huissier" the voyager witnesses the trial of the King. The trial ended, the Harpies who "prennent le titre de *Madame*" approach and extend to him an invitation to visit the lower regions using language borrowed from the *Génie du Christianisme*:

[12] *Atala.*
[13] *Corinne.*
[14] *Atala.*

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Voulez-vous être remué? me crièrent tout-à-coup les harpies; *voulez-vous connaître la poésie des tortures et les hymnes de la chair et du sang? descendez en enfer* (225).[15]

The poet accepts the invitation of "ces dames qui en effet sont très-remuantes," and descends into Tartarus where dwell the three Furies who now bear the names of *Indulgence*, *Clémence*, and *Amnistie*, "mots menteurs." Special demons are appointed for the punishment of the capital sins, each sin being personified. Among them is *Orgueil*; "Et l'*Orgueil*, me direz-vous, à qui ressemble-t-il? Je ne sais; je ne vis sur son trône qu'une glace qui m'offrit ma propre figure (267)."

Satan refuses Chateaubriand permission to leave Tartarus in spite of the fact that he reads numerous passages from the *Génie du Christianisme* to prove that he does not belong in that kingdom. A theological demon claims that the book "n'était qu'un tissu d'opinions hasardées, mal sonnantes, hérétiques et sentant l'hérésie, et qu'en conséquence j'appartenais de droit au diable (268)." Chateaubriand then has recourse to music, and by playing not on *la lyre* but *le serpent* obtains the desired result; "Satan lui-même n'y tint pas; et en me criant *à revoir*, il me livra le chemin de l'Elysée (269)."

Elysium was inhabited by the great men of all times; one notices among the philosophers the name of Montesquieu and Rousseau, and among the poets Voltaire. The traveller is attracted by the melodious sounds from the group of poets and joins them:

Ne pouvant contenir mon admiration, je l'exhalais par des phrases plus belles encore que celles qui ont fait la réputation d'Atala, et ma gloire —"Dieux immortels! quel jargon est celui-là? . . . . Se moque-t-on de nous, de nous débiter ce galimatias dont je me suis tant moqué et dont M. de Fontanes se moque lui-même quand il oublie d'être homme de parti pour être homme de goût? En disant cela, le fils d'Apollon me serrait la gorge et arrêtait au passage ce qui me restait de sublime à expectorer. C'était Chénier. Son discours exprimait l'opinion générale. Les huées dont je fus accablé ne me permettaient pas d'en douter (272).

The poets decide to punish the *intruder* and preparations are made; the Dreamer struggles and seeks to cry out until the violence of his terror awakens him. He then writes down his experiences.

A later number of the *Nain Jaune* publishes a supposed letter of Chateaubriand which denies the authorship of the *Voyage*, and

[15] *Génie du Christianisme.* Deuxième Partie, Livre IV^e^, Chap. XIV.

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as is to be expected merely emphasizes and enlarges the statements in the original (IV, 317).

Various dates are quoted by critics for the beginning of the battle between the romanticists and the classicists. A study of the early numbers of the *Nain Jaune* shows that there was a clear-cut alignment of the two parties at an earlier date than is generally assumed. In the number of December 20, 1814, we find definite recognition of a state of war: "Tout annonce que la guerre des *Classiques* et des *Romantiques* ne fera pas couler des flots d'encre moins abondans que la guerre des anciens et des modernes (I, xxvii)." Again under the date January 3, 1815, in the section entitled *Bruits de Ville* appears the item: "La guerre s'allume avec une nouvelle force entre les classiques et les romantiques . . . . (I, 22)."

The position of the *Nain Jaune* in this struggle is manifest; one news item refers unequivocally to the romanticists as belonging to the "camp ennemi,"[16] many attacks are made on them, and in all the numbers of the paper not one favorable statement can be found concerning them. No exact definition of romanticism is given, but a study of the various references to it shows a conception of the movement not far different from that held by some of its opponents a decade later when the papers were filled with discussions of the subject. It was conceived to be anti-national, a product of foreign countries, and to consist of a mixture of incongruous ideas and terms, whatever was strange, obscure or exaggerated in subject matter or form. The writers who are considered primarily responsible for its creation are Chateaubriand, Mme de Staël, Sismondi and Wilhelm Schlegel.

Mme de Staël is the subject of adverse criticism almost equal to that of Chateaubriand. As has already been noted, considerable space is devoted to her in the *Voyage en Enfer*, and later in the supposed refutation of the work, further reference is made to "tout ce qu'il a de sublime et de profond dans la prose philosophico-poétique de Mme de Staël (IV, 318)." A seven page article reviewing A. Soumet's book, Les *Scrupules littéraires de madame la baronne de Staël*, is devoted principally to a satirical

[16] "Le parti romantique vient de se fortifier par l'attaque que lui livre aujourd'hui l'ex-littérateur Duvicquet. Au nom de Racine et du goût, dont vous avez sans doute entendu parler, nous vous supplions, M. Duvicquet, de passer dans le camp ennemi (I, 141)."

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discussion of her political and literary activities.[17] A quotation from the end of the biographical part of the article illustrates the bitter tone of the review:

Confondant Bonaparte et la France dans ses ressentimens, elle appela au secours de son dépit et ceux qu'avait humiliés le triomphe de nos armes et ceux qu'irritait la prééminence dès long-temps reconnue de notre littérature. Pamphlétaires, journalistes, dramaturges, professeurs, écoliers, tout ce qui nous haïssait marcha sous ses bannières. . . . . Enfin, après avoir enflammé les Germains et les Sarmates, les Goths et les Scandinaves, madame de Staël a remporté la victoire la plus complète; elle a battu Bonaparte et la France, et a fait son entrée triomphante à Paris à la suite de ses quatre cent mille alliés (I, 128–9).

The remainder of the review maintains the same ironical tone with romanticism receiving its share of ridicule:

Le Livre *de l'Allemagne*, qui est moins un éloge de ce pays qu'une satire du nôtre, a eu le sort de son auteur; il a été oublié du même moment où il a cessé d'être proscrit. La critique en a fait justice; elle y a sans doute trouvé de l'instruction, de l'originalité et quelques aperçus nouveaux; mais des paradoxes bizarres, une mauvaise foi évidente, une obscurité d'expression, un néologisme insoutenable, et enfin ce genre d'éloquence, ce *vague enchanteur* que les romantiques traitent de sublime, et que les personnes de bon sens nomment tout simplement galimatias; mais les personnes de bon sens ne sont pas nombreuses, et madame de Staël a encore beaucoup d'admirateurs (I, 129).

The review ends with a few words of advice to M. Soumet contrasting the romantic style with the classic although neither term is specifically mentioned:

Si vous daignez condescendre à ma prière, vous renoncerez au fatras nébuleux que vous prenez pour de la métaphysique. Vous ne vous pâmerez plus d'admiration devant ce que vous ne comprenez pas; vous ne serez pas obscur pour plaire à madame de Staël et ampoulé pour ressembler à M. de Chateaubriand; vous serez clair, simple et correct; vous reconnaîtrez qu'il n'y a souvent rien de si vide que ce qui paraît profond; vous rentrerez enfin dans la seule route où l'on ne s'égare pas, dans celle de la raison et du bon sens, et vous pourrez peut-être aspirer à des succès plus solides que les louanges d'un salon allemand et à des suffrages plus respectables que les applaudissemens d'une coterie qui n'est pas française (I, 131–2).

[17] Les *Scrupules littéraires de madame la baronne de Staël*, ou *Reflexions sur quelques chapitres du Livre de l'Allemagne*. Un vol. in-12. Chez Delaunay, au Palais-Royal, galerie de Bois (I, 124). The *Nain Jaune* does not name the author (A. Soumet) but refers to him simply as "monsieur S. . . . . "

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The foreign element in romanticism seems to be continually in the minds of its opponents in the early years of its existence. It is even considered as anti-French. In one case the *Gazette de France* is accused by the *Nain Jaune* of having published an article belittling French customs and literature, and the statement is then made: "Après avoir eu en politique des opinions anglaises, il ne leur manquait plus que des opinions romantiques en littérature (I, 384)." Sismondi is credited with the desire to interfere in the development of French thought: " . . . . M. Sismonde de Sismondi, au lieu de s'occuper exclusivement des opérations des *magnifiques seigneurs* genevois, prend tous les jours la peine très-gratuite de nous apprendre la manière dont nous devons penser et agir (II, 332)." Little attention is paid to Italian authors.[18]

The German influence, however, is felt to be stronger than any other one. Mme de Staël is reproached in the review mentioned above with the fact that "on remarque toujours dans ses écrits quelque chose de tant soit peu tudesque, qui rappelle le lieu de sa naissance (I, 127)." Wilhelm Schlegel, together with August Kotzebue, is given an important rôle as a member of the *Confédération romantique* (I, xxvii), and is named with Sismondi among the enemies of French classicism.[19] Another similar reference to Schlegel is made in a news item referring to Mme de Staël's tragedy *Jeanne Gray*: "revue, corrigée et augmentée par l'auteur de *Walstein* [Benjamin Constant], et avec des notes par l'auteur du *Cours de littérature dramatique* [Schlegel]. L'ouvrage de cet illustre trio achèvera de prouver que Racine est un mauvais poëte, et que Molière n'a pas le sens commun (I, 383)." The *Empire of the Nairs* by James Lawrence is reviewed adversely, the term "monstruosité" being used to describe it; the review then ends with the announcement that the work "a été comblée d'éloges par l'immortel Schiller, et autres écrivains romantiques

[18] Voltaire's point of view in regard to Dante is still the prevalent one; a review of an article by Nodier on Ballanche's *Antigone* in the *Journal de l'Empire* blames him because "il place le monstrueux Dante á côté du divin Homère, et les *Martyrs* à côté du Télémaque (II, 20)."

[19] In an article criticizing adversely two actresses of the Théâtre Français, the critic says: "je conçois qu'après une représentation de Phèdre par mesdemoiselles Georges ou Petit MM. Schlegel et Sismondi dévouent impitoyablement au mépris les beautés classiques du plus pur de nos écrivains. Ces deux demoiselles ne sont pas moins coupables que madame de Staël, des progrès de la littérature romantique (I, 34)."

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qui ont pour principe de *laisser tout aller au grê de la bonne dame nature* (I, xxxii)."

As may be judged from some of the names already cited, the lines of membership in the romantic party are not clearly drawn at this early date. The authors of melodrama and of strange productions in general are classed as romanticists. Pixérécourt, Caignez, Hubert and de Kock are grouped together in the *Confédération romantique*, while Népomucène Lemercier, who, a decade later refuses to lose himself in the "nuages politico-gothiquo-romantiques," is given an entire paragraph in the description of that organization. One of his own poems is designated in a number of the *Nain Jaune* as "physico-electrico-chimico-didactico épique (IV, 292)." He is also ranked with the romanticists in a short news item which announces that war is bursting out anew between the classicists and the romanticists: "D'un côté, M. Hoffman [François-Benoit] vient de publier un second manifeste; de l'autre, M. Lemercier a mis sept pièces en batterie (I, 22)." An "éteignoir" is bestowed upon Pixérécourt, "Le Shakespear des Boulevarts," with the prophecy that "à mesure que les principes littéraires de Madame de Staël et de M. Schlegel seront mieux appréciés, le prodigieux mérite de M. Pixérecourt sera mieux senti (IV, 121)." Even such a play as Les *Amans généreux* (1774) of Rochon de Chabannes is classified as a romantic piece.[20]

This chapter on the attitude of the *Naine Jaune* towards romanticism may well be closed by the reproduction of one of the cleverest and most effective satires of the period, directed against romanticism and the romanticists. It appeared in the *Nain Jaune* of December 14, 1814, under the title La *Confédération romantique* (I, xxvii–xxx). While occasional references have been made to it by literary critics it is well worth being printed here in its entirety.

CHRONIQUE LITTÉRAIRE

Tout annonce que la guerre des *Classiques* et des *Romantiques* ne fera pas couler des flots d'encre moins abondans que la guerre des anciens et des modernes. Nous donnerons avec exactitude les bulletins officiels des deux armées belligérantes. Voici, en attendant, le traité d'alliance des puissances romantiques, qui nous a été remis par un déserteur de leurs drapeaux:

[20] "Les *romantiques* ont essuyé ce soir un échec au Théâtre Français. Les *Amans généreux*, drame imité de Lessing ont été sifflés (I, 18)."

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TRAITÉ D'ALLIANCE

Les hautes puissances littéraires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche, de Suisse, de Hollande, d'Angleterre, de Suède, de Prusse, de Portugal, d'Espagne et d'Italie,

Considérant que la république des lettres françaises, animée d'un esprit d'ambition et de domination sans bornes, tend à soumettre toute l'Europe aux lois de son art poétique et à l'assujétir à ses régles d'unité de temps, de lieu et de moeurs;

Que ladite république fait chaque jour aux académies, aux universités et à toutes les corporations savantes et littéraires de l'Europe, des envois considérables d'auteurs classiques français, que les auteurs nationaux sont rélégués dans les rayons obscurs et poudreux des bibliothèques;

Considérant que ladite république a établi un blocus littéraire, en vertu duquel l'importation dans son sein de toutes les productions ossianiques, galliques, germaniques, helvétiques, shakespéariques et gothiques, est prohibée sous les peines les plus sévères; que tout drame, comédie ou tragédie qui, en dépit de ce blocus, sont transportés d'un théâtre étranger sur la scène française, sont sifflés à extinction par les agens du despotisme de ladite république;

Considérant encore qu'il existe, dans différentes parties de la France, et à Paris, au sein même de l'Institut, des poëtes dramatiques et des écrivains philosophes, moralistes et religieux qui sont en butte à toutes sortes de vexations, d'humiliations et de tortures à cause de la courageuse fermeté avec laquelle ils refusent de plier la tête sous le joug des classiques;

Que notamment le sieur Népomucène Le Mercier a été hué, sifflé et bafoué pour avoir composé, d'après les principes adoptés et suivis par les hautes puissances littéraires susnommées un drame shakespéarique intitulé: *Christophe Colomb;* et un poëme épique, intitulé: *l'Atlantiade*;

Que les oeuvres romantiques des sieurs Guilbert Pixérécourt, Caignez, Hubert, de Kock, etc., sont réléguées honteusement sur les remparts, entre les tréteaux des farceurs Bobêche et Galimafrée et les phénomènes et monstruosités de toute espèce;

Considérant enfin que des troupes françaises occupent à Amsterdam à Cassel, à Naples, à Milan et même à Saint-Pétersbourg, des théâtres sur lesquels elles jouent publiquement des pièces composées d'après les principes despotiques de ladite république;

Ont résolu d'unir tous leurs efforts pour réprimer la tyrannie, et anéantir l'empire monstrueux que la république des lettres françaises fait peser sur l'Europe, et ont nommé plénipotentiaires pour discuter, arrêter et signer un traité d'alliance; savoir:

L'Angleterre, l'Allemagne, la Suisse et la Hollande, madame la baronne de Staël-Holstein née Necker, auteur de *Corinne*, de *Delphine*, d'une *Apologie du Suicide*, et autres ouvrages de morale, et le sieur Benjamin-Constant, ex-tribun, auteur de la sublime tragédie de *Walstein;*

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La Russie, la Prusse, l'Autriche et la Suède, le sieur Schlégel, secrétaire intime de son altesse le prince royal de Suède, et le sieur Kotzebue, conseiller intime de S.M. l'empereur de toutes les Russies, auteur de six cent quatre-vingt-dix-neuf drames, mélodrames, pantomimes, ballets, tragédies, farces, etc., etc.; et enfin l'Espagne, le Portugal et l'Italie, le sieur Sismondi, professeur de littérature à Genève, et auteur des *Républiques de l'Italie;*

Lesquels, après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des articles suivans:

ARTICLE PREMIER

Les hautes puissances littéraires contractantes prendront le titre de *Confédération romantique*, et auront pour devise et épigraphe: *Mort aux classiques.*

ART. II. La *Confédération romantique* s'engage à ne poser la plume qu'après que la république des lettres françaises aura été restreinte dans ses limites naturelles.

ART. III. On considérera comme limites naturelles de la république des lettres françaises les bornes dans lesquelles elle était circonscrite au seizième siècle, avant que le génie ambitieux des Corneille, des Boileau, des Racine et des Molière, les eût portées jusqu'aux extrémités de l'Europe littéraire.

ART. IV. Les hautes puissances formant la confédération romantique, s'engagent à mettre en mouvement et faire manoeuvrer toutes les plumes qui se trouvent dans leurs états respectifs, même celle des écoliers des universités, s'il est nécessaire.

ART. V. La foire de Leipsick est choisie par la confédération romantique pour point central de ses opérations.

ART. VI. Le contingent à fournir par les hautes puissances est fixé ainsi qu'il suit:

L'Allemagne, la Suisse et la Hollande fourniront les infolio; l'Angleterre, les pamphlets; la Russie, la Prusse, la Suède et l'Autriche, les dissertations philosophiques et métaphysiques; enfin le Portugal, l'Espagne et l'Italie, fourniront les satires, les épigrammes et les sonnets.

ART. VII. Il est en outre arrêté et convenu entre les hautes puissances contractantes, que le sieur Sismondi publiera, affichera et placardera dans Paris un ouvrage en trois volumes in-8°, intitulé: *De la Littérature du Midi*; et la dame de Staël un autre ouvrage aussi en trois volumes in-8°, ayant pour titre: *De l'Allemagne.* Cependant le sieur Schlégel dirigera sur Genève, et tâchera de faire entrer par la Suisse un nouveau renfort de trois volumes in-8°, qu'il intitulera: *Cours de Littérature dramatique.* Quant au sieur Kotzebue, il restera au sein des états de la confédération, pour donner, à l'aide des journaux, pamphlets, diatribes, etc., l'impulsion qu'il croira convenable à l'esprit public.

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ART. VIII. Pour anéantir à jamais la pureté de la langue française, et faire qu'elle ne soit plus employée par les diplomates comme la plus intelligible et la plus claire, madame de Staël-Holstein, et M. Benjamin-Constant, s'engagent à écrire en langue française, et à faire passer dans leur style toute l'obscurité des langues du Nord, pendant que le sieur Sismondi introduira dans le sien l'enflure et les *concetti* des langues du Midi, et ce, jusqu'à ce que les Français ne s'entendent plus entr'eux.

ART. IX. Le présent traité sera ratifié dans le plus bref délai. En foi de quoi les plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signé, et y ont apposé le sceau de leurs armes.

Fait quintuple, au quartier-général des puissances littéraires romantiques. A Coppet, le l[er] mars 1810.—*Suivent les signatures*:

D. H. CARNAHAN

University of Illinois

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LUDWIG TIECK AND FRIEDRICH VON RAUMER

FEW German men of letters living in the first half of the nineteenth century had more friends than Ludwig Tieck, but of these none was more closely associated with him over a long period of years than Friedrich von Raumer, who was by adoption one of the distinguished Prussians of his day. Raumer was born at Wörlitz, Anhalt, in 1781; he studied law and political science at Halle and Göttingen and then entered the Prussian service as *Referendar*, *Assessor* and *Rat*, successively. In 1809 he became *Regierungsrat* in Potsdam and in the following year was transferred to the office of Chancellor Hardenberg. In 1811 he was appointed professor of history at Breslau, a post which he held until 1819, when he became professor of political science at Berlin. While a delegate to the German Parliament of 1848, he was sent to Paris as German minister, and on his return to Berlin, he became a member of the First Chamber there. In 1853 he was retired as professor but continued to deliver lectures until shortly before his death in 1873. He is regarded as a pioneer in German historiography, and as one of the leading German historians before Ranke. His two principal works are *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit* in six volumes (1823–1825) and *Geschichte Europas seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* in eight volumes (1832–1850), both splendid examples of the Romantic attitude toward history. Interest in literature is revealed in his four-volume *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Literatur* (1864–1866), as well as in several Novellen.

Rudolf Köpke, Tieck's friend and biographer, speaks as follows on the friendship of Raumer and Tieck:

Zu ihnen [i.e., the friends of Tieck] gesellte sich auch Friedrich von Raumer, der früher schon mit Solger in freundschaftlicher Verbindung gestanden hatte. . . . . Schon 1810 besuchte er Tieck in Ziebingen. Auch hier ergab sich aus den ersten Unterredungen ein näheres Verhältnis, das durch Briefe und Besuche fortgesetzt wurde, und zu einer wahren und dauernden Freundschaft führte. Mit Interesse verfolgte Tieck die historischen Forschungen Raumers. Er sah das Werk über die Hohenstaufen entstehen und las es, nicht ohne eine bedeutende Rückwirkung zu erhalten, zum grossen Teil bereits im Manuskripte. So traten ihm Politik, Geschichte, die historische Gegenwart ebenfalls näher.

Ausschliesslich hatte er früher der Vergangenheit gelebt, soweit sie der Sage und Literatur angehörte, die tatsächlichen Zustände der Gegen-

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wart im einzelnen beschäftigten ihn wenig. Andere Kräfte und Elemente kamen jetzt hervor. . . . .[1]

And again:

Einen lebhaften Briefwechsel unterhielt er mit F. von Raumer, der an allem, was Tieck berührte, den wärmsten Anteil nahm und im Frühjahr und Herbst einige Wochen bei ihm zu wohnen pflegte. Mit treuer Freundschaft stand er diesem in den Zeiten heftiger und ungerechter politischer und literarischer Angriffe zur Seite.[2]

The other source book on Tieck, Friesen's work, contains the following on Raumer:

Es ist fast Pflicht, zuerst des bekannten Historikers, des Geh. Rats Fr. von Raumer zu gedenken, weil er fast regelmäss'g alle Jahre das Haus Tiecks besuchte und gewissermassen als einer der unsern betrachtet wurde.[3]

Friesen also praises Raumer's frank, jovial and amiable nature and remarks on his peculiar ability to pass from serious to light subjects (p. 22):

Ich habe selbst zuweilen die Beobachtung machen können, dass er von einer tiefsinnigen geschichtlichen Unterhaltung mit der grössten Behendigkeit zu einer launig witzigen Bemerkung überging.

When in 1828 Tieck set about to collect his works, he decided to follow the practice of Lope de Vega and to dedicate each volume to some friend. The first, containing *Octavian*, he inscribed to Raumer, at the same time paying him this friendly tribute:

Ihre treue Freundschaft, Ihr Wohlwollen, alles, was Sie mir mitgeteilt, zwingt mich zur Dankbarkeit. Ihnen, dem das mannichfaltige Bild der Geschichte sich so klar entwickelt hat, der Scherz, und Ernst gern verbindet, dem das Mittelalter und dessen poetische Töne nicht fremd sind, gefällt auch, wie ich weiss, diese bunte Dichtung des Octavian (p. iii).

Raumer reciprocated these friendly sentiments throughout his life. In his *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*[4] he admits that Tieck's inclination for the theatre, his conversations, writings and letters had considerable influence upon him.

[1] I. Teil, Leipzig, 1855, pp. 368–369. For the assistance which Raumer gave Köpke in writing his biography, cf. *ibid.*, I, xx.

[2] *Ibid.*, II. Teil, p. 65.

[3] *Op. cit.*, I, 21.

[4] Published in *Lebenserinnerungen und Briefwechsel von Friedrich von Raumer*, 2. Teil, Leipzig, 1861, p. 107.

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The published correspondence between Tieck and Raumer is our principal source for their relations, although unfortunately it is incomplete. We have the assurance of Raumer himself that he discarded "countless letters."[5] Those which are accessible appear in the two parts of Raumer's *Lebenserinnerungen und Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, 1861) and in his *Literarischer Nachlass* (Berlin, 1869). Recently J. L. Janko has published new material in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*.[6] Disregarding the seven documents which Raumer calls "Bemerkungen über das Theater, Briefe an Ludwig Tieck" (*Nachlass*, I, 31–61) which are really not letters but essays on the Berlin theatres, we have 26 letters by Tieck and 76 by Raumer, which, however, do not form a complete consecutive series. In addition Raumer publishes one letter from Tieck's daughter Dorothea and one to her; also a second letter of Dorothea to Raumer has since been published by the present writer.[7] Holtei's *Briefe an Tieck* do not contain any of Raumer's letters because he had set them aside for his own use. But Holtei does include two letters of Raumer's brother Karl, who by marriage was distantly related to Tieck.

Although the acquaintance of Tieck and Raumer dates from 1810, we have none of their correspondence before 1815. Nor was there apparently much communication between them prior to that time, for the first letter in the collection,[8] written by Tieck from Ziebingen on March 30, 1815, is still rather formal. This letter is a sort of confession of faith. In the eyes of the "geniuses" of his day, says Tieck, he is a philistine because he despises anarchy in art and in the human soul as much as in the state. In reply to the poetasters of the hour he maintains that poetic buoyancy as it appears in his Romantic poetry, is far from equivalent to vacuity, and that Shakespearean simplicity cannot be attained by a mere ignoramus. In the words of Novalis he assures his correspondent that *Gemüt* and *Geschick* (=*Schicksal*) are synonymous. He berates the "naturalistic dilettanti" who shrink from the study of greatness and beauty and prefer to practice shallow idolatry. The worship of "their Goethe" is to Tieck nothing else than the complacency which in an earlier

[5] *Literarischer Nachlass von Friedrich von Raumer*, I, Berlin, 1869, p. vi.

[6] *Beilage*, April 11, 1915.

[7] *Germanic Review*, II (1927), 12–15.

[8] *Lebenserinnerungen und Briefwechsel von Friedrich von Raumer*, 1. Teil, Leipzig, 1861, pp. 279–280. This work will hereafter be referred to as *LB*.

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generation prated of Klopstock, Wieland and Bodmer. To these pedants "der herrliche Solger" is an abomination because they fail to understand him, just as they lack true comprehension of Goethe, Shakespeare and Nature itself. What they desire is stage scenery—the lifeless copy of a living original. "Von frühester Jugend habe ich mich von diesen Naturspielen losgesagt," Tieck assures his correspondent in closing this defence of his own style.

Tieck's second letter, written from Ziebingen to Breslau on December 21, 1817 (*LB* 2, 77–79), in reply to a lost letter from Raumer, is considerably less formal in tone. All of Raumer's letters, Tieck writes, are a source of consolation to him in his "Kränklichkeit, Unbeholfenheit und vielfachen Planen und Arbeiten." And with characteristic Romantic introspectiveness he sketches an accurate picture of his own peculiar nature:

> Könnte ich doch nur Ihren oder unseres Solger stetigen und ruhigen Fleiss gewinnen: allein seit meiner frühen Jugend ist dies eins meiner grössten Leiden, dass ich nur selten meiner Laune gebieten kann, in Träumen, Plänen, Wünschen und oft unfruchtbaren Studien lebe, und dann plötzlich wie im Sturme und dann zu viel und zu schnell arbeite. Wenn Sie einen Sohn haben, erziehen Sie ihn zur Ordnung. Aber es hilft auch nicht immer; denn bei mir ist von der Seite meiner Ältern und Vorgesetzten das Hinlängliche geschehen, und doch ist es der Mangel dieser Fähigkeit, welcher mir so oft mein Leben am meisten verkümmert hat.

He confesses that he spends many hours in passive enjoyment of existing things and in despair of his own creative power. Yet the urge of his productivity keeps his enthusiasm alive: "und so ist immer das Selbstschaffen nur die Gewähr und der Bewis für das Verständnis." He has words of encouragement to Raumer in the face of the trivial annoyances in Breslau, and sees a necessity for such irritations in the scheme of life "damit wir uns nicht überheben." This gives Tieck occasion for another characterization of his own attitude:

> Ich wenigstens, wenn ich in Gegenwart oder Vorzeit herrliche Talente kennen lerne, suche gleich, um sie mir zu vergegenwärtigen, wer sie denn wohl recht geärgert, gebeugt und an sich irre gemacht hat.

Never does he fail to look at life "from the point of view of poetry." And the poet's attitude toward history, he maintains, should have much in common with the historian's. His appraisal of German

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history as material for the poet, and the writer of drama in particular, is worth quoting:

Mir bleiben Shakespeares Bürgerkriege das grösste Muster, wir haben kaum in der deutschen Geschichte irgendwo einen Moment des Lustspiels: die Hohenstaufen sind in der Heiterkeit erhaben, im Fall tragisch, wie nur etwas im Altertum. Karl der Grosse ist rein gross, und Heinrich der Vogler mir der heiterste Moment, so schlicht und einfach, dass etwas Ähnliches in Heinrich IV. sich nirgends denken lässt.

Finally Raumer's favorable comment on *Fortunat* elicits the following statement:

Sie haben sich durch die Gespräche der fingierten Gesellschaft irre führen lassen, deren Urteile nicht immer die meinigen sind; denn ich gestehe Ihnen unter uns, dass ich den zweiten Teil dieses Gedichts über den ersten setze, doch wird der erste die gewöhnlichen Leser mehr befriedigen. Spass verstehen an der wahren Lust, Lust haben, ist auch eine Kunst; wenn ich dichten soll, darf ich mir die Mehrzahl des Publikums nicht vergegenwärtigen.

The letters which follow were written at irregular intervals during the period from 1818 to 1841. Sometimes only a few days intervene, occasionally several years. We shall consider them according to subject-matter and discuss first theatrical and literary questions, which are rather prominent in the correspondence.

Raumer confesses on August 30, 1829 (*LB*, 298–300), that he never encountered any difficulty in understanding the Attic, Spanish and other foreign dramatic literatures because he always used Shakespeare as a key. But he considers Ben Jonson insipid and artificial. Too many self-styled admirers of Shakespeare, he asserts, have at their command only a stock of witticisims and quotations to prove their claims (September 25, 1831-*LB*, 345).

As to the prospects of the German stage, which was temporarily in a bad way, Raumer is hopeful:

So viel auch schlechte Schriftsteller, Schauspieler und Kritiker an unserem deutschen Theaterwesen pfuschen, kann und mag ich doch so wenig daran zweifeln, als an deutscher Wissenschaft, an deutschem Vaterlande usw.

Tieck expresses himself less optimistically: "Wäre ich nur jünger. Auf unsere armen Theater wollte ich nicht viel Rücksicht nehmen." (December 6, 1822—*LB*, 140–142)

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In an undated letter (*LB*, 191–195) Tieck gives his interpretation of Lady Macbeth. Those who conceive her as a fury, he thinks, disregard the hints of the poet. Wise and noble at the start, like her husband, she is transformed gradually by the prophetic words of the allegorical witches into a scheming murderess. But her fundamental human gentleness should never be lost sight of by the actress if the real tragic import of the rôle is to be brought out:

> Nur durch die durchschimmernde Weichheit, echte Weiblichkeit, wird dies Gebilde ein schönes, rührend ergreifendes. Shakespeare hat sich hier eine Aufgabe gesetzt und gelöset, die in der Poesie nicht wieder vorkommt, und freilich so geistig gezeichnet, dass, als der Kommentar für seine Spieler verloren ging, man es seitdem nicht verstanden hat.

No doubt Shakespeare was a subject for frequent conversation between Tieck and Raumer. The latter admired him quite as much as the former. Indeed, Raumer goes so far as to say (December 12, 1825—*LB*, 196) that in his eyes Shakespeare is a new argument for immortality in the noblest sense, because it is unbelievable that such a genius can ever die.

In May, 1832,[9] Tieck, again utilizing his experience as a theatrical poet and stage manager, gives Raumer in detail his own interpretation of Shakespeare's *As You Like It* from the practical dramaturgic point of view. He divides the play into three acts and adds minute instructions for the reading of each part. Finally in November, 1821 (*LB*, 131–136), Tieck gives a chronological catalogue, over four pages in length, of Shakespeare's plays. He divides the dramas into three periods, the first from 1584 to 1592, the second to 1601, and the third to 1613. *Henry IV* and *Henry V* he regards as the earliest. Among his entries are many plays now universally regarded as spurious. For example he says that *Satironmastix* was written by Shakespeare "mit Dicker vereinigt gegen B. Jonson." Of *Cymbeline*, which he considers Shakespeare's last play (1615), he remarks: "Ausserdem habe ich ein Manuskript, was ich dem Dichter zuschreibe." It was one of the numerous valuable possessions of the bibliophile poet.[10] He

[9] Published in *Literarischer Nachlass*, II (Berlin, 1869), 142–44. This work will hereafter be referred to as *LN*.

[10] See Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, 133. Cf. also the present writer's article, "Ludwig Tieck's Library," *Mod. L. Notes*, XLII (1927), 21–25.

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ascribes to Shakespeare 62 plays in all, or, if we count greatly varying editions of the same work, 67.

On January 11, 1824 (158–159), Raumer gives Tieck his appraisal of Klopstock. The *Hermannsschlacht*, which he had recently read for the first time, he considers a failure because it "does not create living persons." His final judgment of the play is contained in the following words:

ein langes und breites Hin- und Herreden, aus blosser Liebe zu Schwatzen; und zuletzt schwatzen hauptsächlich die Nichtstuenden von dem Opferfelsen, einer Art von Galerie und Paradiese, herab, während die Szene leer ist, und nur von Zeit zu Zeit ein angeschossener Römer hinweghumpelt.

Furthermore it has no hero and lacks local color. He confesses also to an inability to appreciate Klopstock's odes and *Messias*. And while he admits that some of the "geistliche Lieder" are beautiful, most of them strike him as too artificial, elaborate and cold.

On August 30, 1829 (*LB*, 298–300), Raumer offers an incisive criticism of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*, of which he had just witnessed a performance. His impression is that Goethe made too many changes in the play, with the result that Adelheid and Weislingen have been crowded into the background:

die pure Vortrefflichkeit, [he adds] die dem Götz angekünstelt ist, droht immer loszubröckeln. Das Ganze hat eine ultraaristokratische Richtung für den Adel, und nie hätte Shakespeare den Kaiser und Luther und alles Grosse der Zeit so beiläufig über das Theater traben lassen. Selbst Götz wird auf diese Weise unverständlich und dreht sich wie in einem engen Seitenwirbel eines grossen Stroms umher, während dieser Strom selbst und die bewegende Grösse und Kraft eigentlich unsern Augen entzogen ist.

In a letter of January 14, 1826 (*LB*, 197), Tieck speaks of the literary motif of unrequited love and calls it "die tiefste Tragödie des Herzens."

[es] arbeiten viele, Jacobi, vor allem Goethe, diese unheilbare Wunde, die entsetzlichste des Menschen, mit dem Schönen zu vereinigen: aber beide —vielleicht alle Dichter bis jetzt—sind zu chirurgisch zu Werke gegangen, die andern, die nicht so verfahren, sind dagegen unerträglich matt und weichlich.

That this reference, as well as that to chemico-anatomical literature in Raumer's letter of July 21, 1825, aims at Goethe's *Wahl-*

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verwandtschaften is disclosed by Raumer on January 22, 1826 (*LB*, 198–201), when he reverts to the thought that the spiritual and sensual can not be separated. He continues:

> Da stehen wir wieder bei den Wahlverwandtschaften, die schaudervoll sind, und Goethe hat, wie Jacobi, die Wunden wohl nachgewiesen, beide haben mit psychologischem Messer darin gewühlt; aber unter dem Pflaster, was sie drauflegen, eitert die Wunde fort, oder wenn sie heilt, bleibt die Narbe, ohne Verklärung zur Schönheit. Shakespeare hätte die Sache wohl inniger, milder genommen.

Of Schiller and his views Raumer is distinctly impatient (August 3, 1831—*LB*, 339–342). He has no sympathy with Schiller's cosmopolitanism, and also dissents from his notion that "fair womanhood" is missing in Homer, that Greek tragedy is empty and jejune and Greek ideals one-sided. Nor is Raumer impressed by Schiller's theories on esthetics and morality any more than by his defence of Goethe's *Natürliche Tochter* as a glorification of symbolism.

Raumer's letter of July 21, 1825 (*LB*, 188–190), discusses Jacobi's *Woldemar*, which the writer had just re-read. He finds the characters too phantomlike and the ending inconclusive, while the work as a whole suffers from "innerliche Künstelei." Love of the sexes, he judges, should neither be excessively glorified nor debased to a position of brutality, since either proceeding is chemico-anatomical and hence unhistorical and unpoetic. This seems to have elicited from Tieck a lost reply in defence of Jacobi, for on August 1 (*LB*, 190–191) we find Raumer admitting the excellencies of both *Allwill* and *Woldemar* but stressing their excess of self-introspection, self-torment and sick-room atmosphere. True friends, he avers, would have revealed the truth to Woldemar early in the action, instead of offering him moderate draughts of Plutarch and Ferguson. He is sure that Jacobi is a good antidote to the dry philosophy of rationalistic abstraction but doubts whether he advances the reader much farther. Shakespeare, he says, depicts "das Innerste nicht dieser oder jener kränkelnden Natur, sondern der ganzen Menschheit," while Jacobi merely manipulates a "philosophisches Mikrometer." But to Tieck, who had become Jacobi's friend in Munich (1808–1810), he confesses that he still admires Jacobi's works and prizes them far more highly than he does Fichte and his "would-be philosophy," saying: "Es ist nichts feindliches gegen Jacobi

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gesagt, es ist mehr eine Abwehr, da er sich einst meiner zu sehr bemächtigt und mich etwas windschief gestellt hatte."

Toward the dramatist Raupach Raumer is well disposed. Raupach, he states (March 4, 1831—*LB*, 329–330), has been forced by stupid censorship to eschew live political subjects. It is well known, of course, that Raupach in his dramas diligently drew upon Raumer's works, and Immermann once remarked that Raumer created wooden puppets which Raupach dressed up in leather. Tieck, too, as Raumer's close friend, was not unfriendly to Raupach, as appears from his letter of June, 1834 (*LN*, 161). He confesses to an "aufrichtige Neigung" for him, says he agrees with him on numerous points, though not altogether, and calls him "nicht unbillig." Then he voices the opinion that Raupach is now

> der einzige Bühnendichter . . . . von manchen geehrt, von noch mehreren geliebt. Den Shakespeare versteht er auf seine Weise. Was er gegen ihn hat (darauf läuft ja auch Goethes Demonstration hinaus), ist eigentlich, dass unser Publikum zu ungebildet ist, ihn so zu verstehen, wie er ist. Anders ihn zu spielen, wie er ist, ist aber meiner Ansicht nach nicht der Rede wert.

Finally Tieck authorizes Raumer to admit to Raupach that he (Tieck) has "eine gewisse Zärtlichkeit für ihn."

Raumer was hostile to the critics of his day. The theatrical and literary criticasters are no exception. He calls them (October 30, 1826—*LB*, 203–207)—

> Haarspalter, Mückenseiger, Grasaffen, die das Gras wachsen hören. Der eine fällt in Ohnmacht, wenn eine abweichende Orthographie oder Interpunktion ihm ins Auge fällt, dem zweiten vergehen die Sinne, wenn ein Schauspieler sich einmal verspricht. . . . . Aber wie kann man sich die Zeit nehmen, eine Mücke zum Elephanten zu erziehen, wenn das Herrlichste der Dichtkunst, Musik aufgetan wird.

He himself, however, was no mean critic of the drama, as appears from his two letters of September 14 and 26, 1827 (*LB*, 229–238), wherein he reports to Tieck on performances of *Hamlet* and *Othello* wittnessed at the English theatre in Paris. He reveals here a surprising familiarity with the plays and their stage traditions, excellent taste, and a good memory. Unfortunately the performances, with Kemble in the titular rôles, were rather mediocre and hardly on a par with the German productions which he had seen in Berlin.

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Tieck, referring to the critics of Raumer's *Hohenstaufen*, also gives vent to his wrath against the critics (*LB*, 150–151). He remarks bitterly: "wissen die Leute schon mit trivialen poetischen Compositionen nicht aus noch ein, so können sie ja die historischen noch weniger fassen."

Raumer's views on music are interesting. He regards it as the most potent of the arts; no painting or work of sculpture, he finds (October 30, 1826—*LB*, 206), has so transported him as have the compositions of Gluck, Händel, Bach and the older Italians. When facing a statue he still feels and thinks, but in the presence of music a new world of dreams and sensations is conjured up in him.

Vielleicht wirkt hier die Musik der Baukunst am ähnlichsten: der Ernst des Mailänder Doms, die innere Harmonie der Peterskirche haben auf mich bewusstlos verwandte Eindrücke gemacht und Stimmungen hervorgebracht.

He goes still farther in remarking that when he thinks of melodies and modulations they are often transformed in his mind into columns with verdant branches, archways, and vineyards, and that these visions do not vanish until he is aroused from his reverie. We remember similar typically Romantic experiences of another friend of Tieck, Wackenroder, thirty years before.

Goethe has been referred to several times, in most instances with a degree of disparagement. Raumer is disappointed also by the correspondence between Goethe and Zelter and says (February 20, 1834—*LB*, 364):

Über mich und auf mich bin ich zornig, dass ich—wie soll ich sagen—zu dem ganzen Verkehr kein recht Zutrauen fassen kann. Von dem dreifachen Panzer zieht Goethe kaum einen aus, so dass ich auch in einer kalten diplomatischen Stimmung bleibe.

He feels very differently when reading the correspondence of Lessing, Solger, Förster and Müller. "Hier fürchte ich hingegen, dass der überlegene Goethe mir armen Schlucker die Tür vor der Nase zuschlägt und Zelter mich zur Tür hinauswirft." Raumer's comparison of Byron and Goethe (November 3, 1836—*LB*, 367–370) is worthy of note. Byron seems to him human and sympathetic.

Goethe zeigt sich gebügelt und geschniegelt, à quatre epingles, in full dress, liebenswürdig überall. . . . . Weil Goethe sich vielleicht bittere

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Wahrheit mit schöner Dichtung umpanzerte, kann niemand ihm so nahe auf den Leib, wie Berufene und Unberufene Byron kommen. Die Welt hat Goethe erhoben und Byron verfolgt, jenem hat man Weihrauch geopfert und diesen mit Schmach überhäuft.

To Goethe women were—

Mittel, Vorwürfe, Gegenstände für seine poetischen Zwecke, er beherrschte, er verklärte sie. Byron . . . . war ihnen hingegeben, untertan mit Leib und Gut, mit Kopf und Herz.

Byron, he declares, tossed himself like a bold swimmer into the sea of love, while Goethe sailed this sea in a well-equipped vessel, so that he might navigate as he pleased, land anywhere, load or unload cargo at will. Two days later (*LB*, 371–377) Raumer continues this discussion and concludes with the remark:

Sollte jemand fragen: warum ich an dieser Stelle nicht umständlicher und begeisterter von Goethe spreche?—dem antworte ich wiederholentlich: Wer auf dem Throne sitzt, braucht nicht hinaufgehoben zu werden. Rettungen schreibt man nur für angegriffene und verkannte Personen!

A comparison of the two poets on a similar basis is found also in *LN*, 267. But upon hearing of Goethe's death, Raumer wrote with more restraint (March 29, 1832—*LN*, 141):

Goethe ist nun auch tot!! Er hätte (sagen viele) nichts mehr geleistet.—Soll ich denn augenblicks sterben, weil ich nichts mehr produziere—und wie, wenn Gott einem dies gar nicht verliehen hat? Es gibt auch eine Unfruchtbarkeit der Demut, wie eine Fruchtbarkeit des Hochmuts. So wie man den Anfang des Lebens nicht begreift, so nicht das Ende. Mache nur jeder aus dem Mittelstück, was sich gebührt, unbekümmert um die Präadamiten.

Tieck's reaction to the news of Goethe's death is recounted by Dorothea in a letter to Üchtritz.[11]

We have noted Raumer's cordial treatment of Byron, who was to him as great a genius as Goethe. In another place (November 4, 1836—*LB*, 370–371) he describes Byron's Weltschmerz as quite different from that of any other poet. The charge of Byron's immorality he admits (November 5, 1836—*LB*, 371 ff.), but holds that the poet would have overcome this fault had he lived, that it had its redeeming features, and that anyway morality can not be judged by a single standard. Raumer believes that Byron,

[11] *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Üchtritz und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 165 ff.

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feeling he could not excell Shakespeare in his field, tried to invent a new type of English tragedy. When at a later date Raumer met Lady Byron in England, he was impressed by the thought that her gentle "einfache Natur" could hardly have been a match for his unbridled character (July 24, 1841—*LN*, 193). Tieck's lower estimate of Byron is given by Köpke (II, 225).

Neither Raumer nor Tieck had any admiration for E. T. A. Hoffmann. Raumer vents his wrath against him as follows (October 30, 1826—*LB*, 205):

> Mein Widerwillen gegen die Hoffmannianer, insbesondere den damals so gepriesenen Goldtopf, kann ich noch nicht aufgeben. [It is like] das Futter eines alten Philistermantels auswärts gekehrt. Alles auf den Kopf stellen, ist ein dummes mechanisches Werk . . . . leere Phantasterei. . . . . Die ordinärste Wirklichkeit hat mehr Leben und Poesie wie solch Gemengsel.

And Tieck once (July, 1829—*LB*, 298) mentions Hoffmann in the same breath with "die elendesten neuen Schmierereien oder halbfüsssigen Kindereien."

Despite the fact that Börne described Raumer as "ein geschmeidiger Kammerdienerhistoriker, der sich für ein Ordensbändchen der Lüge verkauft hat" (Raumer to Tieck, November 25, 1831—*LB*, 350–351), Raumer has words of the highest praise for his *Briefe aus Paris*. He writes on November 15, 1831 (*LB*, 347–350), —perhaps before he had got wind of this remark—:

> Haben Sie Börnes Briefe aus Paris gelesen? Ihre Erwartungen, so gross sie auch sind, werden übertroffen werden. Vorher schaffen Sie aber alle Dispositionen zum Ärger aus dem Leibe. Ich will nicht mehr von dem edlen, anständigen, wohlerzogenen, humanen Kunstwerke verraten!

The death of the archeologist Karl August Böttiger in November, 1835, elicits comment from Raumer on the man and his significance (*LN*, 167–168). He speaks of Böttiger's "Talent chamäleontischen Anempfindens" and of his "gestaltlose Weichheit" and "furchtsame Nachgiebigkeit." That at first Tieck had little use for Böttiger and even caricatured him in his *Gestiefelter Kater*, is well known. Later he became more tolerant of him.

Raumer's appraisal of Varnhagen is equally trenchant (June 3, 1832—*LN*, 145). He calls him sharp-witted but utterly lacking in religion and Gemüt, and hence cold, harsh and even presumptuous. Of what use, he asks, are certain excellent qualities when they are accompanied by an unsound body and soul? Immer-

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mann's *Epigonen* too serves as a target for Raumer. He finds in it skill, good sense, occasional depth, sustained interest, lively description and sharp characterization, but he objects to the frequent borrowings from others, in particular Goethe. Immermann's acceptance of Goethe's theory that the hero of a novel must be a merely retarding character is unfortunate, says Raumer. For while Goethe's characters are "pappig," Wilhelm Meister is at least a poet; Immermann's Hermann, on the other hand, has no such redeeming quality.

That the two friends Raumer and Tieck were constant critics of each other's works is natural. Tieck's letters to Raumer are full of praise for the latter's various historical writings. One example will suffice. In June, 1838 (*LN*, 178), Tieck writes:

> Ihre Hohenstaufen sind ein fest beschlossenes, für sich bestehendes Kunstwerk, ein ausgewachsenes, reifes Individuum, aus schöner Begeisterung hervorgegangen, durch edlen Fleiss und grossartige Kritik vollendet, ein Werk, das uns zuerst eine sichere Ansicht des Mittelalters, seiner Grossheit und mannigfaltiger Kräfte gegeben hat. Selbst (was unmöglich ist) Sie entdeckten Schätze, die Ihnen Ihr Buch und Ihre Überzeugungen umänderten, so dürften Sie doch nichts Wesentliches ändern. . . . .

Raumer's Novelle *Marie* also wins Tieck's high praise (April 2, 1829—*LB*, 289–292). The theme of unhappy love as treated by Raumer appeals to Tieck, though he disapproves of Raumer's dénouement. He philosophizes as follows on the subject and on the treatment of love in literature:

> Wo Weiber sind, wie im Altertum, wo die Kasuistik der fein und vielfach gesponnenen Empfindung nicht aus der Schönheit in die Herzens und Seelenfibern schmerzhaft hineingezogen ist, wie es im ganzen Mittelalter, möchte ich doch sagen bis Anno 1770, bis zu meiner Geburt nicht war, da entstehen diese Fragen und Aufgaben gar nicht, höchstens verwandte, die sich aber des Lebens nicht so bemächtigen können. Was ist Liebe? Was Ehe? Was Treue? Alle diese schnell beantwortete Fragen lassen nur, wenn ich die individuellsten Verhältnisse und Empfindungen kenne oder schildere, eine Art von Antwort zu, und wenn der jugendliche Goethe seine damalige Stella ein Schauspiel für Liebende nannte, so war denn doch nur die Gattung in jenem Augenblicke gemeint, die wohl eine doppelte Neigung in sich erlebt hatte; aber die Phantastischen, die lieben und verachten können, die einer wilden Eifersucht bedürfen—die in der Leidenschaft schon ihre künftige Untreue vorausahnen—die, wie Tristan und Isolde, wie vom Zauber umsponnen, weder Reue noch Gewissen

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kennen; die aus zu grosser Zärtlichkeit und Wollust, die Wollust fliehen, die das religiöse Gefühl mit dem Reiz der Sinnlichkeit vermischen, wo sind diese und so viele Gefühlsarten wohl schon charakterisiert?

Raumer is no less appreciative of Tieck's literary productions. A reading of Tieck's *Hexensabbat* fairly overwhelms him. He writes (December 1, 1831—*LB*, 352–355):

Bis auf das innerste Mark der Gebeine bin ich erschüttert . . . . und wenn so Wahrheit und Dichtung gleichmässig von allen Seiten auf mich eindringen, schwindet mein eigenes Selbst zu einem Nichts zusammen.

Alles, was seit Romeo und Werther von unglücklicher Liebe gedichtet oder gefaselt ward, ist ja nur ein Nippen an einem Honigkelche; im Vergleich mit dieser Geschichte der Katharina, Roberts, Friedrichs des Dekanten.

Further:

Meinem Gefühl und meiner Einsicht nach gehört vieles, was Labitt spricht, zu dem Grossartigsten und Tiefsinnigsten, was jemals gedichtet und ausgesprochen ist. Zu einer eigentlichen Kritik der Novelle bin ich noch völlig unfähig; dazu ist mein Gemüt viel zu bewegt.

It should be noted that Tieck's daughter Dorothea, in her letters to Üchtritz, took a much more critical attitude toward her father's works; also that she admired Raumer as a friend and family adviser but was repelled somewhat by his practical turn of mind.

It was not uncommon either for the two friends to supply one another with reviews of their own or others' works. In an undated letter (*LB*, 279–288) for instance Raumer sends Tieck nineteen "verlangte und versprochene kritische Bruchstücke," among them reviews of Tieck's *Lovell*, Görres' *Deutschland und die Revolution*, Schleiermacher's *Dogmatik*, Jean Paul's correspondence with Jacobi, and Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften*.

Discussion of philosophical problems is almost as common as that on questions of literature and the theatre. In his letter of February 26, 1826 (*LB*, 201–203), Raumer speculates on the relation of the soul to the body. He would like to know the nature of void space and whether it be characterized by a negative content or is a medium for the positive, or again the seat of the spiritual, which in reality is the positive. Of the much despised Fichte he says that he would have done better to contrive his transcendental idealism in ethereal space rather than on the material earth. In the next letter (October 30—*LB*, 203–207), Raumer,

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again discussing philosophy, comes to the conclusion that transcendental idealism—we may substitute "Romanticism"—is necessary to counteract the immeasurable realism besetting us everywhere, and that Plato's doctrine of a recollection of a past life has much in its favor. He philosophizes on the problem of resurrection but agrees with Tieck that there are certain thoughts which can not be carried out to their logical conclusion.

That Raumer in philosophy as well as in religion, is an eclectic, not wedded to any one fixed theory, follows from his letters of November 27, 1827, and September 22, 1828 (*LB*, 244–246 and 269–271). He finds a modicum of truth in every better system, yet he opposes the doctrine of absolute truth and of the stability of any system of science (see his letter of August 12, 1831—*LB*, 343) and argues for the futility of generally applicable laws of morality (December 29, 1826—*LB*, 207 ff.). In another letter, of August 30, 1829 (*LB*, 298–300), he echoes a sentiment of Ticks to the effect that mankind has not yet reached "die vernünftege Mitte" in philosophy and religion. And in yet another letteri—of January 9, 1836 (*LN*, 168–169)—he expresses the same eclecticism, saying that our organization as individuals is not only an ideal, but also a real form, and that neither reason nor the senses serve to explain everything. The collective idea of "Menschheit" he interprets as being in a sense equivalent to that of "der wahre Mensch," so that if we operate with "Völkerseelen" instead of with "Menschen" we retain the type and merely broaden the conception.

Raumer's letter of December 7, 1823 (*LB*, 154–155), deals with Jacobi, Fichte and philosophy in general. As for the true relation of religion and philosophy, Solger, he feels, would have elucidated that had he lived (Solger had died in 1819). The attempts of others to do so have led merely to externalities. Thus Kant has endowed religion with a sovereignty comparable to that of the princes of the Rhenish Confederation, and others imagine they are doing homage to revealed theology merely by debasing mankind. By these difficulties Raumer would explain the bitter embroilments of Rationalists and Supernaturalists, who generally stop short at superficial differences. Every disputant, he says (October 22, 1824—*LB*, 168–169), sees merely through his own spectacles.

St[effens] hat die naturphilosophische [Brille] noch immer auf der Nase, nur hat ihm S[chelling] das eine Glas zerschlagen; Hegel beweist, dass die

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Lehre von der Dreieinheit sein System, und dies jene Lehre bekräftige; Schleiermacher will Dogmatik unbedingt von der Philosophie trennen und philosophiert doch von A–Z. Was soll ich armer Historiker dabei anfangen? Ich denke, ohne Parteizeichen meinen Gang gehen und—erzählen.

On September 22, 1828 (*LB*, 269–271) Raumer's opposition to Jacobi appears again. He feels that there is something incommensurable between them making for antagonism. Jacobi, he says, though endowed with a noble nature, is tainted with a morbid sentimentality in his views on sex relations, sensuality and marriage, and is too dogmatic in his "absolute contrasts." In so far as Jacobi considers poetry merely as ancillary to philosophy, Raumer believes he approaches Fichte unwittingly and can not be rated as a poet. Yet after all has been said, "Jacobi steht als ein ganzer, geistreicher, gefühlvoller, heilsam einwirkender Mann wieder vor mir, der nur verlieren würde, wenn man ihm diesen oder jenen Zweig abschneiden, und ein anderes Auge darauf okulieren wollte."

Toward Hegel Tieck was never well disposed, as Köpke shows (II, 70). Raumer's view of Hegel is well expressed in the letter of November 15, 1831 (*LB*, 347–350), on the occasion of the philosopher's death. He considers the passing of this "starker Denker" a severe loss, which even the enemies of Hegel will feel. Though Raumer thinks that Hegel was too dogmatic and dialectic, he says:

Ich habe ihn oft gegen unbillige Angriffe vertreten, ob ich gleich nicht leugne, dass er sich dergleichen auch selbst zu Schulden kommen liess. Unsere Akademie, die ihn immer perhorrescierte, wird sich gegen kleinere Halbphilosophen wahrscheinlich nunmehr sehr nachsichtig erweisen . . . . stets vertrug ich mich gut mit ihm, immer war sein Gespräch, selbst sein Examinieren (trotz der unbequemen Form) interessant und lehrreich.

Discussing the second volume of Hegel's History of Philosophy on March 9, 1834 (*LB*, 365–366), Raumer makes various strictures, saying that the feeling of animals is different from that of men and that Hegel's use of the term "Ironie" is equivocal. Later, on November 29, 1836 (*LN*, 171–173), he questions Hegel's statement that the spirit or essence of Christianity did not develop immediately.

After Schleiermacher's death Raumer writes on February 20, 1834 (*LB*, 362–364):

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An Scharfsinn und dialektischer Kraft stand ihm niemand gleich, und er verband damit eine Kunst der Entwickelung und Darstellung, welche Hegel trotz aller grossen Vorzüge fast ganz fehlte. In den mannichfachsten Richtungen hat er preiswürdig eingewirkt und nicht bloss die wichtigsten Gegenstände angemessen behandelt, sondern auch den Kleinsten und Wiederkehrenden eine neue Seite abgewonnen. Ob man in allen Dingen seiner Meinung war und ist, darauf kommt es gar nicht an; wer darf verlangen, dass allen Bäumen *eine* Rinde wachse?

He prefers to regard "die Kraft des Geistes," rather than "Liebe" or "Liebe zur Wahrheit" as the salient point in Schleiermacher's makeup. "Aus seinem Nachlass," he adds, "wird gewiss noch sehr Lesenswertes zu Tage gefördert, hoffentlich mit besserer und strengerer Auswahl als bei Goethe und Zelter." A few weeks later, on March 9 (*LB*, 365), Raumer deals with the charge that Schleiermacher did not keep abreast of the times after 1830, attributing this, in so far as he finds it true, to his "artificial dialectics."

The psychology of Carus he describes (December, 1835—*LN*, 168) as highly stimulating. Of Solger, however, Raumer was never so enamored as Tieck was, though he collaborated with Tieck in editing Solger's *Nachlass*.

Concerning the status of natural science and philosophy Raumer says on February 5, 1828 (*LB*, 250–251), that the philosophers and political scientists are after all not so far behind the chemists and physicists; that the former too are far enough advanced to dignify their knowledge by the name of system; but that ill-considered aversion to empiricism, on the one hand, and to speculation, on the other, is still far too frequent.

Religion also bulks large in the correspondence. Once (October 30, 1826—*LB*, 203) Raumer attacks the religious zealots who detect miracles everywhere. Another time (July 16, 1827—*LB*, 215–217) he calls exaggerated Puritanism and militant Catholicism two evil extremes, but he prefers mysticism to dry scholasticism. On January 24, 1828 (*LB*, 247–248), he urges religious tolerance in view of the manifest inability of all men to agree on one external form of religion, but he voices suspicion of those who are entirely firm in their religious convictions, calling their position negative and often arrogant. The theory that God is only the prime mover does not satisfy him (January 29, 1828—*LB*, 249–250). What we call spirit is more than a fulguration of matter, he says; in fact, all natural laws can be spiritualized. On the other hand, he believes that morality is materialized when ex-

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pressed in the form of commandments. Moderate and eclectic as he is, he dislikes the absolute contrast of *a priori* and *a posteriori*. He holds every truth to be subjective as well as objective and recognizes the hopelessness of arriving at a general agreement so long as we know nothing of *das Ding an sich*. "Die chemische zersetzende Philosophie," he concludes, "ist nicht die höchste, sonst aber allerdings am rechten Orte gebraucht von Wert." On September 18, 1831 (*LB*, 327–328), Raumer praises Tieck for spurning "die verkümmerte Religion des Glaubens." He writes:

> Indem Sie nicht in diesem Sande mühselig fortschreiten wollten, erheben Sie Ihren Flug bis zu prophetischem Schauen und einer eigentlichen Offenbarung, die da höher ist als aller Menschen Vernunft.

The Kantian epistemology, we are assured, never appealed to Raumer, just as he always despised the ascetic disdain for the world and for mundane beauty (December 22, 1831—*LB*, 355–356), and ridiculed those who in an age of skeptical pragmatism rejected the movers (such as Homer, Lycurgus, Romulus, Sesostris and Christ), but allowed the effects (their work) to stand. Spenser's "sans foi, sans roi, sans loi," he avers, is transcended by the greatness of a Shakespeare or a Goethe. He believes that a nation's civilization and culture can be measured by its views of God, but that God is not a mere product of any civilization.

Tieck, less speculatively inclined than Raumer, does not express himself so often on religion. But in January, 1828 (*LB*, 246–247), he voices the opinion that even skepticism may be reverent and foster a spirit of piety. He praises Lessing for his opposition to the letter of religion and for his attempt to stir religion to new life by means of doubts, polemics and dialectics. Tieck believes that Lessing actually did orthodoxy a service by publishing the Fragments and that in reality Lessing detested the Enlightenment. Lessing's approach to the highest questions, says Tieck, was a novel one, and the scrupulous honesty of his striving was misunderstood even by his best friends. To this Raumer replies on January 24 (*LB*, 247–248) that if Christianity could not withstand such attacks as Lessing's, it would be unsound, and that his own scruples were never affected by the Frag ments.

Historical problems too, are a favorite subject for discussion. On February 2, 1818 (*LB*, 81–85), Tieck advocates originality in history as well as in literature:

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mit einem Wort, um es mir in die Poesie zurückzuübersetzen: wie jedes Kunstwerk nur *einmal* dasein kann (was schon von selber die Nachahmung ausschliesst),[12] so auch jedes Geschichtswerk. . . . .

He adds that the true spirit of history is also the essence of poetry. All mythical, allegorical and cosmic elements, according to him (March 16, 1827—*LB*, 213–214), run counter to history, and from this point of view the history of the Jews, for instance, ought to be approached. Liberty begins with the Greeks, he says, but it must be judged in the light of the passions, prejudices and other compelling forces which dominated Greek life. The ancients had a more highly developed political and historical sense than we have, "denn das spitze, philosophisch sein sollende der neuern Tage macht jenes eben ganz unmöglich," he says.

On February 15, 1830 (*LB*, 312–313), Raumer expresses his views of historical criticism. Like historiography, it is a personal gift which can not be learned by rote. The secret of history lies in "der Gedanke und Entwurf des ganzen Baues," not in the details of fact, execution or style. Of style, he feels, there are as many types as there are great historians. Several months later, on June 15 (*LB*, 317), he confesses that he considers himself a "Liliputian among historians." But in several other places he does not fail to revile his critics Immermann, Hormayr, Nicolini, Luden, Zimmermann, Radowitz and Frank as "fleas" and to describe their method as "Schminkerei," "Kunstreiterei" and negative, minute and atomistic criticism (December 14, 1839—*LN*, 181–182; March 8, 1840—*LN*, 182–183; and March 11, 1841—*LN*, 192). He does not agree with Friedrich Schlegel that history has no art-form (November 25, 1831—*LB*, 350–351), and he condemns the "sandige Unerschöpflichkeit" of the *Staatengeschichten* of Perthes (February 3, 1832—*LB*, 361). When he is accused of being a demagogue and a turn-coat in his *Schrift über Polen*, he defends himself valiantly (February 10, 1832—*LN*, 140), saying that he has always spurned financial returns, titles, distinctions "und derlei Zeug" in favor of historical objectivity. Though admiring Johannes von Müller, of whom Tieck had a better opinion than Raumer, in spite of the fact that Raumer owed a good deal to Müller personally, Raumer regrets his lack of development and his ultimate fossilization. He condemns this as he does the "unbedingte Seligsprecherei" and "unbedingtes Verdammen"

[12] Tieck reverts here to a Romantic thought of Friedrich Schlegel.

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of many narrow, intolerant writers (April 25, 1831—*LB*, 334–335). At any rate, he feels, the lot of the poet, in whose hands every great experience becomes a work of art, is much happier than that of the plodding historian. "Der Dichter schafft, der Historiker erlebt nur; jener verjüngt sich an Gedanken, Empfindungen und Werken, dieser konsumiert sich daran." In comparison with the philosopher too, who always has a whole series of answers at hand, the poor historian, who has scarcely "eine Frage frei an das Schicksal," is at a disadvantage (November 29, 1836—*LN*, 171–173).

On February 20, 1818 (*LN*, 85–88), Raumer opposes false theories of historical objectivity and combats the notion that the historian should be merely a reflector or a writing-machine. Ideal and idea, he says, are to reality as a glove is to the hand. His criticism of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Machiavelli, Johannes von Müller and Schiller as historians is noteworthy. Herodotus, he thinks, has the advantage of priority and anticipated the crowning glory of Thucydides. Livy, after the Greeks, seems to him excessively rhetorical. Machiavelli is too much steeped in the ancient point of view, and like Müller burdened with a superabundance of petty detail. How far Raumer stands behind our modern school of historiography, however, is disclosed by his exaggerated praise of Schiller's historical writings. But speaking of the *History of the Thirty Years' War*, he says justly enough: "Er hat die schwere Aufgabe vollkommen gelöst, diesen schwierigen Gegenstand so darzustellen, dass das Buch von Anfang bis zu Ende anziehend ist." He praises also Schiller's grouping and arrangement of the work as a whole and objects only to an excess of "Prachtaufsatz und Schaugericht," but he has learned from Schiller alone how closely the poet is related to the historian, and that history is an art.

Speaking of his colleague Schlosser, with whom he was not on good terms, Raumer exclaims: (December 31, 1823—*LB*, 155–156):

> Oft ist es fast unbegreiflich, wie man das Abschwächen, Umdeuten, auf den Kopf stellen, Bedunsten und Verdunsten des Wirklichen, Dichtung nennen, und die Poesie der grossartigsten Wirklichkeit, der Weltgeschichte, glatt verleugnen kann. So Urteilenden muss das Tollhaus der Sitz der höchsten Poesie, und das Intelligenzblatt nebst dem Adresskalender die Quintessenz der Geschichte sein. Dann stehen Hoffmannsche

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Doppelgänger mit ihren Siebenmeilenstiefeln an dem Umkreise des grossen literarischen Rades. . . . .

On November 19, 1824 (*LB*, 169–173), Tieck announces that Friedrich Schlegel has paid him a visit. He gives Raumer, his confidential friend, a full, frank report of the visit. This and subsequent letters, apparently used by Köpke as the basis for his narrative (II, 26 ff.), are one of the best sources for Tieck's later relations to the Schlegels. Haym restricts himself almost entirely to the time before 1805[13] and Enders too in his book on Friedrich lays the main stress upon this period. Tieck had not seen Friedrich for many years, and Wilhelm not since 1802, though he always recalled them rather fondly as the friends of his youth and corresponded with them occasionally. When he began to collect his works in 1828, he inscribed the second volume to Friedrich and the fifth to Wilhelm. In the dedication to the former he admits that Friedrich and he have drifted apart, or rather that Friedrich, in deserting poetry almost entirely in favor of religion, has drifted away from him. To what extent this was true is disclosed by the letter under discussion. He calls Friedrich an old friend but confesses that he needs a confidant like Raumer or the deceased Solger with whom to discuss the important conversation which he has had with him. After all, he states frankly, there never existed a full understanding between him and Friedrich.

Denn ich war mit Friedrich ja niemals mehr einig als jetzt auch; unser Verständnis war auch von frühen Jahren nur eine Annäherung zueinander. Er sah damals auf mich gutmütig herab und ehrte mit fast ausschliessender Liebe mein Talent; aber mich eigentlich zu verstehen, hielt er doch nicht der Mühe wert, und wenn ich einmal den Ansatz nahm, ihn verstehen zu wollen, so wandelte sich Spinozism, Fichtianism, Platonism und wie es Namen haben mochte, in Geheimniskrämerei und ich wurde freundlich ironisch abgewiesen, wie der Meister vom Stuhle etwa den Schüler des ersten Grades von sich schickt. Gerade so ist es denn auch jetzt, nur haben sich die Gegenstände des Geheimnisses geändert. Und doch würde ich es beschwören, dass dieser exzentrische Geist nur wenige Menschen mehr liebte als mich, dass er noch wenigern so viel vertraut. Von meinen neuesten Arbeiten hatte er nur weniges und flüchtig gelesen, und wenn ich ihm Folge leistete, so begrübe ich die Novellen, die ich vielleicht noch schreibe, lieber unbedingt in Vergessenheit. Alles dies sei schwacher Wein der Poesie, mit zu vielem Wasser des Verstandes gemischt. Kann sein.

[13] For this earliest period see also the present writer's article, "Die ersten Beziehungen Ludwig Tiecks zu den Brüdern Schlegel" (*JEGPh.*, January, 1928)

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Ich antwortete ihm: dass es doch von mir ganz charakterlos sein würde, einem fremden, mir unverständlichen Begriff zu gefallen, das aufzugeben, wozu mich Begeisterung unbezwinglich treibe. Darauf sagte er nichts. Er kam aber immer wieder auf diesen Punkt zurück. Auch steht es in seiner Literatur gedruckt, dass unser modernes Leben, wie jede Gegenwart, sich nicht poetisch und romantisch in Schauspiel und Erzählung behandeln lasse. Was ich aber eben nicht glaube. Und wie muss er sich dort selber drehen und wenden, um den Don Quixote, das poetischte aller Bücher, zu retten. Und Wilhelm Meister! Kurz, wir waren hier durch Klüfte in der Überzeugung getrennt. Er verehrt jetzt nur die trunkene Poesie des Calderon und der Orientalen, die im berauschten Schwulst oft so unendlich nüchtern ist. Er wirft mir vor, ich hätte den Sinn für Calderon verloren: Er den für Shakespeare, was gewiss schlimmer ist.

Friedrich also expressed his interest in Tieck's *Cevennen*, which was just then in proof, but he did not ask permission to see the sheets, being disappointed when Tieck assured him that he was not dealing with the material from a polemical or theological point of view. For Schlegel, says Tieck, the Church now seems everything.

Ich will es nicht tadeln [he adds] aber draussen müssen auch Leute wohnen dürfen. Das freche Antasten der Heiligtümer und des Geheimnisses ist mir ferner wie tausend anderen; gibt es ja selbst Millionen frommer Katholiken, die sich ohne Papst und dessen Satzungen behelfen.

Learning and art, which Friedrich had once worshipped, he now merely tolerates. Worldly things he has come to regard as unessential because mankind is after all engaged in a deep slumber and knows not whence or whither it is bound. Having studied history and current events (at Frankfurt) for many years, he feels their vanity and considers his spiritual views—Tieck calls them crotchets—irrefutable. Of Solger he has a poor opinion; Raumer he rates highly without having read him. In fact, remarks Tieck, he is too prejudiced to occupy himself with anything but his own thoughts.[14]

Dann lieset man überall keine Geschichte mehr, wenn man sich so borniert, sondern nur seine Vorliebe, oder Hass. Das Interesse am Spiel jener freien Fäden, wo Schicksal, Laune, Leidenschaft und Zufall eins geworden, ist für ihn nicht da; und doch ist wie im kleinen, in allem die

[14] Cf. Tieck's letter to Count York-Wartenburg of March 1, 1853 (pub. by L. H. Fischer, *Aus Berlins Vergangenheit*, Berlin, 1891, p. 177), wherein Tieck confesses he was astonished at Friedrich's "incomprehensible progress in superstition." Cf. also a letter to von Brinkman of November 17, 1835 (*Euphorion*, Ergh. 13, p. 61 ff.).

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Grösse erkennen, erst Gott erkennen. Soll Gott ein Papst, oder Superintendent, oder einsamer Forscher sein; so ist es mit meiner Einsicht am Ende, und man täte gut, alle Bücher und auch das Leben ebenso zuzuschlagen.

Tieck ends the letter with the opinion that even if Friedrich, a despiser of dialectics, should ever publish his philosophy, it would consist merely of "Sätze und Ausprüche."

Raumer replied to this letter on November 26 (*LB*, 174–78), condemning Friedrich's attitude as unreasonable and stupid. He deplores also Friedrich's inordinate emphasis upon death and his desire to force all Christianity into a single form. Then follows a refutation of Friedrich's claims for oriental poetry, which Raumer calls "Ballen voll platten Verstandes in buntes Papier gewickelt." Schlegel's objections to Tieck's *Cevennen* call forth a warm defence of Tieck, his art and his style, in particular his Novelle *Dichterleben*:

Mir ist Ihre Dichtergabe beim Lesen Ihres Dichterlebens wieder einmal recht wie ein Wunder erschienen; neben dem Allerglänzendsten das Tiefsinnigste, dem Erschütternden das Mildeste, dem Ernstesten den Scherz in seiner schönsten Unbefangenheit, von der höchsten Weisheit zum höchsten Wahnsinn alle Töne angeschlagen. Daher nichts überhäuft, nichts durcheinandergerührt; die besonnenste Anklage und grösste Mässigung, die wahre Herrschaft des Genius über eine ganze Welt.

How much more reasonable the opinions of the aging Wilhelm were than those of his brother, is shown by a letter of Raumer dated July 16, 1827 (*LB*, 215–217), wherein he reports the gist of some recent conversations with the former. Taking issue with his younger brother, Wilhelm called Tieck's *Cevennen* not only a work of art but a meritorious deed,[15] and denounced his brother Friedrich in no uncertain terms.

So unangenehm, dies äusserte er, ihm Gespräche der Art wären, wünsche er doch, dass Männer wie ich erführen, wie er denke. Des Bruders Tun und Lassen, sein Einspinnen in gewisse Kreise, sein Verwerfen anderer usw. machen ihm tiefen Kummer, und es sei die höchste Pflicht, das Palladium protestantischer Gedankenfreiheit und den Gedanken fortschreitender, möglicher und heilsamer Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts festzustellen.

[15] Cf. also Wilhelm's letter to Tieck of March 30, 1828 (Holtei, *op. cit.*, III, 296).

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Wilhelm, it appears, had steadfastly remained the ardent champion of a liberal Protestantism. A year later, on October 6, 1828 (*LB*, 272), Tieck, having lived with Wilhelm at Bonn for sixteen days, confirms the impression of Raumer. He reports that during these days he felt as close to Wilhelm as he had ever felt a quarter century before, and that he could discover no essential change in him.

Auf den Bruder in Wien ist er sehr böse. Man kann ihm nicht unrecht geben. Wenn er öffentlich gegen ihn auftreten wird, so wird es ganz von der Art und Weise abhängen, ob er etwas Treffliches oder Tadelnswürdiges tut. Ich habe seine Leidenschaftlichkeit zu mässigen gesucht, aber die fünfzehn Vorlesungen des Friedrich sind für mich ganz ungeniessbar; ich habe in Bonn oft den Ansatz genommen, habe aber kein Interesse für diese sophistischen und grösstenteils schlecht geschriebenen Anklagen des Bessern, und Verteidigungen des Schlechten finden können.

On January 11, 1829, Friedrich died rather suddenly in Dresden. On April 2 Tieck writes Raumer once more how the deceased friend had drifted away from him (*LB*, 289–292):

Die erschütternde plötzliche Wirklichkeit war mehr ein körperlicher Schreck als ein Seelenverlust, und doch muss ich mir das Zeugnis geben, dass ich zu diesem Entfremden und gegenseitigen Ableben nichts aus Eigensinn oder willkürlichem Unglauben und Unfrommheit tat; ich konnte es aber ebenso wenig hindern. Die Liebe ist aber dadurch unbegreiflich, dass ich ihn dennoch lieben musste, obgleich sich unser Wollen und Erkennen und unsere Wahrheit fast gar nicht berührten; obgleich er mir in manchen Stunden wie ein Gespenst erschien, für welches es keine Wahrheit mehr geben kann.

An equally valuable commentary on Wilhelm Schlegel is offered by Wilhelm himself in a letter to Raumer of August 17 of the same year (*LB*, 301–2). Wilhelm confesses that the only persons with whom he could ever reach an understanding were his brother Friedrich "when he was still a thinker," and Schelling. The admission, "meine Lorbeeren blühen nicht in Deutschland," he explains by the fact that long ago he had withdrawn from criticism of literature and has devoted himself exclusively to history and philosophy, also that he is now more at home in Asia than in Europe. He adds, strangely enough, that he never claimed to be a theorist, except occasionally when he caught the fever from his contemporaries. The Romantic poets, he says, would have seemed barbarians to Aristotle, whose Poetics, "fahl und aschgrau," never

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influenced him. Spinoza, Leibnitz and Kant he disclaims as being no friends of art and poetry. He states boldly that Fichte, who often wished to instruct him in poetry, merely amused him.

When a certain unidentified literary work appeared attacking Wilhelm, Tieck wrote to Raumer on February 3, 1830 (*LB*, 311–312), in his defence. In the case of a scholar, he says, we are wont to pardon filth, cynicism, tobacco, indolence, self-will, coarseness, a dull wit and unsociability,

> wenn aber ein ausgezeichneter Mann einmal (aus Hass gegen die Steife der meisten deutschen Gelehrten) den Chevalier etwas spielt, da verdammen wir ihn. Schlegel ist auf seine Ringe um nichts eitler wie ich auf manche meiner Bücher. Der Mensch ist dabei so kindlich und wohlwollend, dass ich dies und manches gern übersehe, wenn ich es auch nicht loben kann. . . . .

With this generous statement, the last of any consequence in the Raumer-Tieck correspondence, we may close our excursus on the Schlegel brothers, neither of whom, unfortunately, lived up to the promise of his youth. For the later letters of Wilhelm to Tieck (1828–1841) the reader is referred to Holtei.

The sixtieth anniversary of Tieck's birthday in 1833, celebrated publicly with great eclat in Berlin and privately in Dresden, is re-echoed in the correspondence. On June 6 (*LN*, 163–164) Raumer makes a post-festum report on the very successful Berlin festivities, only marred subsequently by a scurrilous letter sent to Raumer by an anonymous writer, because in his address on that occasion he had praised the Prussian Chancellor Hardenberg.[16] Raumer was known as a man of strong royalist leanings (*LB*, 151–153). On June 9 Tieck replied (*LN*, 154–155), thanking all his well-wishers in his native Berlin for the flattering demonstration. He adds:

> Nun freilich, mein Geliebter, sind sechzig Jahre vorübergegangen. Ich war an diesem Tage sehr ernst gestimmt, so heiter ich auch den hier in Dresden versammelten Freunden erschien. Mein Leben ist nicht ganz zwecklos entschwunden, aber wie viel mehr, wie viel Besseres hätte ich leisten können, wenn ich nicht manchmal Mut und Lust verloren hätte. Freilich brechen Schicksale, Krankheit und anderes auch wohl die Knospen oft ab, bevor die Blume hervorgewachsen ist.

A feeling of gratitude, he says, pervades him, for in the main his

[16] See Holtei, I, 371.

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life has been happy and blessed with rich opportunities. Köpke quotes this passage (II, 140–141). Tieck continues:

und was mich heute am meisten rührte—wie viele wahre, liebe Freunde habe ich im Laufe meines Lebens gefunden. Viele sind mir vorangegangen, aber ich habe sie doch besessen und verstanden.

On June 21 (*LN*, 155–156) Raumer comments on these remarks, saying that illness, pain and sorrow have only served to make Tieck's life richer and more poetic and to ally him closer with such congenial spirits as Shakespeare, Camoens and Dante. "Und ich weiss nicht," he goes on to say, "ob Goethes äusserliche Allgenugsamkeit dagegen nicht als etwas erkünstelt könnte bezeichnet werden."

The death of King Frederick William III shocked the patriotic Raumer profoundly. His letter of June 8, 1840 (*LN*, 185–187), bears sincere testimony to this. But the letter ends with a note of hope:

Der Himmel hat den Preussen eine zweihundertjährige Geschichte gegönnt, günstiger als sehr vielen Völkern; gebe er auch das dritte Jahrhundert! Jedesmal nach der ominösen Zahl 40 kam der grössere Herrscher; ob auch diesmal? Gott gebe es!

Poetische, angeblich geniale Könige satteln manchmal rasch um und bleiben hinter denen zurück, welche mit einfachem, gesundem Menschenverstande ihre Pflicht erfüllen.

Less than two months later it occurred to Tieck to approach the new ruler, Frederick William IV, for though he was now at least prosperous, if not entirely happy, in Dresden, he had never foresworn his loyalty as a Prussian nor his affection for Berlin, the city of his birth. So he hit upon the idea of presenting the king with a copy of his new novel *Vittoria Accorombona* and accompanying it with a cordial note. Try as he would, however, he could not phrase the note quite to his own satisfaction. Finally he turned to Raumer for help, and on August 1 the latter wrote the note himself and sent it to Tieck for his approval and transcription. In this form Raumer publishes it (*LN*, 188–189). But it happens that the copy in Tieck's hand—the form in which it reached the king—has also been preserved. It was found in the Prussian archives and published by L. H. Fischer.[17] A comparison of the two versions shows that Tieck actually copied Raumer's draft

[17] *Aus Berlins Vergangenheit* (Berlin, 1891), pp. 108–9.

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verbatim, adding only a brief introductory paragraph and a single unimportant word. The king's reply, published also by Fischer, was prompt and cordial and paved the way for Tieck's happy removal to Berlin, pursuant to the king's offer. But neither Fischer nor any other writer on Tieck seems aware of the part played by the faithful Raumer in this transaction!

We have noted cases of self-depreciation on Tieck's part. The letter to Raumer of December 6, 1822 (*LB*, 140–142), contains another striking passage of that kind:

> Kennten Sie alle meine Schwächen und Mängel, die grossen Lücken in meiner Kenntnis, hauptsächlich aber jene kleinliche Hypochondrie, die mir oft Mut zu Leben und Arbeit nimmt, so würden Sie mich weit geringer anschlagen. Und mein Arbeiten! Mein Bestreben mag ein nicht unlöbliches gewesen sein; aber wie Weniges und wie Geringes ist geschehen und ausgeführt gegen das, was meine jugendliche Phantasie von meinen Fähigkeiten erwartete. Und warum ist so vieles und vielleicht das Beste unterblieben? Wären es grosse, eigentliche Schicksale, so könnte ich doch beruhigter sein: nein, Launen, Verwöhnungen, Aufschieben, Trägheit, Lust am Lesen, Schwelgen im Geist, Übermut im Projektieren, Spielen mit dem Leben, und hauptsächlich jener verächtliche Kleinmut, von dem Sie gar keine Vorstellung haben, der mich immer wieder dahin bringt, mich und mein Leben auf Zeiten so platt hinfallen zu lassen.

The mood in which Tieck must have been when he wrote these words was not uncommon to him. It had attacked and well-nigh overcome him very often, especially during the early years of the century, when he was approaching the age of thirty. While this should not be disregarded in any estimation of his character and type of mind, yet it is a mistake to attempt, as Regener does,[18] to explain the man and some of his works from this point of view. It is simply an excrescence of his nervous, demonic nature—a trait however which his detractors of all times have consistently overemphasized, paving the way for the many persistent false appraisals of the man and his writings.

One further example should not be overlooked. Speaking on June 6, 1830 (*LB*, 316–317), of Raumer's good-natured tolerance of his friends, Tieck remarks:

> Sehe ich diese Milde gegen Befreundete und Bekannte bei Ihnen, so muss ich mir ja sagen, dass Sie auch mir zu viel Gutes zuschreiben, der ich mehr, der ich Ihr wahrer Freund bin. Wie viel schlechter ich! Immer misstrauischer, härter, krittelnder gegen meine Freunde! Oft wohl das

[18] *Tieck-Studien*, Wilmersdorf-Berlin, 1903.

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Unmögliche verlangend. Daran tun Sie mir unrecht, wenn Sie mir glauben, ich sei parteiisch für Sie. Goethe sagte mir so oft ein grosses Wort: Nur wer mich liebt, soll mich tadeln. So halte ich es mit Goethe, Solger und Ihnen, und das hat Steffens so an mir missverstanden.

But Tieck was by no means a pessimist, as an undated letter to Raumer (*LB*, 325–327) proves. It is quoted extensively by Köpke (II, 141).

A thought uttered by Raumer on March 4, 1831 (*LB*, 329–330), that each friend has his own function in our lives, was echoed later by Tieck when consoling Raumer on the death of his sister. The passage occurs in Tieck's letter of August 5, 1832 (*LN*, 148–149), and is reprinted only in part by Köpke (II, 138). As an expression of Tieck's innate dualism it is worth quoting in extenso.

Ist es nicht die Seligkeit der wahren Freundschaft, dass wir von jedem echten Freunde auf eine ganz eigene andere Art geliebt werden, wie wir jedem denn auch mit einer eigentümlichen Liebe entgegenkommen! Durch der Freunde individuelle Gestalt, Schwächen und Tugenden, Talente und Vorurteile entwickelt sich eine eigene Gestaltung der Liebe, ein Gedicht, oder wie soll ich es nennen, welches jenes Allgemeine, Unbestimmte unseres menschlichen Wohlwollens oder jener schwärmenden Liebe, die Blumen und Stauden, Felsen und Sterne umarmen möchte, in ein seliges Gefühl von Vertrauen, Kraft, Mitteilung, Glauben und Zärtlichkeit verwandelt, dem sich so süss Humor, Albernheit, Scherz und zuweilen Streit beigesellt; dass wir fühlen, in unsern Freunden wird oft unser Leben (neben Vaterland, Beruf, Studien) zum Leben. So habe ich es erfahren. Wie hätte z.B. Wilhelm Schlegel die Liebe brauchen können, mit welcher ich Novalis zugetan war? Wackenroder hätte mit Solgerschen Geistesergüssen nichts anzufangen gewusst, und Solger hätte sich gewiss zurückgezogen, wäre ihm eine Freundschaft wie zu Wackenroder in mir entgegengetreten. Sie und Solger sind sich verwandt, und doch lebe ich verschieden mit beiden. Manches, was ich schon öfter mit Ihnen durchgesprochen habe, hätte ich Solger nicht, wenigstens so nicht sagen können. Liebte ich ihn darum weniger? Diese notwendige, fast kunstmässige Verschiedenheit des Betragens wird von den Menschen zu wenig beachtet. Je mehr wahre Freunde der Mensch hat, je reicher gestaltet und erwickelt er sich. Nur der selbst reiche Mensch kann auch viele reich begabte Freunde haben.

In his letter of February 12, 1837 (*LN*, 173), written soon after his wife's death, Tieck looks back over his whole life. He had known his wife, he says, since 1789.

Wieviel seitdem erlebt, erfahren, geduldet, gelernt, gefreut. Und doch ist mir jene ferne Zeit wie ein Gestern. Ich weiss es gar nicht anzufangen,

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um in diesem Sinne alt zu werden. Nun sind es siebzehn Jahre, dass Solger starb—und ich rede ihn in Gedanken noch manchmal wie einen Lebenden an: wie gestern, als Wackenroder starb—das sind nun bald 38 [read 39] Jahre. Ich verstehe andere alte Männer nicht, wenn ich höre: ja, das war damals! vor vielen, vielen Jahren! Was man erlebt, wahrhaft erlebt, ist ja ein für immer Gegenwärtiges, kann gar nicht verloren gehen, wird ja mit meiner Seele eins! So jede Überzeugung, Anschauung, Erfahrung, Vision und Idee. Und dennoch ist mein Leben ein fortsummender Traum, wie das der meisten Menschen. Dies scheint Widerspruch und ist es doch nicht.

He confesses that his friend Toll, who died 47 years before, still lives so vividly in his recollection that he would hardly be surprised to meet him at the next corner. Further:

Kann ich mir ableugnen, dass ich dieselbe Freude an Poesie, Kunst, Malerei, Geschichte—und selbst an Albernheiten und Kindereien habe als in meiner Jugend. Als Jüngling war ich übermütiger, aber in vielen Stunden auch altklüger als jetzt: es gab selbst Stunden trostloser Leere, die ich seit meinem 30. Jahre niemals wieder erlebt habe. Aber ich habe auch früh eingesehen, dass die tiefsten Schmerzen zum notwendigen Einschlag unseres Lebens gehören.

With the year 1841 the correspondence of Tieck and Raumer ends, due no doubt to Tieck's long visit to Potsdam in 1841 and his removal to Berlin later in 1842, where he had the advantage of frequent meetings with Raumer. During Tieck's declining years their friendship thus became even closer than before (Köpke, II, 137). And when Tieck died on April 28, 1853, Raumer was among the most active in arranging the obsequies. The following letter, in the possession of the present writer, and apparently hitherto unpublished, shows Rauch, the sculptor, addressing Raumer for information with regard to the preparation of Tieck's tombstone in the Dreifaltigkeitskirchhof in Berlin, and Raumer in turn approaching the publisher Georg Ernst Reimer for the same purpose—all three equally solicitous for the perpetuation of a friend's memory. The letter runs as follows:

[In Rauch's Hand]

Ich hoffte gestern Abend bei Überbringung der mir zugesandten Papiere Tiecks Denkmal betreffend, zugleich Sie, verehrtester Freund, zu bitten, von der Familie des seel. Professor Buttmann[19] zu erfahren, ob in deren

[19] The reference is to Philipp Buttmann (1764–1829), a classical philologist, whose tombstone, by Friedrich Tieck, is in the Dorotheenstadt cemetery, Berlin.

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Händen sich noch das Modell Friedr. Tiecks[20] des am Grabmal desselben befindlichen Basreliefs[21] befinde, oder auch wohl Kenntniss eines anderen von der Familie zu erlangen sey?—Es stellt sich nämlich heraus, dass ausser der Büste und verzierten Konsole, gemeintes Basrelief mit einem Inschriftsraum, von den übersichtlichen Mitteln in Carraraer Marmor ausgeführt werden könnte.

Der G. Dir. Herr von Alfers äusserte sich zwar beifällig über diese Angabe u. diese Aufstellung. Würde aber erst mit dem Baumeister über die allgemeine Anordnung der Museumshalle u. Wand Rücksprache zu nehmen seyn. Worüber Sie denselben auch wohl noch sprechen würden etc.

Bald hoffe ich Ihnen die bestimmten Kosten aller Grab- u. der in der Mus. halle aufzustellenden Marmore definitiv anzugeben die Ehre haben, wenn ich die Nachricht über das Basrelief-Modell haben werde.

Hochachtungsvoll,
Ihr ergebenster Freund
Rauch.

Berlin,
23. Nov. 54.

[In Raumer's Hand]

H. Buchhändler Reimer, Berlin.
Können Sie die umstehende Frage gütigst beantworten, oder mir angeben, wo Auskunft zu erhalten sey?

F. v. Raumer.

[In Reimer's Hand]

Mir selbst ist darüber nichts bekannt, ich habe aber eben mit dem gerade anwesenden Dr. Göschen, Schwager vom [illegible word—Theologen (?)] Buttmann[22] verabredet,dass er Erkundigung danach einzieht, die ich dann nicht verfehlen werde mitzutheilen.

G. Reimer.

B. 22/11.54.

In conclusion I quote the following final appraisal of Tieck written by Raumer about 1869, sixteen years after Tieck's death:

Ich habe Köpkes Leben Tiecks wieder gelesen. Es hat 50 Jahre meines eigenen Lebens vor mir vorübergeführt und mich aufs lebhafteste erregt. Um Tieck (den überreichen Mittelpunkt des ganzen) scharten sich in Dresden ausgezeichnete Männer und Frauen, eine wahre Musterkarte der mannigfachsten Richtungen und Entwickelungen. Alle Arten von Gedanken und Empfindungen kamen zur Sprache, und wer es verstand,

[20] Christian Friedrich Tieck (1776–1851), the younger brother of Ludwig, was a prominent scu'ptor and adherent of Rauch's school.

[21] There is a note in the left margin in Raumer's hand: NB.

[22] This probably refers to one of Philipp Buttmann's sons.

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den edlen Erzen Funken zu entlocken, dem ward Licht und Leben reichlich zu Teil. Diesem Paradiese der Freuden und Genüsse gegenüber eröffnete sich aber auch (dem Vertrauen Geniessenden) eine Reihe der bittersten Schmerzen, und diese Dissonanzen ertönten nicht schwächer als die Konsonanzen. Während dieser Wogen von Freude und Schmerz blieb unverändert Tiecks herzliche und treue Freundschaft. Für alle meine literarischen Bestrebungen zeigte er die höchste Teilnahme, und weit entfernt, mich einzuschüchtern oder zu verhätscheln, belehrte und stärkte mich der gelehrte und ästhetische Kritiker in meinem Berufe (*LN*, II, 285).

Though neither Tieck nor Raumer was a critic of the first rank, yet in the main, they showed themselves at least consistent in their views and critical standards. That they influenced each other is apparent. Raumer aroused Tieck's dormant interest in history, politics and current events and aided him in developing into a historical novelist. He strengthened Tieck's desire to leave Dresden for Berlin after 23 years' residence in the Saxon capital. Tieck inspired Raumer with a love for literature and the theatre, but especially for Shakespeare. He awakened in him a penchant for literary finesse and Romantic adornment, which helped to keep the Romantic attitude toward history alive in Germany throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and to make Raumer's works popular in their day.

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LI

A NEW MANUSCRIPT OF THE "RÉCITS D'UN MÉNESTREL DE REIMS"

THE charming collection of legends, anecdotes and fables known as the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*[1] is one of the gems of Old French literature, comparable, in its naïveté and grace, to the prose parts of *Aucassin et Nicolette*. It has been published three times under different names. The latest, and the only critical edition is that by N. de Wailly, entitled *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*.[2]

De Wailly's edition[3] is based on the six manuscripts known at that time. These are the following: *A* London, Brit. Mus. Add. 11753; *B* Rouen, Bib. mun. 0 53 (now 1142); *C* Paris, Bib. nat, franç. 10149; *D* Brussels, Bib. royale 10478–79 (known only by the De Smet edition); *E* Paris, Bib. nat. franç. 24430 (reproduced in the edition of L. Paris); *F* London, Brit. Mus. Add. 7103. These manuscripts he divides into two families, *ABC—DEF*, according to the presence or absence of the fable of the wolf, the she-goat and the two dogs, and according to the attitude taken by the redactor, or the scribe, to the sons of Bouchard D'Avesnes, first husband of the Countess Margaret of Flanders. The edition is based on the manuscripts of the first family, especially *A*, but the text is somewhat eclectic in character. In 1879 a seventh manuscript was discovered by Professor Kr. Nyrop in the Royal

[1] For a description and appreciation of this text, see especially: *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXI, 712 ff (V. Le Clerc); N. de Wailly, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscript.*, XXVII, 2 (1876), 287 ff; A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, no. 2528; Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, I, 1016 ff; G. Paris, *La litt. franç. au Moyen Age*, 6th éd., p. 154; Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Stud. der altfr. Literatur*, 3d ed., p. 456.

[2] Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, Renouard, 1876. The earlier editions were those of L. Paris, *Chronique de Reims*, Paris, 1837, and De Smet, *Chronique de Flandres et des Croisades*, in the *Recueil des chroniques de Flandres*, III, Brussels, 1856. A fragment also in Pertz, *Script. rer. germ.*, XXVI, 523.

[3] See the Notice, pp. xvii–xl.

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Library of Copenhagen and described[4] in detail by him. It belongs to the second family, and seems to be closely allied to *D*. Such is the manuscript tradition of this text so far as known to me.

In the summer of 1927, while examining in the British Museum the manuscript of the *Roman de Florimont*, Harley 3983, I chanced to notice that the second part of this codex contains a text in prose vaguely described by Ward[5] as a "French chronicle of France and England, with some special reference to the Crusades." A closer inspection soon convinced me that this text is in fact an eighth version of the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, differing in some particulars from those found in the other manuscripts. The manuscript Harley 3983 has long been known, and it seems remarkable that the document in the second part has never before been identified. But the manuscript has probably been consulted only by those interested in the *Florimont*. As an edition of this romance has been promised since 1885, it is not difficult to understand why the rest of the manuscript has escaped notice.

The manuscript Harley 3983 is a small folio, in vellum, containing 114 leaves. The first 81 leaves are filled by a copy of the *Roman de Florimont*, dated 1323.[6] After a leaf left blank, the text of the *Récits* begins, and occupies all the rest of the manuscript. The hand is, I believe, nearly if not quite identical with that of the copyist of the *Florimont*, Thomas le Huchier. Probably it is a different "module" of the same hand. In any case, the text must have been copied very soon after the *Florimont*. The text of the *Récits* is written continuously, two columns to the page, forty lines to the column. It is not divided into chapters with rubrics, therein agreeing with the MSS *ABC* of De Wailly. The paragraphs, which do not agree with those of any other manuscript, are indicated by initial capitals in red and

[4] See *Romania*, VIII, 429–433.

[5] *Catalogue of Romances in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum*, I, 159–160.

[6] This date is given by the scribe, who has added to the ordinary conclusion of the *Florimont* the following six verses:

L'an mil CCC et XX et trois,
I mois devant la sainte crois,
Fist Thomas le Huchier cest livre,
Moult en fu lié qui en fu delivre.
Le tiers jour de l'Assumption
Acompli sa devotion.

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blue. There are 198 paragraphs in all. The hand is in general clear and legible, but in several places the pages have been so rubbed that the ink has become effaced. Some passages are quite indecipherable. Unfortunately, the copyist of this manuscript (which we may call *H*) was a careless and ignorant scribe. Many of the proper names are hopelessly disfigured, and there are many *lacunæ* and changes due to rapid writing.

Before discussing the relation of this manuscript *H* to the others previously known, I shall give in the following pages the complete *variæ lectiones*, omitting only the purely orthographical variants (except in the case of several proper names, where the spelling is often important). I take as base the text of De Wailly's edition, and refer to his paragraphs. The majority of *H*'s variants are not important; but all deserve consideration in case of a new edition.[7]

1. *W.* Depuis celle eure que Godefrois de Bouillon et la baronnie de France. . . . .
   H. . . . . Godefroi de Buillon et la roine de France. . . . .
2. *W.* ne ne pendoit pas les maufaiteurs à son braieul
   H. . . . . . a sa bourse (=*C*)
3. *W.* et s'assemblerent li per et li baron de France
   H. et s'assamblerent li per et li compaignon et conte de France

4ª. *W.* et autant m'est li ainsneiz comme li puisneiz
   H. car autant m'est li mainez com li ainez

4ᵇ. *W.* si en faites ce que Dieus vous enseignera de bien
   H. . . . . Dieus vous enseigne (=*B*) de bien

5. *W.* dient li baron et li per
   H. dient li per

6ª. *W.* la duchoise Elienor, qui mout fu male famme. Et tenoit le Mainne et Anjo et Poiteu et Limoge et Tourainne, et bien trois tans de terre que li rois ne tenoit
   H. la duchoise Elyenor qui mout fu male femme et estoit duchoise

[7] I give as much of De Wailly's text as may be necessary to understand and place the variant. In printing the text of *H* I have resolved all the abbreviations of the MS, which are numerous but commonplace. The sign 9 is always equivalent to *com* or *con*, *comme* being written *9me*. I have indicated in parenthesis the agreement of *H* with the variants of the other MSS, whenever such variants are given by De Wailly, but not introduced into his text. The reading of the edition is indicated by *W*, that of the MS Harley 3983 by *H*. Furthermore, I add sometimes explanatory or critical notes, especially when *H* differs in statements of fact from the other MSS.

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de Normendie[8] et tenoit Alemaigne (=*B*) et bien (*here a numeral impossible to decipher*) temps de terre que li rois ne tenoit

6[b]. *W*. il li prist talant
H. il li prist volentés (=*F*)

6[a]. *W*. et monterent sour meir à une saint Jehan, et nagierent par meir; et furent un mois en la menaide des venz
H. et monterent sour mer et furent en menede un mois des venz

7. *W*. mouvoir d'Escaloigne où il estoit, et aleir à Sur atout le druguement
H. mouvoir de Couloigne . . . . avec le drugement

8[a]. *W*. que nous ne soiens perceu
H. que nous n'i soions perceu

8[b]. *W*. atant prist deus damoiseles et deus coffres
H. atant prist deus damoiseles et touz ses coffres (=*B*)

8[c]. *W*. au plus coiement qu'elle pot
H. au plus tost qu'elle pot

8[d]. *W*. et l'esveilla et li dist: Sire, malement est
H. et l'esveilla. Ay sire, dist elle, mal est

8[e]. *W*. ma dame s'en veut aleir en Escaloingne à Solehadin
H. ma dame s'en veut aler a Couloigne a Salehadin

9. *W*. il furent si sourpris qu'il n'orent pouoir d'eus deffendre
H. il furent si souspris qu'il ne s'orent pooir de deffendre (=*AB*)

10. *W*. si denier li aloient faillant
H. si denier li faloient

11. *W*. vous la laissiez aleir
H omits aleir (=*BCDEF*)

13[a]. *W*. ot non Ale
H. ot non Alis (=*E*)

13[b]. *W*. qui tant valut à ces jours
H. qui tant valut a ce jour

13[c]. *W*. à Rains
H. de Rains

15. *W*. et pou estoit prisiez en son regne et petit douteiz de ses anemis
H omits petit

16. *W*. et fu enfouiz richement alonc son pere, à Saint Denis en France, leiz le roi Raoul le Jousticiere
H. et fu enfouiz richement a son pere le roy Raoul le Justicier a Saint Denis en France[9]

[8] Eleanor did not become duchess of Normandy till her second marriage to Henry II. This error reappears in several medieval texts, notably in the biography of the troubadour Bernart de Ventadour.

[9] Here the word order in *H* differs from that of all the other MSS and seems to represent better the thought of the author, since, according to an earlier paragraph, Louis VII was the son of "Raoul le Justicier."

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17a. *W.* et seroit roine d'Engleterre se il sourvivoit le roi son pere
H. . . . . se elle sorvivoit . . . . (=*BCDEF*)
17b. *W.* troverent le roi Phelipe à Monloon
H. . . . . . a Meleun (=*D*)
17c. *W.* la lettre
H. les leitres
18. *W.* et dist aus mesagiers que si feroit il volentiers
H. et dist aus m. que il li envoieroit volentiers (=*BCDEF*)
19. *W.* il en alita au lit de la mort, dont il mourut
H. il alita au lit mortel, dont il m.
20. *W.* et li rois ses freres s'i acordoit
H omits li rois
21. *W.* je le vuel bien
H. je veill bien
23a. *W.* il fist soupeir ses chevaliers et sa gent de haute eure
H. il f. souper sa gent de haute heure et ses chevaliers
23b. *W.* li rois Henriz estoit acoudeiz en une couche
H. li rois H. estoit acoutés a une couche (=*B*)
24a. *W.* si trait l'espée et li court sus apertement
H. si trait l'espee apertement et li court sus
24b. *W.* et li destourne son coup à faire
H. et li destourbe son coup a faire
26. *W.* et tant qu'il le trouverent vilainnement traitié, car il le trouverent estranglei
H. et le trouverent vilainnement estranglé (*cf. BDE*: il le t. est.)
27. *W.* atant vous lairai à parleir dou roi Hanri
H omits à parleir
29a. *W.* li sires de Baru et li sires de Saiete
H. li sires de Barui, li sires de Gaiete
29b. *W.* et pourchacierent au patriarche de Jherusalem qu'il feroit laissier le roiaume le roi Guion, car il n'estoit mie dignes (ce disoient) d'estre rois
H. et porchassierent au patriarche de J. que folie seroit qui le roiaume laisseroit Guion, car il n'estoit mie (ce disoient) de gens pour estre rois[10]
30a. *W.* quant la roïne entendi
H. quant la dame oï
30b. *W.* sire, comment avenra ce
H. sire, comment sera ce
30a. *W.* li roiaumes en porroit bien estre perdus et cheoir es mains des Sarrezins

[10] This passage shows many variations in the different MSS, but none agrees exactly with *H*'s reading, which seems to me to represent the thought better than those of the other MSS.

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H. . . . . perdus et charroit en mainz de S.

31. *W*. ce estoit veriteiz
H. c'estoit voirs

32ª. *W*. et vous, sire patriarche, jureiz
H. et vous, sire patriarche, fait la roine, jurés

32ᵇ. *W*. tuit li baron le jurerent ainsi comme la roine l'avoit devisei
H. tuit li autre b. li j. issi com elle l'avoit devisé a faire

32ᶜ. *W*. et je vous otroi et doins la couronne et le roiaume et moi et m'amour
H omits m'amour

33ª. *W*. chascuns d'eus cuidoit avoir la couronne outréement
H omits outreement (=*E*)

33ᵇ. *W*. atant se departirent d'enqui
H. atant s'en partirent d'ainsi

33ᶜ. *W*. et cuillierent un parlement d'une morteil traïson
H. et firent un p. *etc.* (=*D*)

36ª. *W*. et burent li uns dou sanc à l'autre
H. et burent dou sanc li un de l'autre

36ᵇ. *W*. au roi Guion
H omits Guion

36ᶜ. *W*. nous baisserons nos bannieres
H. nous laisserons cheoir nos banieres[11]

38. *W*. mi fautable (*only in A*)
H. mi fautable

39. W. et venoient souvent li baron à lui parleir
H. li quens de Tripe et li autre baron qui avoient porparlee la mortel traison venoient souvent parler a lui

40. *W*. si me vuel à vous conseillier que nous en ferons
H. si me veil a vous conseillier en bone foy que nouz en ferons

41. *W*. je ne m'en descorderai mie
H. je ne m'en descorderé ja

43. *W*. si escrie ses genz et fait sonneir cors et buisines
H. si escria ses genz et fist sonner c. et b.

45ª. *W*. atant se feri entr'eus
H. atant se refiert entr'euz

45ᵇ. *W*. car trop estoient li Sarrezin
H. car trop i avoit Sarrezin

48ª. *W*. et le laissast laienz entreir
H. et les laissat laiens entrer

48ᵇ. *W*. si fist sa tente drecier et fu enqui une piece que il n'avoit pouoir de riens faire
H. si fist sa tente d. et ainsi sist une piece ne n'ot pooir de riens faire

[11] Here MS *D* has: *laisserons n. b.*; *E*: *lairoient cheoir n. b.*; *F*: *lairons cheoir n. b.* *H*'s reading may well be the source of the different readings of this family of MSS.

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48c. *W.* et s'en ala en sa chambre
H. et s'en entre en sa c. (*D*: s'en entra; *EF*: rentra)
49a. *W.* et vint à ses eures à la tente le roi
H. et vint a celle heure (=*D*) a la tente le roy
49b. *W.* et mout se conjoïrent si comme preudons doit faire et preude fame
H. . . . . . si com preudons doit a sa preudefame
49c. *W.* mout i ot à souffrir, car il n'i pouoit preu esploitier
H. et molt y out à souffrir car il n'i pooit riens faire (cf. *DEF*: riens conquester)
50. *W.* et envoia maintenant un legat en France et un en Engleterre et un en Alemaingne
H. omits et un en Alemaingne
51a. *W.* et mout d'autre baron qui ne sont mie nommei en mon ditier
H. et molt d'autres baronz qui ne sont mie ci nomez
51b. *W.* il arriverent à Sur à un mercredi matin
H. il a. a S. a un merguedi a matin
52. *W.* il n'en eschaperoit fors que par la hart
H. il n'en eschaperoit fors par la mort
53. *W.* car li Sarrezin leur ardoient à feu grejois leur perrieres et leur mangoniaus. Et sachiez que li rois Phelipes n'assailloit mie
H. car li S. lor ardoient a feu g. lor pierres (=*CF*) et lor m. et li rois P. n'assaloit mie
54a. *W.* car il faisoit engins charpenteir à grant plantei
H. car il f. charpenter engins a grant esploit
54b. *W.* et commencierent à geteir grosses pierres et bruianz qui confondoient quanqu'elles ateingnoient
H. et commencierent a ruer g. p. qui c. quanques elles ellez (*sic*) ataindoient
55a. *W.* et li dist: Sire, veez là le treif le roi Richart, et veez là le treif le conte Phelipe de Flandres . . . . et touz les treis aus autres barons
H omits all this passage.
55b. *W.* adonc regarda li Sarrezins et vit touz les engins au roi Phelipe.
H. Lors resgarda li S. et vit les enseignes (=*E*) le roy Phelipe
55c. *W.* adonc respondi li latimiers et dist: Ce sont li engin au roi Phelipe de France
H. li latimiers respondi (=*A*) et dist: Sire pere, ce sont li engien le roy Phelippe de F.
56. *W.* une grant bracie dou mur
H. une grant toise de mur
57. *W.* près s'aloit que il n'enrajoit
H. pres aloit (=*B*) que il ne perdit le senz
59a. *W.* mais il nou trouva pas esbaï ne desgarni
H. mais il nes trouva pas esbahiz nè desgarnis

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59b. *W*. et apres i vint li cuens Henriz et asseiz autre baron
H. et apres vint li rois Phelippes et molt d'autres barons[12]
60. *W*. et avoient traitié comment il receveroit mort
H. et devoient traitier (=*BC*) comment il r. mort
61a. *W*. si me la faites metre ou col
H. si la me faitez meitre ou col[13]
61b. *W*. vous estes traïz et morz
H. vous estes mors et trahis (=*ABCDE*)
61c. *W*. Hé. dist li rois, biaus parrins, pour quoi vous i acordastes vous? —En non Dieu, biaus filleus, il m'eussent ocis
H. Ha, Diex, dist li rois, biaus parrains, vous i acordastes vouz? —Oïl, en non Dieu, ou il m'eussent ocis
63a. *W*. et le rateinst, car il n'estoit mie encore mout loing, si li dist
H. et le rataint si li dist
63b. *W*. li rois li respondi et dist
H. li rois li dist
64a. *W*. et ot son eseque
H. et ot son service (*cf*. *E*: et fist on son siervice)
64b. *W*. par mon chief, dist li rois englois, je m'en rirai en Engleterre, et si tost comme je i venrai, je mouverai le roi guerre
H. par foi, dist li r. e . . . . et si tost com je i serai, je m . . . .
64c. *W*. je sai certainement
H. je sai de certainz
65a. *W*. tant erra qu'il vint en Osteriche
H. tant ala qui vint en O.
65b. *W*. fors li dus seulement
H omits seulement
66a. *W*. et en venoit à Marseilles
H. et venoit vers Marceilles
66b. *W*. et vint la nave à port de salut
H omits de salut
68. *W*. si demenerent tuit grant duel. Li cors le roi fu porteiz en Chipre, et là fu enfouiz
H. si d.t.g.d.et fu portez en Chipre et la fu enfoïs a grant honneur
69. *W*. revenrons au roi Guion et à sa famme
H. revenrons au roi Guion d'Acre et a sa fame
71. *W*. fu la meirs coie et paisible
H omits et paisible (=*E*)
72a. *W*. dist l'arcevesques Guillaumes
H. dit l'a. G. ses oncles

[12] This incident not being related by any of the other chroniclers, it is impossible to determine which reading is here correct.

[13] Here the word order in *H* undoubtedly corresponds better to Old French usage. I am inclined to question the exactness of *W*'s text.

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72b. *W.* adonc furent esleu dui d'eus
H. li rois eslut .II. d'eulz
73. *W.* et la bailla l'evesque d'Arras qui leiz lui estoit. Li evesques lut la letre et l'espondi au conte
H. et la b. l'evesque d'A. qui lors estoit. Li e. lut la letre et respondi au conte
74a. *W.* Arraz et Peronne, Bapaumes, Saint Omer, Aire, Hesdin
H omits Aire
74b. *W.* li cuens leur respondi et dist
H. li cuens lor dist
75. *W.* li arcevesques Guillaumes respondi et dist au roi
H omits et dist au roi
76. *W.* et en fist meneir la roïne a Paris, et là fu receue à grant solempnitei. Et à merveilles s'amerent entre li et le roi
H. et fu menee la roine a P. et receue a g. s. et merveilles s'entramerent li et le roy
77. *W.* ne onques ne pot oïr vraies nouveles dou roi
H omits vraies
78a. *W.* forz et bien assis
H. forz et bien seans (=*BCDEF*)
78b. *W.* s'ostesse li respondi et dist
H omits respondi et
78c. *W.* si vous di certainnement
H omits certainement
78d. *W.* et bien creons que il soit gentis hons
H. et bien creons que il est grans hons
79a. *W.* la nuit fu mout aises
H. la nuit fu molt aise (=*AB*)
79b. *W.* et dist qu'il estoit menestreus
H. et dist qu'il estoit mesterez (*sic*)
80a. *W.* se par aucune aventure porroit voir le prison
H. se par a. il pourroit veoir la prisoun
80b. *W.* et li souvint d'une chançon
H. et li menbre d'une chançon
81a. *W.* si commença à chanteir le premier mot
H omits le premier mot
81b. *W.* nus de laienz ne s'en perçut de son affaire
H. nus de laiens ne s'en prist garde
86. *W.* et li vint une pensee devant qui mout fu pesme et crueuse
H. . . . . . qui molt fu crueuse et felenesse (=*D*)
87. *W.* atant il ajorna et ala oïr messe
H. atant fu jors et ala oir m.
88a. *W.* tuit apareillié de lui aidier et de cors et d'avoir
H omits et de cors et d'avoir

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88b. *W.* a briez jourz
H. en brief jour
88c. *W.* teis qu'il l'osast encontreir ne atendre
H. . . . . . encontrer ne veïr ne atendre
89. *W.* sans salueir
H. sans salut
90a. *W.* qui estoit deleiz lui
H. qui estoit les lui
90b. *W.* ne jà ne serez teis que vous vous i voiez
H. ne ja ne serez telz que vouz vous y moustrés
91. *W.* et li baillai vostre chartre
H. et li baillie vostre leitre (=*CEF*)
92. *W.* neis et tentes et paveillons
H omits et paveillons
93a. *W.* et orent bon vent et bon orei, et arriverent à Diepe un port de Normendie
H. et orent bon vent si arriverent a Diepe, un port de mer en N.
93b. *W.* Rouen sa citei qui estoit à quatorze lieues dou port
H. R. sa cité qui estoit a .IIII. lieues dou p. (=*ABDEF*)
93c. *W.* Gisors, un sien chastel qui est forz et à merveilles bien seanz
H. G., aun sien chastel qui est fors a merveilles et bien seans
94a. *W.* espandre par ce Biauvoisin
H. espandre par le Biauvoisinz
94b. *W.* bues et vaches et porciaus
H omits et porciaus
95. *W.* le conte de Nevers, le conte de Sansuere
H. le conte de Nevers, le conte d'Ausserre (=*B*)
96a. *W.* si s'en alerent droit à Biauvais et là s'atendirent
H. . . . . . et la se tindrent
96b. *W.* et chevauchierent vers Gisors, et cil de Gisors revinrent contr'eus. Et paleterent asseiz li uns contre l'autre
H. et c. vers G. et cil de G. vers eulz et chaplerent li un a l'autre
97. *W.* manda au conte de Sansuere et au Barrois
H. manda au conte de S. et as barons (=*E*)
98a. *W.* mes sires Alains de Rouci la quinte
H omits de Rouci
98b. *W.* pour esragier les bandes
H. pour arrachier les bendes
99a. *W.* mout en i ot des navreiz et des abatuz. Et trairent les espées et s'entremellerent li un aus autres, et mout en i ot d'abatuz d'ambedeus parz
H. mout en i ot d'abatuz d'ambedeus parz[14]

[14] This variant is due either to a *homœoteleuton* or "saut du même au même" committed by the scribe of *H*, or to an expansion of the original text by the archetype of the other MSS. Either explanation is possible.

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99b. *W.* li roial en estoient esbaï
H. tuit li roial en estoient esbahi
100. *W.* li Barrois se maintenoit si bien qu'il n'encontroit chevalier qu'il ne meist à terre; et tant le resoingnoient que nus d'eus ne l'osoit atendre
H. li Barrois le faisoient si bien qu'il n'encontroient chevalier qu'il ne meissent a terre; et tant resoignoient mon segneur Williaumes des Barrez que nulz ne l'osoit atendre[15]
101. *W.* et ne peust mie remanoir que liqueis qui soit ne perdist se la bataille durast longuement
H. et ne pooit mie remaindre celle bataille s'elle durast 1.
102. *W.* li rois d'Escoce et li rois d'Irlande et li rois de Wales
H. li rois d'Escoce et li rois d'Illande et li rois de Gales
103a. *W.* et apela son conseil et de ses barons les plus vaillanz et les plus sages, et requist conseil. Et il respondirent
H. et apela son conseil et il respondirent[16]
103b. *W.* et hardieroient aus roiaus. "Et leur ferons despendre . . . .
H. et guerroieront as roiaulz et lor feront despendre . . . . (=*D*)
105a. *W.* trop estoient pou contre les roiaus
H. trop estoient poi de gent contre les roiaulz
105b. *W.* ainsi furent li François logié
H. li roial furent logié
105c. *W.* et feist on geteir trebuches
H. et feist on drecier et geter trebuchez
106. *W.* s'il n'avoit secours dou roi Richart
H. s'il n'avoit conseil du roi R. (=*ABEF*)
107. *W.* li roial se ferirent tuit à un coup dedenz le chastel, et fu pris, et la garnison prisent et retinrent, et mirent en prison
H. li roial se ferirent tuit enz a une fois eu chastel et prinrent la garnison et retinrent et mirent ens
108a. *W.* le renonc
H. le respons (*BC*: la response)
108b. *W.* si vit bien qu'il n'averoit mie le secours
H. si sot bien *etc.*
108c. *W.* qui tant est biaus et forz
H. qui tant estoit biaus et fors
108d. *W.* li rois Richarz ot achevee sa guerre
H. li rois Richart ot assevie sa guerre
109a. *W.* l'endemain ains jour fist sa gent armeir et traire celle part
H. l'e. devant le jour fist sa gent armer et errer celle part

[15] This variant agrees to a certain extent with *B*, which has however *li baron* in place of *li Barrois*. The scribe of *H* may have confused *li Barrois*, the surname of Guillaume des Barres, with *li Barrois*, the name of the inhabitants of Bar-sur-Seine.

[16] Another possible *homœoteleuton* on the part of the scribe of *H*.

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109b. *W.* mais li Vilains dist en un proverbe que "En un mui de cuidance n'a pas plein pot de sapience."
H. mais li vilains dit en un proverbe (*rest omitted*)

109c. *W.* li rois Phelipes fust li plus sages princes
H. li rois P. fust li plus sages hons

110. *W.* grant foison de baronnie esparse aval la terre à destre et à senestre
H. grant foison de Barrois espars aval et amont la terre

111a. *W.* li païs peuploit de gent
H. li païs peuple de gent

111b. *W.* il est bon que no gent soient armei
H. il est bien mestiers que nostre gent soit armee

111c. *W.* c'est li rois Richarz sans faille
H omits sans faille

113. *W.* li roial les recoillierent
H. li roial les reçurent (=*BCDEF*)

114. *W.* qu'est ce, diable, dist li rois, ies tu ce Alains?
H omits ies tu ce Alains

115. *W.* Alain retint avec lui, et l'enmena avec lui à Rouen et là sejourna
H. Alain retint avec lui a Rouen et la sejourna

116. *W.* li rois Richarz qui estoit à Rouen
H omits qui estoit a Rouen

117. *W.* par quoi il n'i pot metre conseil
H. par coi il pot meitre conseil

118. *W.* et prenoit proies et prenoit païsanz
H. et prenoit bestes, proiez et paisanz

119a. *W.* et dist que par l'ame son pere biau li estoit
H. et dist par sainte Marie bel li estoit

119b. *W.* ne ainsi ne demourroit il pas
H. ne ainsi ne demourra pas

121. *W.* ou au meinz je seroie mis en prison
H omits je seroie

122a. *W.* par foi, dient si baron et ses consauz touz, vous ne trouverez jà un tout seul de nous qui le vous lot. Mais . . . .
H. par foi, dient li baron et touz li consauz, nous ne vouz loons pas que vous vous partés de ci en tel point, car grant honte seroit. Mais . . . .

122b. *W.* mandeiz secours; et sour avoir et sour fié perdre que nus n'i demeurt
H. mandez secours sor cors et sor avoir et sor fiez a perdre etc.

123. *W.* escuz enarmeir, et selles et waraingles et poitraus apareillier, et chevaus ferreir, et penre chascun garde
H. escus enarmer, cengles, warangles et poitraus rapparreillier et penre garde chascuns

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124ª. *W.* se joindrent ensemble, la premiere eschiele à la premiere, et . . . .
H. se j. e. La premiere eschiele ala contre l'autre et . . . .
124ᵇ. *W.* dire le nombre
H. dire le compte
125. *W.* li rois françois m'eust tant donnei à faire
H. li rois f. m'eust tant donné a entendre (=*A*)
126ª. *W.* s'en va celle part où li rois Richarz estoit, et joint l'escu au col qui estoit poinz de sinople à trois chastiaus d'or
H. s'en va celle part ou li rois de sinople a .III. chastiaus d'or [17]
126ᵇ. *W.* et tint la lance baissie, et muet au roi Richart
H omits all this sentence.
127. *W.* mais la genz de chascune partie secourut le sien et furent remontei par vive force
H. mais chascune partie secourut le sien et firent remonter par vive force
128. *W.* et errerent par meir douze jourz
H. et errerent par mer .XI. jours (=*BCEF*)
131. *W.* un aubalestrier qui estoit en une tournele d'ainglee, qui sailloit plus avant que les autre tourneles
H omits d'ainglee—tourneles.
132. *W.* et disoit ainsi: Hé, rois Richarz, mourras tu donc? Ha, mors, comme ies hardie
H. et disoit ainsi: Ha, mort, com iez hardie
133. *W.* le graingneur duel que oncques gent feissent
H. le plus grant (=*B*) duel c'onques gent f.
137ª. *W.* li chevalier dirent certes
H omits certes (=*E*)
137ᵇ. *W.* et quant li sires de Chastiauvilain vit et connut son sens et sa prouesce, si vout qu'il fust chevaliers. Et fu preuz . . . .
H. et quant li sires de C. a cui il servoit (=*DEF*) vit et cognut son senz et sa p., si voult que il fust chevaliers, et le fist chevalier et fu preus . . . .
138. *W.* il leur sembloit qu'elle fust bien emploïe
H. il lor sembloit qu'elle seroit bien emploiee (=*BCDEF*)
139ª. *W.* pour la damoisele
H. por lor damoiselle (=*B*)
139ᵇ. *W.* deniers et robes, chevaus et armeures et chevaliers
H. deniers, robes, armez, chevaus et chevaliers[18]
140. *W.* il furent passei en vint un jourz
H. il furent passé en .XXXI. jorn (=*EF*)

[17] The copyist of *H* has here simply skipped one line.

[18] Here it seems evident that the order of *H* shows a finer sense of style than that of the other MSS.

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141ª. *W.* pour vostre bien et pour vostre honeur
H. pour vostre honneur et par amour
141ᵇ. *W.* nous vous donnons la roïne et la terre
H. nous vous donnons le roiaume et la dame (*BCDEF*)
141ᶜ. *W.* granz noces et beles
H. grans noces et riches
143ª. *W.* si avint un pou après que . . . .
H omits un pou apres
143ᵇ. *W.* pour la raison de son pere qui Jehans avoit non
H omits qui Jehans avoit non
145. *W.* là fu commandei
H. la fu atourné
146. *W.* lors fu acordei
H. lors fu atourné
148ª. *W.* et manderent à Saphadin le soudan
H. et manderent a Salehadin le s. (*and so always*, =*BC*)
148ᵇ. *W.* ont assise Damiete; et bien sevent que c'est la cleis de paiennime
H omits et bien sevent . . . . paiennime
149. *W.* et s'acorderent tuit qu'il i iroient
H. et s'acorderent tuit qu'il l'iroient aidier (=*BC*)
150. *W.* li uns ne forfist rien sour l'autre qui à conteir fust
H. li uns ne meffist riens l'autre qui a conter feist (*BCDF:* feist)
151. *W.* Miles de Biauvais, qui fu freres mon seigneur Gauchier de Nanteuil, et mes sires Andrieus ses freres, et mes sires Jehans d'Arcies, et li cuens de Pingin, et li sires de Loupines
H. Miles de Biauvez qui fu filz mon segneur Gautier de Nanteuil et mes sires Andrieuz sez freres, mes sirez Jehan de Pigniet (=*BCEF*), li sires de Loupines[19]
152ª. *W.* et cil esleuz
H. et cilz eslus de Biauvez (=*BC*)
152ᵇ. *W.* et monterent l'endemain sour meir et mirent six jourz en venir à Damiete
H. et monta sor mer et vinrent en .VI. jours en Damiete
153. *W.* mais aucun dirent que il seroit bon que on leur requeist devant
H omits all this phrase (=*ABDEF*)
154. *W.* aviengne quanque avenir en porra
H. aviengne quanque avenir doit
155. *W.* à ce s'acorderent toutes voies que . . . .
H. a ce s'acorderent tuit que . . . .
156. *W.* qui mout les arguoient

[19] Milon de Châtillon-Nanteuil, bishop of Beauvais, was in fact the son and not the brother of Gautier de Châtillon. See *Recueil des hist. de Gaule et de la France*, XIX, 468, note.

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H. qui molt les angoissoient

157a. *W.* mes sires Andrieus de Nanteuil ses freres
H omits de Nanteuil

157b. *W.* mes sires Jehans d'Arcies
H. mesire Jehanz d'Acre

157c. *W.* menei au Caire
H. mené a Kaire

157d. *W.* et là les mist on en dure prison
H. et la les tint en dure prison

159–160. *W.* et trousserent les letres ou coulon desouz la destre ele; atant laissent le coulon aleir. Atant laissierent le coulon aleir
H. et trousserent les leitres au coulon pour porter. Atant laissierent le coulon aler (=*CE*)

160. *W.* et li osta la letre de la destre ele
H omits destre

161a. *W.* et ot conseil
H. et maintenant ot conseil (=*BDF*)

161b. *W.* et fu assis sour liege en tel maniere
H. et fu assis sor l'iaue en tele maniere

161c. *W.* et avoit un trou ou comble par deseure par quoi il reprenoit s'aleinne
H. et avoit un tuiaut en comble etc.

162a. *W.* on vit le sommeron qui paroit par defors
H. on vit le simeron (*sic*) qui paroit par dehors

162b. *W.* a cros
H. a cros de fer (=*EF*)

163. *W.* li prisons eschapa, et s'enfuioit par derrieres les tentes
H. li prisonniers eschappa (*rest omitted*)

164. *W.* et crierent hahaï
H. et crierent haro (=*E*)

165a. *W.* vous dirons de Saphadin, le roi de Babiloine, qui . . . .
H. vous dirons de Salehadin qui . . . .

165b. *W.* je dout que elle ne soit perdue sans jamais recouvreir
H. je dout qu'elle ne soit jamaiz recouvree (=*DEF*)

166. *W.* et si averont trives à vint ans
H. et si arons trieves a .XX. ans (=*B*)

168. *W.* mais que vous faciez tant seulement
H. mais que tant faites seulement[20]

171a. *W.* ici vous lairons esteir des prisons qui sont à grant viltei et à grant mesaise en prison au Caire, qui menoient leur duel
H. ci vous dirons des prisonniers qui sont a grant vieuté et a grant mesaise et menoient trop grant duel

[20] On this use of *faites* as subjunctive in function, see Tobler, *Verm. Beiträge zur franz. Gram.* I (2d edit.), 29.

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171b. *W.* les gardes de l'ost
H. les gaites (=*BCDEF*)
172. *W.* adonc furent drecies eschieles et atachies aus murs
H. adonc firent drecier eschieles et atachier az murs
173a. *W.* serons nous ouan mais enclos en ceste citei
H. serons nous oen mais enclos en .I. en en ceste cité[21]
173b. *W.* alons, conquerons paiennime
H. alons conquerre p.
176. *W.* il seoit ou coing dou flun
H. il siet au chief dou flun
180. *W.* après li mist on l'amit sour le chief
H. apres li mist on la mistre sor le chief
181a. *W.* puis apres prist l'estole et li mist on parmi le col
H. puis li mist on l'estole parmi le col (=*E*)
181b. *W.* li vesti on la chesure
H. li vesti on la chasuble (=*BC*)
183. *W.* il i rencherroit plus de legier
H. il rencherroit plus volentiers (=*B*) et plus de legier
184. *W.* les Vaus d'Alise
H. le val d'Elise
184–185. *W.* et fu au tans l'arcevesque Henri de Brainne, qui bien s'i acordoit et mout des autres evesques; et tant que la roïne le sot par aucun des evesques qui ne s'i vout acordeir. Et encor fist il pis
H. et fu au temps l'arcevesque H. de Brienne qui bien s'i acordoit et molt des autres evesques i ot qui ne s'i vourent mie acorder; et encor fist il pis
185a. *W.* ainsois le servoit en son cuer
H. ainçois le celoit en son cuer
185b. *W.* cil de Biauvais se vinrent plaindre à li
H. cil de Biauvez se vinrent a li clamer
186. *W.* il n'en feroit riens pour li de sa crestientei
H omits de sa crestientei
188a. *W.* li demanda pour queil raison il escommenioit les bourjois le roi. Li evesques respondi
H. li demanda pour quel reson il les escumenioit (=*D*). Li evesques dist
188b. *W.* devant nous qui avons le bau de France à gardeir
H. devant nous qui avons le pooir de F. a garder
190a. *W.* ses consaus dist, depuis qu'il nooit l'omage le roi, qu'elle pouoit par droit saisir le fié
H. ses consaus dist despuis qu'il avoit l'ommage le roi de France qu'elle pooit etc.

[21] Here *AB* have, after *enclos*, *en ran* (?). The archetype probably had: *enclos en un an.*

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190b. *W.* et la roïne fist maintenant escrire unes letres, et les envoia au bailli de Biauvoisin. Et quant li evesques le sot, il fu trop esbaïz

H. et la roine envoia au bailli de Biauvez et li commanda a saizir la conté de Biauvez. Quant l'evesques le sot, si en fu trop esbahis[22]

191. *W.* si fist apresteir son oire; et fist arroi (qu'il avoit deniers et chevaus)

H. si fist aprester son erre et fist qu'il ot d. et c.

192. *W.* biaus sire

H. biaus freres

194. *W.* sire, entendez moi

H. sire, atendés moi (=*BCDF*)

195a. *W.* uns apostumes li leva enmi l'eschine par dedenz le cors; et tant li crut que il li fendi l'eschine dès le crepon jusqu'aus espaules, et ouvri comme se il fust baconneiz

H. une apostume li leva en l'eschine des le crepon jusques as espaules et aouvri aussi con s'il feust baconnez[23]

195b. *W.* firent habot

H. firent havelot

196. *W.* li rois commanda que on li amenast tantost, et fu li Sarrezins ameneiz devant le roi

H. li rois c. qu'on li amenast tantost et il si fu

198a. *W.* lors li dist

H omits li

198b. *W.* et aleir par toutes ses bonnes viles

H omits all this phrase.

198c. *W.* plus n'enportera Solehadins de tout son regne ne de tout son grant tresor que ces trois aunes

H. plus n'e. Salehadins de tout son avoir et de tout son grant regne quant il mourra que ces trois aunes

199. *W.* et li donnoit on quanque il demandoit se on le pouoit avoir

H adds to this, after avoir: pour or et pour argent

201. *W.* il vous convient penre aucune chose

H. . . . . . aucune soustenance

202. *W.* Ha, biaus amis, ne resoingniez riens

H. Ha, biaus amis, dist li maistres (=*D*), ne r. r.

203. *W.* et mieuz vient il que je muire

H. que miex vault il que je muire

204. *W.* aleiz, si le prenez et si li assevissiez son desir. Et mieuz vaut que mes chevaus muire que uns hons

H. alez, si le prenés, si li acomplissiés son desir, que miex vaut que .I. chevauz muire que .I. hons

[22] *H*'s reading seems to render the text more logical than that of the other MSS.

[23] Probably another "saut du même au même" made by the scribe of *H*.

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205ª. *W.* devant le lit à Solehadin
H. devant le lit ou Salehadins gesoit (=*BCDE*)
205ᵇ. *W.* entoise la hache à deus mains
H omits à deus mains
207. *W.* couvertoirs à couvrir les malades de laienz; et les assié chascun an à penre
H. c. a c. les m. laiens et les mesaisiés et les penra on chascun an
208. *W.* le vout on coupeir devant moi
H. le vout on couper pour moi et devant moi
209ª. *W.* cuidoit que Solehadins ne s'en donnoit garde
H. cuidoit que S. ne s'en donnast garde (=*BC*)
209ᵇ. *W.* il fasoit trop mal qui estuioit la garnison
H. il faisoit trop mal qu'il estoioit la g.
209ᶜ. *W.* bien savoit son pis et son meilleur
H. bien savoit son pis et son miex eslire
210ª. *W.* et furent là tuit ensemble
H. et furent la tuit assemblé
210ᵇ. *W.* cil dedenz
H. cil de laiens
210ᶜ. *W.* trop estoient pou et maugarni
H. trop estoient gent de hors et poi dedens et mal garni
211. *W.* et fist Solehadins par sa courtoisie renvoier la dame, li disme de crestiens, et dis damoiseles en Acre; et là elle fu à sauvetei
H. et fist Sal. par sa c. remener la dame, li disieme de crestiens, et .X. damoiselles en Acre, et la fu asseuree
213ª. *W.* une tournele bele et grant
H. une tournele bonne et riche et grant
213ᵇ. *W.* que Solehadins et sa mere i laissierent
H. que Saleh. i mist et laissa et sa mere aussi
214ª. *W.* le roiaume de Pouille et celui de Sezile et celui de Calabre
H. le roiaume de Sezile, l'autre de Puille et celui de C.
214ᵇ. *W.* et pouoit on porteir son gourle plein de deniers
H. et pooit on porter son gueille (*sic*) plein de d.
215. *W.* il assouz ne seroient se il ne faisoient haut et bas sa voulentei
H. ja absouls ne seroient s'il ne se metoient de haut et de bas sor lui et a sa volenté
216. *W.* le postal et les conseuz de Mielant
H. l'apostal et le conseill de M.
217. *W.* que li affaires ne tourt a pis
H. que li a. ne tort en pis
218. *W.* et fist widier la vile tout le clergié
H omits fist
219. *W.* or avint que li postaus et li conte estoient à conseil

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H. or avint que li postaus et la communetez alerent a conseil[24]

221. *W.* et l'abat mort à ses piez
H omits a ses piez (=*D*)

222a. *W.* li chardenaus s'en fust voulentiers fuiz
H adds s'il peust (=*DEF*)

222b. *W.* l'atachierent à la queue de son cheval et le menerent à Mielent, et le trainerent parmi toutes les rues de la citei
H. l'atachierent a la queue de son roncin et le trainerent par toutes lez rues de la cité (=*CEF*)

222c. *W.* si osei
H. si hardi (=*CDEF*)

223a. *W.* je vuel que la citeiz soit destruite
H. je veil que la cités soit deserte et destruite

223b. *W.* mout i a de bons chevaucheeurs
H. molt i a de bonz chevalereus

225. *W.* et les mena devant Mielent et i mist le siege
H. et les mena devant Mielant et i (*a word almost illegible, ending in* -a: *possibly* iura *or* uira) le siege

226. *W.* et mieuz nous venroit il metre en faire pais que en guerroier
H. et miex nouz vaurroit il (=*BC*) metre en pais (=*ABC*) que en guerre (=*C*)[25]

227. *W.* dient li autre compaingnon
H omits compaignon (=*D*)

228a. *W.* par foi, dist li sages
H. par foi, dist .I. sages hons

228b. *W.* je congnois tant la maniere de Lombarz et que couvoiteus sont de gaaingnier par nature
H. je cognois tant le memoire (*sic*) de Lombart et que convoiteus sont par nature (=*F*)

228c. *W.* letres de conduit sauf alant et sauf venant
H omits sauf alant et sauf venant

228d. *W.* et leur bailla la leitre la pape
H. et lor bailla la leitre de sauf conduit

230a. *W.* li dui mesage esploitierent tant qu'il vinrent à Rome
H. li message errerent tant qu'il v. a R.

230b. *W.* ains vous en a on dit tout le contraire
H. ains vous a on conté tout le contraire

231. *W.* vous les tenrez devers vous et les averez en ostage
H omits vous les tenres devers vous (=*BCDEF*)

232a. *W.* si en fu tout esbaubiz
H. si en fu trop esbahis

232b. *W.* il avoit despendu trop de deniers

[24] Excellent variant not found in any other MS.

[25] This passage would indicate that *H* is close to the archetype of *ABC*.

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H. il avoit despendu grans deniers

233ª. *W.* il est bien droiz de vous marier à vostre oes

H. il est bien temps (=*DEF*) de vous rier (*sic*) a vostre oes

233ᵇ. *W.* une fille

H. une bele fille

233ᶜ. *W.* par sa chartre

H. par sa leitre (=*C*)

233ᵈ. *W.* lempereres l'espousa, et en ot un fil qui ot à non Conras et fu mariez à la fille le duc de Baviere, et en ot un fil qui encore vit, qui deust avoir le roiaume de Jherusalem

H omits qui encore" . . . . Jherusalem[26]

234. *W.* li papes dist qu'à lui n'aferoit il riens de sa crestientei

H. li papes dist qu'il n'en feroit riens a lui de sa crestienté

235. *W.* ainsi monta li descorz comme vous avez oï entre l'empereeur et la pape

H. ainsi monta li d. entre l'empereeur et le pape com vous avez oï

236. *W.* et en fu faiz uns autres de un des chardenaus qui avoit non Senebaus, et fu mueiz ses nons en Innocent le quart

H. et fu fais .I. autres des cardonnaus qui avoit non Senebaus et fu ses nons mués en Griegoire le nuevieme[27]

239. *W.* maistres Pierres de la Vigne revint de Lion et conta l'empereeur

H. maistre Pierre conta l'empereour

241. *W.* et ne se menoit mie comme bons crestiens

H. et ne se maintenoit mie com b. c.

245ª. *W.* et Artus ses nies avec lui

H omits lui

245ᵇ. *W.* quant il vint loing en meir, il le rua enz

H. quant il fu loing en mer, il prist Artus son neveu, si le rua enz.

246ª. *W.* ci vous lairons un pou esteir de lui et revenrons

H. ci vous lairons un poi ester dou mauvés roy Jehan et revenrons

246ᵇ. *W.* il le doutoit mout durement pour son hardement et pour sa largesce

[26] The emperor referred to is Frederic II. It is probable that the archetype of *H* knew nothing of Conradin. The phrase found in *W* must have been added by the archetype of the other MSS.

[27] An important passage for the establishment of the text. The election referred to must be that of 1227, as both redactions later (§242) mention, in the same terms, the election of Innocent IV at the conclave of Lyon, 1243: *et fu apres lui esleuz Innocent li quarz.* Senebaus was, however, the name of Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi). The most probable explanation seems to be that the original of *H* knew which pope was elected in 1227, but erred as to his family name, while the archetype of the other MSS has added to the confusion by changing the papal name and thus making Innocent IV twice pope.

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H. il le d. molt d. pour son hardement, pour sa chevalerie et pour sa largesse

247ª. *W.* et porterent la letre le roi de creance
H. et p. la leitre le roi de France

247ᵇ. *W.* il leur fu enseigniez à Nicole
H. on leur ensegna a Nichole

247ᶜ. *W.* où sainz Thomas li martirs pose
H. ou sainz Thomas repose

248. *W.* vous i semonons et ajournons
H. vous ajournons

249. *W.* i furent li per et leur consaus
H. i furent li per et ses consaus

250. *W.* à son jour où vous l'avez fait ajourneir
H omits ou . . . . ajourneir

251. *W.* si comme cil qui estoit defailliz
H. si comme cil qui estoit defaillans (=*B*)

252ª. *W.* li rois Phelipes fait escrire ses bries et envoie
H. li rois fist escrire ses bries et envoier (=*BE*)

252ᵇ. *W.* adonc veissiez barons et chevaliers harnechier de chevaus et d'armeures, de treis et de pavillons, et de quanque il leur couvenoit
H. adonc v. b. et c. h. de chevaus de treis (=*AB*), d'armeüres et de tout ce qu'il lor convenoit

253ª. *W.* ensemble pour lui
H. ensemble pour lui servir

253ᵇ. *W.* et prenoient proiès et vilains
H. prenoient bestes et vilains

253ᶜ. *W.* bien garnies de païsanz qui i avoient fui bues . . . .
H. bien g. de païsans qui avoient mis bues . . . . (=*F*)

254ª. *W.* il iroit à Maiente
H. il iroit a Maience (=*A*)

254ᵇ. *W.* fist geteir ses engins esforciement
H. fist geter ses perrieres et ses enginz esforcieement

256ª. *W.* esbaubiz
H. esbahis

256ᵇ. *W.* il les secourroit dedenz la saint Jehan
H. il les s. jusques a la saint Jehan (=*AB*)

258ª. *W.* il n'averoient nul secours
H. il n'aroit nul conseil (=*EF*)

258ᵇ. *W.* il vit le pouoir et le sens et la richece le roi Phelipe
H. il vit le sens et la richeise et le pooir le roi P.

260ª. *W.* bien voi que j'i porroie tout le mien despendre
H. bien voi que je despenderoie tout le mien

260ᵇ. *W.* le païs est conquis à reis de ce chastel
H. li païs est c. arrez que ciz chastiaus

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262ª. *W.* nous n'averons nul secours
H. nous n'avonz nul secours (=*B*)
262ᵇ. *W.* ainsois chascun jour enforcent et croissent
H. ainsois croissent chascun jorn (=*BC*)
262ᶜ. *W.* tant comme je vive, je ne renderai Gaillart ni n'en istrai
H. tant com je vive, je n'isterai de G. ne ne le renderai
264ª. *W.* il jura que tant comme il viveroit
H. il dist que tant com il vivroit
264ᵇ. *W.* se on ne le getoit fors les piez avant
H. s'on ne l'en getoit par les piés
264ᶜ. *W.* si venimes entre nous de la garnison
H omits de la garnison (=*E*)
265. *W.* les garnisons estoient aus portes. Maintenant vinrent aus portes; et brisierent les serres
H. les g. e. as portes, et maintenant i vinrent et bruissierent les serres
266ª. *W.* le mesmenerent durement
H. le malmenerent trop malement
266ᵇ. *W.* li sien li estoient failli
H. cil qui le deussent aidier li estoient f.
267ª. *W.* atant fu li castelains abatuz et ses chevaus ocis; et fu pris et retenuz, et li chastiaus pris en teil guise
H. atant fu li chastelains abatus et ses chevaus ocis; et fu pris et retenus li chastelainz en tele guise
267ᵇ. *W.* si en fu mout joianz
H. si en fu molt lies (=*EF*)
269. *W.* envoia frere Garin, l'evesque de Senlis, à Dan Martin
H. envoia frere G., l'evesque de Senliz, a lui a Dan Martin
272. *W.* mais li cuens Renauz se metoit en poursuit
H. maiz li quens Regnauz se metoit en grant paine
273. *W.* li fist entendre que li rois le deseritoit d'Arraz et de Peronne et de Saint Omer et d'Aire et de Hesdin et de Bapaumes; et li fist entendre que li cuens Baudouins, qui li avoit fait ce don pour le mariage de sa sereur, ne nou pouoit faire
H. li fist entendant que li rois le desheritoit d'Arras, de Saint Omer, d'Aire, de Hedin, de Lens et de Bapaumes; et li fist entendant que li quens Bauduins li avoit fet ce don pour le mariage de sa suer, mais il ne pooit faire
274ª. *W.* quant li cuens Ferranz l'oï ainsi parleir, si le créi comme fous que il fu
H. quant li quens F. l'oï si parler, si le reçut comme fauz que il en fu
274ᵇ. *W.* l'empereeur Oton, qui enmetoit le roi Phelipe
H. l'empereeur Othon, qui ametoit le roy P.
275. *W.* li cuens Renauz a faite ceste esranlie

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H. li quens Regnaus a fait ceste esboulie (=*B*)

276ª. *W.* lors fist li rois semonre touz ses chaseiz

H. lors fist li rois semonre touz ses fiefés (=*DEF*)

276ᵇ. *W.* furent ensemble un samedi defors Tournai à tentes et à pavillons

H. furent e. un samedi dehors T. logié

277. *W.* quant li cuens Renauz fu revenuz arriere, mes sires Hues de Boves li dist

H. quant il fu revenus arriere, messirez H. de Bovinez li dit

278. *W.* en prenoient en rost et en essiau

H. en prenoient en rost et en essaut[28]

279. *W.* et ses arainnes sonnanz

H. et ces buisines et ces arainnes sonans

280. *W.* fist taillier des soupes, et en print une et la manja, et puis dist

H. fist t. des s. et en print une en sa main et puis dist

283. *W.* un destrier fort et seur

H omits fort et seur

284. *W.* tourneir vers le tertre

H. tourner vers la terre dou tertre

285–86. *W.* li seneschaus de Champaingne Oudarz de Reson .... estoit jà aleiz si avant qu'il estoit melleiz sour le conte Renaut; et i avoit enqui merveilleus estour. Atant (286) ez vous le conte de Saint Pol qui sourvint sour eus, et reconnut l'enseigne au conte Renaut. Et c'estoient li dui homme en terre qui plus se haoient, et par lesqueis cil descorz estoit monteiz

H. et li s. de C. Oudarz de R .... estoit ja alez si avant que il estoit ja mellez sor le conte Renaut et ce estoient li dui home en terre qui plus se heoient et par l'evesque (=*B*) que si descorz estoit m.[29]

287ª. *W.* mais la force le roi croissoit adés, et li Flammenc descroissoient, car il avoient tort

H. mais la force le roi c. adez, car li autre avoient tort (=*ABDEF*)

287ᵇ. *W.* et descendirent sour l'eschiele Ferrant; et fu pris, et li cuens de Pontiu

H. et d. sor l'eschiele F, et fu pris li quens de Saine Pont

288. *W.* Otes vit que tuit estoient tournei aus watiaus

H. Otes vit que tuit estoient tourné a gast (=*DEF*)

289. *W.* Ferranz estoit pris, et li cuens Renauz, et li cuens de Pontiu

H. Frans estoit p. et li quens Renauz de Boulongne et li quens de Poitou ses frerez (=*BCDEF*)

[28] This word, which De Wailly in his glossary failed to identify, is evidently OF. *esseu, essau*, "écoulement d'eau, rigole, évier"; and the phrase means: "they took some roasted and boiled."

[29] The same *lacuna*, due to a "homœoteleuton," is found in all the MSS but *E*.

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290. *W.* et Flammenc, grant duel
H. et Flamen faisoient grant duel (=*E*)
293ª. *W.* et li rois leur dist qu'il s'en conseilleroit
H omits all this phrase (=*ACDEF*)
293ᵇ. *W.* sire, dist mes sires Loueys, en la voulentei Dieu en soit
H omits dist mes sires Loueys
294. *W.* *H omits all this paragraph after* touz les barons d'Engleterre
295. *W.* li cuens de Monfort, et li cuens de Chartres, et li cuens de Monbleart
H. li quens de Monfort, li quens de Chartrain, li quens de Monbeliart
296. *W.* sour la marine
H. sor la rive
297. *W.* et cil dedenz se hourderent viguereusement et garderent les portes et les murs, et envoierent à leur seigneur hastivement qu'il les secourust
H. et cil dedens se h. v. et manderent lor seigneur qui les secorut
298. *W.* courut tout leiz des portes
H. coururent (=*B*) jusques pres des portes
299ª. *W.* au tresime jour
H. quatorsieme jour
299ᵇ. *W.* li rois Jehans envoia à Rome
H. li rois J. envoia a Rome a l'apostole
299ᶜ. *W.* et manda la pape que il li otroioit
H. et li manda que il li otroia
300ª. *W.* mout lié
H. molt meü (=*D*)
300ᵇ. *W.* ainsois conqueroit adés terres
H omits this phrase
303. *H omits six lines of this paragraph, from* meteroit tout son regne en leur mains *to* et furent saisi; *probably another "homoeoteleuton."*
304ª. *W.* essillier et destruire
H. essilier ne desheriter
304ᵇ. *W.* car li demoureirs en cest païs ne vous est preuz
H omits this phrase
305. *W.* ains s'en revint à meinz d'avoir et à plus de honte
H. ains s'en r. messires Loys a m. d'a. et a plus de pechiez (=*C*)
306. *W.* à Maiente
H. a Maience (=*C*)
308ª. *W.* dou roi Phelipe, ... qui trespassa de vie trois jourz après la Madeleinne
H. . . . . . .III. jours devant la M.[30]

[30] Philip Augustus died July 14, 1223; but the feast of St. Mary Magdalene falls on July 22. Therefore, *H* is more nearly correct than the other MSS.

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308b. *W.* mais Phelipes li ainsneiz fu morz en l'aage de quinze ans
H. . . . . . en l'aage de .XXV. ans[31]
311. *W.* Gautiers li Rois, Corbiaus Pichés
H. Gauchiers li Rous (=*BDEF*), Corbias li Rous
314. *W.* un fil qui ot à non Charles, et est cuens d'Anjo
H. . . . . . et fu quens d'Anjou (=*CDEF*)[32]
315. *W.* comme rendu, en la forest de Mormail
H. comme reclus (=*B*) en la forest de Monreal
316. *W.* et iestes eschapeiz
H. et est eschapés
318. *W.* à Haimmon Cainoi
H. a Haimmon Chanoi
320. *W.* une chape d'escarlate fourrée d'un vert cendal
H. . . . . . fourrée de vairs
322. *W.* il a bien . . . . cinquante ans que li cuens Baudouins . . . . s'en ala
H. . . . . . .L. ans et plus que . . . .
323. *W.* de ce n'avoit il mie estei estruiz
H. de ce n'avoit il pas esté endoctrinez
328a. *W.* le fist desceindre et deschaucier
H omits desceindre et
328b. *W.* qui ne doi estre rois ne cuens ne empereres
H. qui ne dois estre ne rois ne empereres
329a. *W.* et puis fu penduz à un chainnon tout nuef de fer
H. et puis fu pendus en un gibet tout nuef a .I. chaignon de fer tout nuef
329b. *W.* il a grant disete de sot
H. il a grant disete de fol (=*BCDF*)
330. *W.* ses garnisons qui marchissoient à eus
H. ses gens qui marchoient (=*BC*) a eus
331. *W.* si en fu mout enfleiz
H. si en fu molt courouciés
333. *W.* et fu porteiz à Longue Iaue en une priorei
H. et fu aportés a Longues Yaues desouz Chastillon en une prieuré
336. *W.* elle avoit à marchir à granz seigneurs
H. elle avoit a marchier a grans gens et a grans segneurs
339. *W.* veoient que li rois estoit juenes et si frere, et pou prisoient la mere

[31] Here *H* is undoubtedly wrong, as Philip, eldest son of Louis VIII, born 1209, died before his father's accession in 1223.

[32] De Wailly (*Notice*, p. xxxii) thinks that this change of *est* to *fu* indicates that the MSS in which it occurs were revised after the year 1263, in which Charles took the title of King of Sicily; but I doubt if this conclusion is justified.

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H. . . . . et pou savoit la mere

340. *W*. li demanda entresait

H omits entresait

341. *W*. il estoient tuit truchié par devers les barons

H. il estoient tuit touchié et tourné devers les barons[33]

342ª. *W*. dou pont de Bainson

H. dou pont de Baisson (=*D*)

342ᵇ. *W*. et commanda le pas à gardeir

H. et commanda le pont a garder et le pas

342ᶜ. *W*. Trelou. . . . Monwimer . . . . Provins

H. Trelon Mouimer Provins

344ª. *W*. dis chevaliers de la mesnie au conte de Retest

H. .X. chevaliers qui estoient au conte de Retel

344ᵇ. *W*. li Moingnes de Mongon

H. li Moingnes de Longuion (=*C*)

349. *W*. il n'est pas esclairié ce que vous demandeiz au conte

H. il n'est pas e. ce que vous dites et que vous ametés (=*B*) au c.

351. *W*. quant la roïne le sot, si en fu mout lie

H. quant li rois le sot, si en fu merveilles liés

352. *W*. ainsi fu li couvenz abaissiez

H. ainsi lor orgueulz fu abaissiés

353ª. *W*. il en ot une fille qui fu mariée au fil le conte Perron le Clerc, qui ore est cuens de Bretaingne

H. . . . . Perron le Clerc qui lors estoit quens de B.[34]

353ᵇ. *W*. et li quarz Guillaumes

H omits

355. *W*. l'ainsnée des damoiseles a non Ysabiaus, et est mariée au roi de Navare; et la seconde a non Marguerite, et est donnée au fil le duc de Brabant; et la tierce a non Blanche

H. l'ainsnéé des d. a non Y et fu mariée (=*BCDE*) au roy de N., et la seconde ot (=*BCDEF*) non M. et fu (=*BCDF*) donnée au fil le duc de B., et la tierce out non B.[35]

357ª. *W*. huimais orrez comment . . . .

H. or vous dirons comment . . . .

357ᵇ. *W*. à Mousteruel sour for d'Ionne

H. a M. en (=*B*) for d'Ionne

[33] The variants of the other MSS are here especially instructive. *A* only has *truchié*, *B couchié*, *C touchez*, *DEF tourné*. *H* is evidently the intermediary of the two families, *ABC* and *DEF*.

[34] Pierre Mauclerc, count of Brittany, died in 1250. De Wailly, in choosing the reading of *ABD*, takes the relative clause as referring to his son Jean I; but this interpretation seems to me forced, and *H*'s reading, supported by *CEF*, preferable.

[35] It seems to me impossible to draw any conclusion as to the relative age of the MSS from the substitution of the preterit for the present in this passage, as De Wailly does (*Notice*, p. xxxiii).

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363. *W.* li rois deust tourneir à Lezinnon
H. li rois deust tourner a Biaumont
365. *W.* ala à Bourdiaus
H. ala a B. sor Gironde
367. *W.* Oliviers de Termes
H. Oster de Termes
368ª. *W.* il s'acorda au respit de trois ans que li chevalier quisent au legat pour avoir respit des detes qu'il devoient aus bourjois, sauf ce que li legaz ne pourprenoit pas leur foiz
H. il s'acorda au respit des debtes que il devoient aus bourgeois sanz ce que li legas ne pourprenoit pas lor faiz[36]
368ᵇ. *W.* et ala outre meir proprement
H omits outre meir (=*CF*)
371ª. *W.* mes cuers porra souffrir la departie
H. mes cuers pourra endurer la d. (=*BCEF*)
371ᵇ. *W.* li frere le roi et leur fammes prisent congié à la roïne tout en plourant
H omits this phrase (=*EF*)
374ª. *W.* il vinrent en dis jourz au port
H. il vinrent a .XXX. jors a port[37]
374ᵇ. *W.* commencierent à traire saietes aus ars turcois
H. commencierent a traire saietes tricoises (cf. *B:* a ars tricois)
376. *W.* si tournent les dos
H. sil virerent les dos
378. *W.* bien garnie de vins et de viandes
H omits de vins et (=*ABE*)
379ª. *W.* sachiez, la terre est nostre
H. sachiez de voir la terre est nostre (=*E*)
379ᵇ. *W.* nous nous soufferriens encore; si apenriens la terre
H. vous vous en soufferiés (=*EF*) encor, et penrions la terre
381. *W.* une vile qui a non la Mansorra
H. une ville qui a non li Amasone (=*B*)
382. *W.* vous ne savez que ce monte
H. vous ne savés que vous dites ne que ce monte
383ª. *W.* ne porrez reprouveir à Templier nulle mauvestié
H. ne porrez reprouver as Templiers trahison ne mauvestié (=*BCDF*)
383ᵇ. *W.* comme elle recevra encui en cest jour, si comme mes cuers le me devine

[36] Possibly another "saut du même au même"; possibly the original redaction, amplified in the other MSS.

[37] It is a question here of the voyage of St. Louis in 1249 from Cyprus to Damietta in Egypt. Jean Sarrasin, in his letter of June 23, 1249 (see the edition by A. L. Foulet: *Lettres françaises du XIII^e siècle*, p. 8), says: *nous fumes sus mer vint et deus jours*. Again *H* is more nearly correct than the other MSS.

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H. com vous receverez encui si come mes cuers le me donne
384a. *W.* à la Mansorra
H. a la Umasoure (cf. *B:* la Masoure)
384b. *W.* les entrées de la vile estoient lacies de barres
H. les e. de la ville estoient liciées de barres[38]
386a. *W.* je le vi ocirre à mes ieus
H omits à mes ieus (=*BCEF*)
386b. *W.* et soupira mout grief
H omits mout grief (=*BCEF*)
386c. *W.* dou flun qui estoit parfonz et roides
H. dou flun qui estoit parfons et rades
389. *W.* ains mourons ici de fain et de males aises
H. ains m. ici de fain et de mesaise (=*BCF*)
392a. *W.* il ne les vouloit laissier partir en sa raançon
H. il ne v. mie l. partir a vostre raençon (*AB* en vostre, *E* a la)
392b. *W.* li rois respondi maintenant, qui bien perçut leur forsenerie à leur chiere et à leur semblant, que il le vouloit bien
H. li rois respondi m., qui bien apersut l'afaire a lor forsenerie, et dit qu'il le vouloit bien
393. *W.* delivres sans raançon
H. quites sanz raençons
398. *W.* et de mon seigneur Guillaume de Danpierre, Guillaume et Guion et Jehan
H omits Guillaume et
399a. *W.* leur peres avoit prise leur mere et espousée mauvaisement
H. lor peres avoit prise lor mere mauvesement a espouse
399b. *W.* la damoisele li fu chargie en garde pour sauf faisant
H. la d. li fu chargiée en garde pour souffisant
401. *W.* or i metez conseil
H. or metés conseil en ceste besongne
402. *W.* parla à eus et leur conta son besoing
H. parla a eulz et lor moustra (=*BCDEF*) sa reson
403a. *W.* la contesse li rendi maintenant la contei de Hainnaut
H omits la contei de H. (=*ABCDE*)
403b. *W.* et l'en donna bonne chartre en son seel
H. et l'en d. bonne chartre seellée de son seel
(*At this point MS. H skips to §420, returning at the end, after §465, to give §§404–419.*)
420a. *W.* or revenons au conte d'Anjo (*only in A*)
H. or vouz dirons dou conte d'Anjou (*BC:* or revenons a nostre matiere et dirons dou c. d'A.; *EF:* or revenrons a n. m. et

[38] *H*'s reading is unique, but evidently correct. The OF verb *licier* "barricader, fortifier de lisses" is well known.

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dirons dou c. d'A.; *D:* or revenrons a n. m. et dirons comment li quens d'A.)

420b. *W.* qui assembla un grant ost
H. qui assembla si grant ost que c'estoit merveillez

421. *W.* ouvrez les portes, et je vous jur sour sainz que je ne li cuens d'Anjo ne ferons mal ne grietei à ceus de la vile
H omits all after portes (=*AC*)

422a. *W.* li maires et li jurei de la vile, et jusques à cent des meilleurs de la vile
H. li maieur et li juré et tuit li meilleur de la ville

422b. *W.* et leur commanda la contesse que il feissent faautei au conte d'Anjo. Quant il oïrent ce, si furent tuit esbahi, et bien virent que il n'avoient pouoir; et firent faautei au conte, vousissent ou non; et fu saisiz de Valenciennes et de la forteresse
H omits Quant . . . . conte[39]

423. *W.* et tant les destrainst qu'il l'ot par forse
H. et tant les d. qu'il print par force la ville

424. *W.* et là fu enfouie honorablement
H. et la fu enfouie a grant honneur

425. *W.* elle a mise la terre de Hainnaut en la main le conte
H. elle l'a mis en la main le c. (=*ABCDEF*)

426. *W.* à six liues près de Valenciennes
H. a .V. lieues pres de V.

428. *W.* Danemarche, un païs iaweus
H. D., un païs ioieus (*cf. A* iawex, *B* iouex, *DEF* anieus)

429. *W.* mais il ne pot, car li fosseiz estoit larges
H. mais ce ne pout estre, car li fossés estoit larges

432. *W.* il mit Anguien en la main le roi
H. il mist A. en la garde le roy de France

433. *W.* le regne des cieus
H. le regne dou ciel et la joie pardurable

434. *W.* en non Dieu, trop a coustei, et à tart connoissiez vostre folie
H omits a coustei et à

435. *W.* et fu mandée la contesse, et li despens tausié à cent mil livres
H. . . . . . et li d. tauxé a x^m^ livres[40]

436a. *W.* la contesse de Flandres, qui asseiz a eu de painne et de travail en sa vie
H omits qui . . . . vie

436b. *W.* et l'enmena à Coustantinoble
H. et l'enmena a Coulongne (*BC* Coloigne, *D* Col., *F* Acol.)

[39] Probably another "homœoteleuton"; but here again the variant may be due to expansion on the part of the archetype of the other MSS.

[40] Here *H* is wrong. The actual amount was 160000 livres. See De W., p. lxvi.

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437. *W.* li empereres Baudouins estoit juenes et enfantis; si despendi largement
H. li empereres B. estoit joennes enfes et despendi l.
438ª. *W.* pour Vatage qui le guerroioit
H. pour Veutage qui le g.
438ᵇ. *W.* la pape *H.* le pape
438ᶜ. *W.* le disme *H.* le disieme
439ª. *W.* sans grant coustage *H.* sanz grans coutanges
439ᵇ. *W.* vous serez revenuz *H.* vous serez venus
441. *W.* et fist entreir l'empereriz dedenz, et chevaliers et . . . .
H. et fist l'empereres entrer dedens, chevaliers et . . . .
442. *W.* il couvenroit qu'elle i meist conseil
H. il convenroit qu'elle y meist la main
443. *W.* si despendoient vint sous ou trente, ou plus ou meinz
H. si d. .XX. sous ou .XXX. ou environ
444. *W.* l'empereriz oï les complaintes
H. l'e. oï ces plaintes (=*BDE*)
446ª. *W.* ainsi wacrerent les choses une piece
H omits les choses
446ᵇ. *W.* et les mesmenoit durement
H. et les menassoit d.
446ᶜ. *W.* et li moustrerent la desraison que leur dame leur faisoit
H. et li m. la mesprison et le despit que *etc.*
447. *W.* penra chascuns bourjois de Namur une hart en son col
H. . . . . une hart et la liera entour son col (=*BDEF*)
448ª. *W.* et se partirent de court comme cil qui onques puis n'orent talant de revenir
H omits comme . . . . revenir
448ᵇ. *W.* là n'a point de ressort: il nous couvient querre avouei
H. la n'a point de secours *and omits rest of sentence*
448ᶜ. *W.* j'ai entendu des anciens bourjois de ceste vile
H omits b. de ceste vile (*C omits* bourjois; *DEF omit* de ceste v.)
448ᵈ. *W.* si vous loeroie en bonne foi que vous l'envoïssiez querre
H. si feroit bien qui l'envoieroit querre
449ª. *W.* s'en rala en son païs, et enprunta deniers, et assembla granz genz
H omits et enprunta deniers
449ᵇ. *W.* l'empereriz sot que li bourjois avoient fait faautei à mon seigneur Henri; et fist garnir le chastel
H. l'empereris le sot si fist garnir le c.
449ᶜ. *W.* ainsi tint le siege une grant piece
H omits this sentence
450–51–52. *These three paragraphs, comprising 27 lines of De Wailly's text, are reduced in H to the following:* et l'empereris assembla tant que elle out .I. grant ost ou il out molt de chevaliers et de

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grans seigneurs et approchierent Namur a .IIII. lieues et l'endemain vint et fu commandé que li bours fust assaillis. Flamens et Hennuier assaillirent faintement, car messires Bauduyns d'Avaines deportoit monsegneur Henry ce qu'il pooit. Quant li Champenois virent la trahison et l'ancport (*sic*) de B. d'A. qui lor chevetain estoit si s'en repairierent arrieres et li Alemant escrierent "helpe" et se fierent en la que (*sic*) des Champenois au harnois le conte de Joini et li firent grant dommage de chevaus et d'armeures et de son harnois. Ainsi se parti li os des Champenois assez vilainnement pour la mauvaistié des Flamens.

453. *W*. et passerent les trives, ne nus n'i revint.
H omits these two phrases.

453–54–55. *W*. sa garnisons mouroit de maladie . . . . (*then follows a long conversation, which occupies the end of 453, all of 454, and the beginning of 455*) . . . . li chevetains li rendi le chastel . . . .

H. et sa garnisonz mouroit de maladie, si rendi le chastel a monsegneur Henri de Lucebourc . . . .

459. *W*. plus tost à mal qu'à bien entent
H. plus tost au mal qu'au bien (=*BE*) tent

461–55. *H omits the first sentence of 461, and then proceeds (as in W):* Atant ez vous l'arcevesque Rigaut de Rouen, qui le vint veoir et conforter; et molt li disoit de bons mos de l'Escriture et de la patience saint Job et d'autres bons essanples. *Then it omits the rest of 461, all of 462, 463 and 464 (containing the "exemplum," "le paisan et la masenge"), then gives 465 exactly as in W, omits entirely 466–479 (the story of the contest between the Abbot and the Archbishop of Reims for the "garde" of Saint Remi), and then returns to 404.*

404. *W*. or vous vuel dire un essemple sour ce que la contesse avoit quis ajue au conte de Poitiers et au conte d'Anjo. (405) Il fu une foiz uns leus
H. or vous conterai une trufe sanz voir pour remener a essample. Il fu une fois .I. leu

405ª. *W*. si te lo que tu les faces à moitié
H. si te lo que tu la faces a moitié

405ᵇ. *W*. en la court mon seigneur Noble le lion
H omits Noble

406. *W*. Ha! dit li leus, chievre, belle amie, or ne me resoing de rien
H. Ha, dit li leus, chievre, douce dame, or ne me resoigne de riens

409. *W*. Hai mi! sire, dit la chievre
H. amis (*cf. AB* aimmi, *C* amy), dit la chievre

410. *W*. deus viatres qu'elle avoit nourri de son lait à sa mamelle
H. deus v., qu'elle avoit nourri de son lait et alaitié de sa m.

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412a. *W.* nous nous reponrons en cest buriau d'esteule
H. nous nous r. en cel moncel (= *BC*) d'estrain
412b. *W.* se il nous savoit à sejour, il n'i venroit pas espoir
H omits à sejour
412c. *W.* li chien s'en vont, et se mucent ou buriau d'esteule
H. li chien s'en vont et se mirent en l'estrain
413a. *W.* maintes mauvaises taches
H. maintes mauveses niches (= *BC*)
413b. *W.* certes, dit il, ne sera autrement que je t'ai dit
H omits que je t'ai dit (= *AB*)
413c. *W.* Renarz gete ses ieus vers le buriau d'esteule
H. Renarz gete ses ieus vers le moncel d'estrain
413d. *W.* et voit les queues des viatres
H. et voit les queues des chiens
414a. *W.* Biaus comperes, prenez vous près de vostre affaire
H. B. c., prenés vouz garde de vostre a. (*C* prenez vous garde et prenez vous pres *etc.*)
414b. *W.* je voi teil chose en vostre affaire
H. je voi tele chose en vostre besoingne
414c. *W.* li chien saillent hors de l'esteule
H. li chien saillent hors de l'estrain
415a. *W.* et li montent sour la mormelante
H. et li montent sor la pance
415b. *W.* les flocons de son poil
H. les floissons de son poil (*C* les floussons)
416a. *W.* il estoit liez quant maus adersoit
H. il estoit liez quant maus adresoit (= *B*)
416b. *W.* il fust autrement qu'il n'est
H omits qu'il n'est
416c. *W.* en vostre affaire
H. en vostre besongne
417. *W.* plus apareillie chose remaint que ceste
H adds et si remaint assés de ce que fouz pensse (*BC* et remaint assez de ce que musars panse)
418. *W.* qui orent portei le froument ou grenier
H. qui orent p. le f. ou grenier la chievre
419. *This paragraph, the last in H, I shall give in full as it stands in both redactions, W (= ABC) and H. In this way the reader can judge for himself whether H condenses, or whether ABC amplify.*
W. Or vous dirons pourquoi je vous ai contei cest essemple: pour Jehan d'Avesnes que je di qui fu li leus; et sa mere fu la chievre; et li cuens d'Anjo et li cuens de Poitiers furent Roeniaus et Taburiaus. Et Jehans d'Avesnes vouloit avoir le grain, et vouloit sa mere laissier la paille; car il li vouloit tolir sa terre où il n'avoit droit, et la vouloit deseritier. Mais sa mere, que je

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comper à la chievre, nou pot souffrir; ains ala au conte d'Anjo et au conte de Poitiers, que je di qui furent Roeniaus et Taburiaus; et fist tant envers eus que il li aidierent son droit à retenir envers son fil, qui est compareiz au leu. Et li foula on si sa vendenge qu'il n'ot pouoir ne talant de regibeir, si comme vous orrez ça en avant se j'ai lieu et tans dou dire.

H. Or vouz dirai pour quoi je vous ai conté cest essanple: pour Jehan d'Avaines que je di qui fu li leus et sa mere fu la chievre et li quens d'Anjou et li quens de Poitiers furent Roeniaus et Taburiaus, car Jehan d'Avaines vouloit avoir le grain et vouloit sa mere laissier la paille, car il li vouloit tolir sa terre ou il n'avoit droit; maiz li quens d'Anjou et li quens de Poitiers li foulerent si sa vendenge qu'il n'out talent ne pooir de regiber; si comme vous avez oy sa arriere.

Even a cursory reading of these variants will show that the manuscript *H* differs from the others in many particulars. have counted in all 496 variants. Of these, 373 are peculiar to *H*, being readings found in no other manuscript; 123 are readings shared by *H* with one or more of the others. In respect to these common variants, *H* agrees with *BCDEF* twelve times, with *BCEF* five times, with *BC* twelve times, with *EF* five times, with *B* alone nineteen times, with *E* alone thirteen times, with *D* alone nine times, with *C* alone seven times, with *A* alone four times, with *F* alone three times. Out of fifty variants chosen at random from the beginning and the middle of the text, *H* shows the following agreements:

	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*
H	29	38	25	18	15	15

What now are the relations between *H* and the other manuscripts so far as an examination of the variants can determine them? The majority of the latter are unimportant, being simply due to a difference of word order or to the substitution of one synonym for another. But, leaving these out of consideration, enough remain to permit some conclusions in regard to the age and the relationship of our manuscript.[41] In the first place, the

[41] *H*, as we have seen, is dated 1323. De Wailly, in his edition, gives, unfortunately, no indications as to the age of the other MSS, nor does he describe them. I have examined only two of them, those preserved in the British Museum, *A* (Add. 11783) and *F* (Add. 7103). Judging by the script, both are as late or later than *H*. Neither contains any chronological indications.

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inclusion of the fable of the wolf, the she-goat and the two dogs, as well as the attitude expressed towards the sons of Bouchard d'Avesnes, first husband of the Countess Margaret of Flanders, prove that *H* belongs to De Wailly's first family (*ABC*).[42] On the other hand, it differs markedly from any of these manuscripts in regard to the arrangement of the matter after paragraph 404, in its omission of the other fable of the tomtit and the rustic (found in all the other MSS, including those of the second family *DEFG*), and in its final omission of paragraphs 466–47.[43] As to the order of the paragraphs, it will have been observed that the fable of the wolf and the she-goat (lacking in *DEFG*) is inserted in *ABC* in the midst of the episode to which it is applied as an "essample," the contest between the Countess of Flanders and her sons by Bouchard d'Avesnes. In *H* it is appended as a sort of conclusion to the whole text, an afterthought.

In regard to the chronology of the different MSS, De Wailly[44] seeks to prove that the primitive redaction of the text dates from the year 1260, but that all the MSS save *A* were copied not earlier then 1295. He shows this by adducing certain readings of *A* which refer, by the use of the present tense, to certain persons as living at that time.[45] It should be noted that in all these passages but three *H* agrees with *A*. These three passages are: 233, where the allusion to Conradin is omitted by *H*; 314, where *H* reads: *fu cuens d'Anjou*, but makes no reference to Charles' later titles; 353, where De Wailly's argument seems to me farfetched.[46] Moreover, the last event referred to in *H* is the death of St. Louis' eldest son, which took place in 1260. It says nothing of the contest about St. Remi which was still pending in 1271 and which is mentioned in all the other MSS. The natural conclusion

[42] I have examined and counted all the variants of the fable mentioned (found only in *ABCH*), to determine if possible whether *H* shows any notable kinship with one MS of this family. The following table shows the result of this examination:

	A	*B*	*C*
H	80	64	38

The difference is not enough, in my opinion, to prove that *H* and *A*, rather than *H* and *B*, constitute a distinct family.

[43] These contain the concluding episode of all the other versions, the story of the contest between the Archbishop of Reims and the Abbot of St. Remi concerning the "garde" of the latter.

[44] *Notice*, pp. xxx–xxxv.

[45] I doubt whether this fact has quite the weight that De Wailly gave it.

[46] See my previous note on this paragraph.

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is that *H* (dated 1323) goes back to a text written in 1260 or soon after, and that as both *A* and *H* were copied in the fourteenth century they are of equal value in the reconstruction of the original form of the text.

But, as regards the other differences, two hypotheses seem to be possible: one, that *H* represents a later, revised and abbreviated redaction of some MS of the first family (possibly *B*); or, two, that *H* is a late and faulty copy of the earliest redaction of the text, of which the other MSS represent two distinct later revisions. I believe that the second explanation is more probable, although I recognize that there is no decisive proof of either. However, if the arrangement found in *ABC* is original, it is difficult to understand why a later scribe should have transferred the fable of the wolf and the goat to the end, or why he should have omitted entirely the charming apologue of the "masenge" and the "vilain," or why he should likewise have omitted the final sections 466–479, or why he should have condensed paragraphs 450–455 as he has. At least, no plausible reason for these changes and omissions is apparent. On the other hand, if the text of *H* is the original, the changes and additions in *ABC* are explicable. The redactor would naturally think that the proper place for the fable of the wolf and the goat is in the midst of the incident to which it refers.[47] The other fable and the account of the legal contest at Reims can be explained as additions to the original version, very likely inserted by the author himself. As to paragraphs 450–455, it will, I think, be conceded by any one who compares the two versions that the text of *H* reads just as smoothly as that of the other MSS and so can hardly be a condensation of their text.

In many places of the text, where *H* differs from that of all the other MSS, its reading is often either more accurate historically, or else decidedly better in style or grammar.[48] Such corrections are not such as would occur to an ordinary scribe. On the other hand, in many instances where *H*'s reading is worse than

[47] Moreover, the wording *et dirons dou* (beginning of 420), found in *BCEF*, is probably a reflection of the expression *Or dirons dou* of *H*, which is suppressed by *A* and modified by *D*.

[48] As to the first point see the notes to 151, 236, 308[a], 374[a]. As to the second, see especially 16, 24[b], 26, 29[b], 61[a], 93[a], 137[b], 139[b], 173[a], 184–185, 190[b], 219, 269, 384[b], 399[a]. Especially striking is the variant in paragraph 137[b], where it would seem as if the phrase *et le fist chevalier*, found in *H* and necessary to the sense, were omitted in the other MSS as the result of a "bourdon" in the archetype.

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that of the other MSS, the corruption can easily be explained[49] as due to the haste and carelessness of the scribe of *H*.

My conclusion, which I present with some doubt, is that the manuscript Harley 3983 is a late and carelessly written copy of an edition of the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims* different from those represented by the other manuscripts and probably earlier than any. It may well represent the "first edition" of the author. Then the MSS *ABC* would represent a second edition, and the MSS *DEFG* a third. Whether this conclusion be accepted or not, a future editor of the *Récits* must certainly give careful attention to this hitherto unidentified manuscript.[50]

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[49] As in 1, 6ᵃ, 7, 17ᵃ, 29ᵃ, 73, 100, 110, 216, 228ᵇ, 233ᵃ, 277, 287ᵇ, 367, 399ᵇ.

[50] Since this this was written, I have found two additional MSS of the *Récits*, unknown to De Wailly, a discovery due largely to the courtesy and the learning of M. Ph. Lauer of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Possessing now complete rotographs of all the MSS, I announce herewith a new edition of this text as in active preparation.

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LII

TASSO'S HOLOGRAPH ANNOTATIONS TO HORACE'S *ARS POETICA*

AMONG the incunabula in the John Hay Library of Brown University are two quarto editions of Horace's *Opera*, with comment by Cristoforo Landino, one published in Florence in 1482 "per Antonium Miscominum," the other in 1483 in Venice "per Joannem de Forlivio et socios," the latter edition probably pirated from the former.[1] Both volumes contain holograph annotations by Pomponio Leto, by Bernardo Tasso and by Torquato Tasso; and both volumes, so far as I can ascertain, have been overlooked by scholars both in Italy and in this country.[2] I have, therefore, undertaken to study part, at least, of this material.

The several annotations of these three writers, as the chronology shows, stand in the order in which I enumerated them and in no way overlap. Pomponio Leto's comments must have been inscribed after 1482, when the book was published, and before 1498, the year of his death;[3] Bernardo Tasso's annotations were probably penned around 1530, the time when he was particularly interested in the Horatian ode, and at all events must have been written before 1569, the date of his death;[4] the annotations by Torquato

[1] This pirating was noted by Professor Harry L. Koopman, Librarian of the John Hay Library, in a brief article entitled: *Tasso's Horace at Brown*, published in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, May 1, 1904. I take this opportunity of most heartily thanking Mr. Koopman who first introduced me to the above-mentioned incunabula and who, in fact, found and purchased these treasures for Brown University.

[2] Solerti, however, in his *Notizie dei libri postillati da Torquato Tasso*, in Vol. II of his *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, Turin, Loescher, 1895, p. 113, does mention in his mere enumeration of volumes the 1483 edition, and refers to Panzer, III, p. 190, no. 678. See also: *Catalogue of the Extraordinary Collection of Splendid Manuscripts . . . . formed by M. Guglielmo Libri*, London, 1859, p. 197, No. 870; and again Solerti, *Notizie dei libri postillati da Torquato Tasso che si conservano nella Barberiniana di Roma* in *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi*, (VI) 1895, pp. 115–117.

[3] See V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, Rome, 1909–1912, 2 vols. The third volume has not appeared because, unfortunately, the author died in an accident in 1925, as Professor Pio Rajna tells me.

[4] For Bernardo Tasso's imitation of the Horatian ode, see F. Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, Milan, Fr. Vallardi, 1900, p. 192, and his *Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera*, Leghorn, Giusti, 1895, pp. 395–401; F. Pintor, *Delle liriche di B. Tasso* in the *Annali della Regia Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, XIV (1899); Carducci, *La poesia barbara nei secoli XV e XVI*, Bologna, 1881, and his *Dello svolgimento dell'ode in Italia*, in *Opere*, Vol. XVI, Bologna, 1905; Gaspary,

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Tasso must date from a still later period since in 1569 he was a young man of twenty-five, whereas his use of this book, as we shall see later, can be referred to the later years of his life. Moreover, the appearance of the pages, in the 1482 edition, makes it clear that the notes by Torquato Tasso were written around the others, thus showing that the others were already on the page before his were added. (See facsimile, p. 157.)

With this prefatory statement, we are prepared to examine Tasso's holograph annotations in the 1482 volume, confining ourselves to those on the *Ars Poetica*, since the others are apparently less important. The several points to be considered will be taken up in the following order: 1. Authenticity of these annotations; 2. Their nature; 3. Date of their composition.

As to the question of authenticity, first of all we may note the statement attached to a fly-leaf of the volume in question,[5] which was added in the 19th century, apparently by some erudite bibliographer, to the effect that this volume contains holographic annotations by Torquato Tasso. Further light would very likely be shed on this subject by more exact information as to the provenience of the volume. It is, however, almost impossible to ascertain the consecutive provenience of a book, and were it possible in this case, it would make a long study in itself, without giving us, probably, substantial proofs. My conviction that these annotations are authentic is based on much safer and more revealing evidence, viz. the direct and detailed examination of the handwriting and a comparison between it and other genuine samples of Tasso's handwriting accessible, in facsimile, in our American libraries. As it is practically impossible to reproduce with ordinary printing type the very letters, small and capital,

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Storia della letteratura italiana, translated by Rossi, Turin, 1891, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 135, 290; Paul Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique*, Paris, 1909, p. 25, note 2. As the books by Bernardo Tasso in which he imitated the Horatian ode were published in 1531, 1534, 1537, and also after 1543, it is logical to suppose that it was during the thirties that the poet was chiefly interested in the imitation of Horace. For exact data on this so far unexploited subject we shall have to wait for Miss Esther Marhofer, whose doctoral dissertation at Chicago is on "The Development of the Horatian Ode in Romance Literatures."

[5] The statement, written on a piece of paper stuck on the V. side of the first fly leaf, says: "Horace—(Printed 1482) with Notes by Tasso. J. L. Tupper (No. 1031)." The Catalogue of the British Museum mentions certain essays by J. L. Tupper, 1872.

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in the exact shape penned by Tasso, let me explain that I made a careful list of such letters, traced with pencil on tracing paper directly from these annotations and that I compared them with the various facsimiles of Tasso's handwriting to be found in Solerti,[6] and also, for instance, with those offered by Paglierani.[7] The letters fashioned by the writer of the annotations now under consideration are so extremely similar to and so often identical with those in the samples, that one's natural suspicions concerning authenticity are practically allayed. Furthermore, since the handwriting of Tasso, as everybody's, underwent with advancing years certain changes, obviously due to maturity, practice, customary negligence, etc., observing these changes, which are personal, characteristic of a special period and not easily imitable, one may even deduce approximately the time of writing and obtain additional corroboration of authenticity. An example of such calligraphic peculiarities is mentioned by Paglierani,[8] who noted that, in writing a capital *N*, Tasso gradually fell into the habit, in his maturity, of allowing the transversal stroke to become almost horizontal, so that the *N* virtually appeared as an *H*. This mannerism is manifest in our annotations to Horace, in which an *N* appears precisely in the form of an *H*; and it must be an *N* because it is the initial letter of the word *Non* (see facsimile, p. 156[v]).[9] Finally, if we study also the quality and color of the ink, the very direction or habit of the pen-strokes and other mannerisms, one can hardly entertain further doubts as to the genuineness of Torquato's holographic annotations. Indeed it may be affirmed that, with the possible exception of certain underlinings and the numerals of the pagination (all of which are also by Toquato) the marginal annotations in this Horace of 1482 were all written at the same period of his life. I shall come to an even more detailed conclusion shortly.

[6] In all Tasso studies Angelo Solerti's *Vita di Torquato Tasso, ed. cit.*, Vol. I., is, of course, essential. I shall hereafter refer to it simply as Solerti.

[7] *La "Sofonisba" di Giangiorgio Trissino con note di Torquato Tasso, edite a cura di Franco Paglierani*, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1884, in Vol. 205 of the *Scelta di curiosità inedite o rare*. See also a review of this work by Bernardo Morsolin, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, IV, 432 ff. and the following study therein referred to: *Note inedite di Torquato Tasso sulla "Sofonisba" di G. G. Trissino*, per nozze Todeschini-Zampatelli, Piacenza, Marchesotti, 1883.

[8] *Op. cit.* p. xiv, xv.

[9] As only the recto sides of the pages are numbered, the actual number 156[v]. does not appear in our facsimile.

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Still further proof of authenticity is furnished by the context. There are, in fact, other volumes containing acceptedly genuine annotations by Tasso. One of these, containing Trissino's *Sophonisba*, now in the library of Imola, was studied and published by the above-mentioned Paglierani.[10] If we compare the annotations to our *Horace* of 1482 with the annotations to the *Sophonisba*, we find throughout such an overwhelming similarity both in critical standards and in personal tone, that whatever doubts might have been previously entertained now vanish altogether. The accompanying photographic reproduction of two pages of the *Horace* of 1482 is submitted not merely to exhibit this literary curiosity, but also to satisfy any who might question the authenticity of Tasso's annotations.

We may now proceed to an examination of the annotations themselves.

Not counting uncommented underlinings, but only phrased or at least verbal comments, there are, within the first 124 lines of the *Ars Poetica*, nineteen annotations. I shall enumerate them in the exact order in which they appear on the pages of the incunabulum, giving first the words or lines of the *Ars Poetica* referred to by Tasso, italicizing all those that he underlined, secondly, presenting Tasso's Italian annotation, and then giving a literal translation of each annotation.

I. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 9–11:

pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.
Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;[11]

2. Tasso, p. 156 ^{v}., margin at left and at bottom:

Il qual precetto non si vole intendere nè da l'Infarinato nè da l'Inferigno, che frullano l'altrui farina a loro talento. Non mancano al *petimus*, ma bensì al *damus*, e le parole *ueniam* et *uicissim* non sono registrate che nelle loro leggi Accademiche.[12]

[10] Cf. my note 6. Paglierani discusses, on p. iv, ff., the date of this edition of the *Sophonisba*.

[11] In quoting Horace I use, in order to avoid the somewhat unclear abbreviations of the 1482 edition, the text given by the *Horace* of the Loeb Classical Library, London, Heinemann, 1926.

[12] In transcribing Tasso's annotations, I take no liberties with the text, even following the lack of punctuation, which, incidentally, suggests that these annotations were written in haste, for his own perusal or satisfaction and not for the public.

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Precipit igit cũ multa a poeta frangenda sint: ne pugnãtia inter se aut nullo pacto quadrã tia cõiungat. Nam cũ ois ars naturã imitet: ita irridebitur poeta: si monstruosa describat: ut rideret pictor: si equi ceruicé capiti hũano subdat: et ipsi ceruici equinę corpus ex uariis auibus ita appingat: ut ultima mẽbra pisciũ sint. COLLatis. in idé corpus inductis. VNDIq;. i. ab omnibus quę dixit aialibus: Nã hoc faciés corpus pulchrę mulieris quod i capite apparuit: in turpé piscem desinet. TENEATis risum. q. d. minime cõtinebitis risum ADMissi spectatũ. i. ad inspectandum et inspiciendum hu iuscemodi depictũ monstrum. AMICI. ergo minime tenebũt inuidi: si nõ tenuerint amici. CRedite. Cũ asseueratiõe suã sniam exprimit. LIBrũ. poetę. SIMILem tabulę. i. picturę quã narrauit. CVius. s. libri. FINGVntur spẽs. hoc poetis licet. VANE. hoc non licet. Quod ut melius teneas: dicamus ex Donati sententia Falsum: uanum: fictumq; inter se differre. Falsum eni est quo tegitur id quod fcũm é. Vanũ quod fieri nõ pôt. Fictum qđ non est factum: et fieri potuit. Igitur falsum et fictũ sine uero est: sed tamen uerisimile. Vanum non habet uerisimile. Falsum loqui médacis est. Fictum callidi. Vanũ srulti. Falsum loqui culpę est. Fictum uirtutis. Vanũ uecórdię. Fictis delectamur. Falsis decipimur. Vana cõtemnimus. Ex iis manifestum est spẽs poetarum fictas esse oportere. Nos enim delectare uult: Vanas aũt minime oportere: Ridiculus eni efficeret. SOMnia ęgri. Nam ęgrotorum somnia quoniã ex humorũ peccato ꝓueniunt: nõ solum nõ sunt uera: Sed oio uanas spẽs afferunt: quoniã neq; uerę neq; possibiles sũt.. PES. finis. CAPut. ꝓncipiũ PICToribus atq; poetis. Licet pictori fingere: licet poetis: Illi coloribus: huic uerbis. Licet ergo formare chimerã: formare carnibus humanis uescentes equos. Itaq; petimus tãq; poetę hanc ueniam: et concedimus tanq; critici et censores: Sed tamẽ nõ ita a natura discedendum é: ut mitibus immitia admisceãt. SERpentes. q; auibus inimicissimę sũt. INCeptis grauibus. Intollerabile uitiũ est eorũ poetarũ: q; cũ aliqd grauitate plenũ scribendũ susceperint: qđ aut ad deos imortales: aut ad heroas: aut ad ꝑstantissimos uiros ptineat: ita in eo poemate uersari: ut quędã minora i eo optime describas. In summa aũt rei qđ poetarũ ꝓprium é decorũ: nõ serues. Ergo si ludorũ descriptio incidat: ut in çneidę ludi inducunt in anchisę honorẽ: describet optime apparatũ illũ ludorũ: tenoré aũt ꝓpetuũ totius argumẽti pficere nõ poterit: ueluti si Virgilius cũ templũ Iunonis et artificiũ in illo artificiosissime prosequat: q; aũt circa didonis troianorũq; aduentũ in illud ptineant: exeq; ꝓ dignitate nõ possit. Posuit ãt pãnus ꝓ ornamento: siue adhibeat cõpationẽ: siue aliũ coloré uerborũ

Falsum
Vanum
Fictum

Vndiq; collatis mẽbris: ut turpiter atrũ
Desinat i piscẽ mulier formosa supne:
Spectatũ admissi risum teneatis amici?
Credite pisones isti tabulæ fore librũ
Persimilẽ: cuius uelut ægri somnia uanæ
Fingunt spẽs: ut nec pes nec caput uni
Reddat formæ. pictoribus atq; poetis
Quidlibet audẽdi semp fuit æqua ptãs.
Scimus: & hãc ueniã petimusq; dãusq; uicissim
Sed nõ ut placidis coeant immitia: nõ ut
Serpẽtes auibus geminentur tygribus agni.
Incęptis grauibus plerũq; & magna ꝓfessis
Purpureus late q splẽdeat: unus & alter
Assuit pãnus: cũ lucus & ara dianæ

Come i poeti di Cortigiani

Qual pie cette nõ si debe intendere che da l'huomo sapiente sia fatto che l'huomo sia sapiente a bon tempo. Hor mancano al petimetro ma bene si dauano. e le parole uecchie non sono registrate che nelle loro leggi Accademiche.

ſnſarum ue ſiue topographiã ſiue chronographiã. Eſt aũt tranſlatio a ludis theatralibus: Nã theatra auleis ornabant: et uelis ex purpureis pãnis tegebant: ad ſolis moleſtiam excludendã: prçterq; etiã umbellis multi utebant. Virgil. Vel ſcena ut uerſis diſcedat frontibus utq; purpurea intexti tollant aulea britanni. Nam d factionibus quatuor quç in ludis circenſibus diuerſos pãni colores adhibebant: alibi dicendũ erit. Aſſuitur ergo pannus q ſplendeat, i. adhibetur ornatus: quo poema ſplẽdeat. Aut queritur aliqua deſcriptio: et arç dianç: deſcribiturq; et agrorũ et fluuiorũ amçnitas: cũ pſçpe id locus nõ deſideret. Ea aũt quç neceſſaria ſunt: nõ ponunt. Ergo nũc nõ erat iis locus. ET Fortaſſe cupreſſũ. Optima tranſlatio. Erat. n. pictor q cupreſſũ optime pingeret: Reliqua uero inepte. Cũ ergo a naufrago cõduceret: ut naufragiũ in tabella pingeret interrogauit nũqd et cupreſſũ una pigi uellet. Ergo iure hanc cõpatione ludit poetas: q relicta ppria materia quã exeq deſperãt iportune alios ornatus inducunt. QVID Hoc. pdeſt ut cupreſſũ pingas. SI FRactis enatat expes. i. ſi illidat ęs non ut cupreſſum pingas: ſed ipſum fractis nauibus enatantem: et ab omni ſpe deſtitutum. AMPHORA. tranſlatio a figulo: qui iure ridendus eſt: ſi cum uaſi ſuo principium amphorç dederit: quod uas capax ẽ: finẽ deinde det urcei uaſis anguſti et pui: Ridebit igit et poeta: q graue amplũq; initiũ attribuẽs: finẽ exilẽ ponat. CVRRente rota. Nã figuli rota currente uaſa fingunt. Figulinã arte a Chorebo athenienſe inuentã et alii ſcriptores et Plinius tradidere. Rotç uero inuentũ in illo alii Anacarſi ſcythç: alii Hypbio corinthio aſſignant. EXIT. finiuit: alias uitauit. SIMPlex et unũ. Sunt enĩ ſingula ita ſeorſum ſcribenda: ne alienis ptibus admiſceant. MAXima ps. ſ. poetarũ et plurale uerbũ dedit nomini ſingulari: quoniã in illo pluralitas colligit: ſic Virg. Pars infruſta ſecant: et tertiç pſonç dictioni pmã attribuit qa in ea pte ſe admiſcet: ut cũ cçteros reprehendat: ſibi pcere nõ uideat. Dicit ergo i oppoſita uitia incurrere poetas: dũ oppoſita effugere tentãt. Sũt enĩ qui ut nimiã loquacitatem effugiant: breuitatẽ tentent: ſed qa illã explere nequeunt: icidunt in obſcuritatem. In breuitate enim preceptum eſt: ut inde incipiamus unde neceſſe eſt: et non ab ultimo principio repetamus. Et ſi ſummatim: non particulatim narramus. Et ſi non ad extremum: ſed uſque eo quod opus fuerit: proſequemur. Et ſi exitus rerum ita ponemus: ut ea quoque quae non diximus: ex iis quae dicta ſunt intelligantur. Et omnino ſi non modo tacemus id quod obeſt: ſed etiam id quod non prodeſt. Qui igitur hęc obſeruat: breuis erit. Sed ſi ea quoque pretermittet quae neceſſaria ſunt iam non breuis; ſed obſcurus fiet.

Et ꝑperãtis aquæ ꝑamęnos ãbitus agros
Aut flumẽ rhenũ: aut pluuius deſcribit arcus.
Sed nũc nõ erat his locus. & fortaſſe cupreſſũ
Scis ſimulare: qd hoc? ſi fractis enatat expes
Nauibus ære dato q pingit. ãphora cępit
Inſtitui currente rota. cur urceus exit?
Deniq; ſit qđ uis ſimplex dũ taxat & unũ
Maxia ps uatũ pater & iuuenes patre digni
Decipimur ſpecie recti: breuis eſſe laboro:

come il Pittore

Amphora

Figulina ars

Rota currentis

così il Nissino

E qui ha peccato
Virgilio grandissimo
poeta che non
nomina [illegible] veduta
tione, ma il suo
peccato gli sarà
ben chiarito
dal giu
dice il
più severo se forse
ancora un Bacco-
ne perche' ha fan-
tasticato tante mara-
viglie, e divine
bellezze

Difetto nel quale non è certamente
caduto il Bembo. Se pur no è tale
il contrario, et alcuni così pure
l'intendono d'Homero

[Which precept neither the Infarinato nor the Inferigno wishes to understand, who bolt (sift) other people's flour as they wish. They do not fail in the *petimus*, but indeed in the *damus*, and the words *ueniam* et *uicissim* are only recorded in their Academic laws.]

II. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 12–13:

sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
serpentes avibus geminentur, *tigribus agni.*

2. Tasso, p. 156 ^{v}., margin at right, middle:

Come i poeti ai cortigiani.

[As poets with (to) courtiers.]

III. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 19–24:

et fortasse cupressum
scis simulare: quid hoc, si *fractis* enatat exspes
navibus, aere dato qui pingitur? amphora coepit
institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?
denique sit quod vis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.

2. Tasso, p. 157, right margin, middle:

Così il Trissino E qui ha peccato quel grandissimo poeta che io non nomino per veneratione, ma il suo peccato gli sarà perdonato dal giudice il più severo se fosse ancora un Dracone[13] perchè ha partorito tante maraviglose e divine bellezze.

[Thus Trissino. And here has sinned also that very great poet whom I do not name out of veneration, but his sin will be pardoned him by the séverest judge, were he even a Draco, because he has given birth to so many marvellous and divine beauties.]

IV. V. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 24–25:

Maxima pars vatum, pater et iuvenes patre digni,
decipimur specie recti. brevis esse laboro,
obscurus fio;

2. Tasso, p. 157:

I do, however, resolve such abbreviations as *no* for *non*, etc. In the small margin between Horace's text and Landino's comment, there is a little hand, pen-drawn, probably by Tasso, pointing vertically to line 9 (see facsimile, page 156^{v}).

[13] For the correct reading of this name I am indebted to Professor G. W. Benedict, of Brown University, whom I gladly thank.

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Two annotations:

A. Immediately beneath l. 25:

Come il Pigna

B. Margin at bottom, with clear reference sign:

Difetto nel quale non è certamente caduto il Bembo, se pur non è tale il contrario, et alcuni così pure l'intendono d'Homero.

A. [Like Pigna.]

B. [A defect into which Bembo certainly did not fall, if indeed the contrary is not true, and some thus also think of Homer.]

VI. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 26–31:

sectantem levia nervi
deficiunt animique; *professus grandia turget;*
serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae:

2. Tasso, p. 157 ^{v}., left margin, middle:

Nel primo ha peccato Lucano, e nel secondo il Trissino che par che vada con i lacci ai p'edi.

[Lucan has sinned in the first, and in the second, Trissino, who seems to go along with fettered feet.]

VII. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 29–31:

Qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.
In vitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte.

2. Tasso, p. 157 ^{v}., margin, middle, immediately beneath the preceding annotation:

questo è il difetto del Ronsardo.

[This is Ronsard's defect.]

VIII. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 38–45:

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
viribus et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
quid valeant umeri. Cui lecta potenter erit res,
nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat,
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.

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There are no underlinings and no vertical lines or other reference signs.

2. Tasso, p. 158, right margin, middle:

Ottimo, anzi divino precetto, ma per disgratia dell'universale trascurato da la maggior parte degli uomini, e perciò un Silio Italico, che la natura aveva creato per esser un buono storico, per non aver misurato le sue forze, è riuscito un meschino poeta.

[Excellent, indeed divine precept, but unfortunately neglected in general (?) by the majority of men, wherefore a Silius Italicus, whom nature had created to be a good historian, because he did not gauge his strength, turned out to be a paltry poet.]

IX. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 48–51:

Si forte necesse est
indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
continget, *dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter:*

2. Tasso, p. 158 ^{v}., right margin, middle:

il che non vole intendere nè l'Infarinato nè l'Inferigno e perche non sarà lecito ancora a noi: gli antichi non parlarono di tutto.

[Which neither the Infarinato nor the Inferigno will understand. And why shall it not be permitted to us too: the ancients did not speak of everything.]

X. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 52, 53:

et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta.

2. Tasso, p. 158 ^{v}., left margin, middle:

A questa legge il Trissino e fedelissimo

[To this law Trissino is extremely faithful.]

XI. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 55–59:

ego cur, adquirere pauca
si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
nomina protulerit? licuit, semperque licebit
signatum praesente nota producere nomen.

2. Tasso, p. 159, right margin, upper middle:

(Though all but the last line of the Latin occurs on p. 158 ^{v},

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this annotation, which seems to follow in context immediately after the preceding one, is on p. 159)

E così novi ogetti nove parole.

[And thus new objects, new words.]

XII. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 60–63:

ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.

2. Tasso, p. 159, right margin, middle:

qui l'Infarinato e l'Inferigno anzichè frullare sono frullati.

[Here the Infarinato and the Inferigno instead of sifting (bolting) are sifted (bolted).]

XIII. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 70–73:

Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque
quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, *si volet usus,*
quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.

2. Tasso, p. 159, right margin, middle:

a le fiamme adunque frullone e frullatori.

[To the flames, then, with the bolter and the bolters.]

XIV. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 99–103:

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata: dulcia sunto
et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto.
Ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt
humani voltus: si vis me flere, dolendum est
primum ipsi tibi:

2. Tasso, p. 161 ^{v}., left margin, middle:

E perciò bisogna piangere al canto d'Ugolino *e se non piangi di che pianger suoli*, e cosi ancora alle lacrime et a la disperatione di Didone: niuno meglio di loro ha inteso il precetto e meglio toccato nel segno.

[And therefore must one weep at the Canto of Ugolino *and if thou dost not weep at what art thou wont to weep*, and thus also at the tears and despair of Dido: no one better than they has understood the precept and better hit the mark.]

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XV. 1. *Hor.*, ll. 120–122:

> Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis *Achillem*,
> impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
> iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.

2. Tasso, p. 162, upper left margin:

> Come Alfon[so].
>
> [Like Alfonso.]

XVI. 1. *Hor.*, l. 123:

> *Sit Medea* ferox invictaque,

2. Tasso *ibid.*:

Lucretia B.

XVII 1. *Hor.*, *ibid.*:

> *flebilis Ino*,

2. Tasso, *ibid.*, in small right margin between verse and comment:

Leonora.

XVIII. 1. *Hor.*, l. 124:

> *Perifidus Ixion.*

2. Tasso, *ibid.*:

il ~~Ma~~Madalò.

XIX. 1. *Hor.*, *ibid.*:

> *tristis Orestes.*

2. Tasso, *ibid.*, right margin, middle:

> Dove mi dica ognun dove fu visto
> Di me infelice più, di me più tristo.
>
> [Where, tell me, where was ever seen
> One unhappier, sadder than I.]

There are, really, two other annotations, but they were cancelled by Tasso, with strokes of the pen, so successfully that I have in vain tried to decipher them. One of them was written between lines 123 and 124, immediately beneath Horace's *invictaque* of line 123 and immediately above his *Io vaga* of 124. The other comes on the right of the word *Orestes* of 124. A minute and prolonged

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examination of these cancellations revealed the fact that Tasso must have cancelled them at the time of writing, because the ink of the cancellation mingled with that of the word written. Two or three letters of the first cancelled word are vaguely, very vaguely discernible, but not sufficiently even to suggest the obliterated word.[14]

Having thus presented Tasso's annotations, I may now proceed to discuss their significance. I shall first take up his literary comments and then his more personal annotations.

We may note, first of all, that Tasso's literary comments deal not merely with the Art of Poetry in general, but with the technique of epic poetry, which was, of course, his special province. In fact the four classical writers whom he mentions: Homer, Lucan, Silius Italicus and Virgil, are primarily epic poets. About Homer Tasso does not say anything very definite. Strangely enough he couples him, in the same annotation, with Bembo, who, says Tasso, (V), certainly did not indulge in the fault of excessive brevity, if indeed the contrary is not true; and then he adds that some people think likewise of Homer. Tasso's criticism of Homer is here distinctly non-committal. Although he certainly had a great admiration for Homer, he saw, particularly in the *Iliad*, a certain prolixity which he criticised in greater detail in his critical essays.[15] Lucan he apparently accuses (VI) of promising grandeur but being, on the contrary, merely bombastic. Tasso is doubtless referring to the *Pharsalia*, which he also criticised in other writings.[16] Silius Italicus, says Tasso (VIII), attempted a subject far beyond his strength, viz. an epic poem, so that this writer, who had been created to be a good historian, turned out to be merely a paltry (meschino) poet. Tasso was so familiar with Silius Italicus' epic on the Punic wars that he even used it as a minor source in his *Gerusalemme liberata*.[17] In Virgil, Tasso finds (XIV)

[14] I am glad to express my thanks here to Professor C. W. Miller, of the Department of Physics of Brown University, who very kindly provided me with high-powered lights, lenses, etc.

[15] See his *Discorsi dell'arte poetica*, edition annotated by Angelo Solerti, Turin, Paravia, 1901, pp. 14, 30.

[16] See Tasso's *Discorsi . . . . , ed cit.*, p. 28.

[17] For Tasso's sources see Solerti, p. 461 ff., and references given; V. Vivaldi, *Sulle fonti della Gerusalemme Liberata*, Catanzaro, 1893; also Vivaldi, *La Gerusalemme Liberata studiata nelle sue fonti; episodi*, Trani, 1907; etc. Many curious sources for Tasso's works in general and for his *Aminta* in particular may be found in the following rich sample of XVIIIth century erudition: Giusto Fontanini:

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the poet who admirably combines the narrative and the stirring. He very naturally couples Virgil and Dante in the same annotation as the two great epic poets who, better than all others, were able to stir their readers because they were themselves stirred by the drama of their subject. Without referring to Virgil by name, Tasso specifically mentions "the tears of Dido," alluding, doubtless, to the *Æneid*.[18]

Most appropriately Tasso quotes (XIV) a line of Dante's *Divine Comedy, Inferno*, XXXIII, 42, which, in the words of Count Ugolino, echoes, in a way, Horace's precept. I certainly need not give the purport of this famous canto. That Tasso should be a great admirer of Dante is natural, though we must not forget that, during the Renaissance, owing to the extreme glorification of Greek and Latin and to the worldly, pagan spirit of the time, general admiration for Dante, who represented so superbly both the spirituality of the Middle Ages and the rise of poetry in the vernacular, underwent a period of severe depression. From Tasso's works we gather that he imitated Dante, but that, on the other hand, he did not hesitate to consider Petrarch superior to Dante in "poetic elocution." This remark, however, applied more to lyric than to epic art.[19] In his sonnets Tasso was perpetually imitating Petrarch, following, inevitably, the Petrarchism of the time. Incidentally we may note that the passage of the *Inferno* quoted in the annotation under discussion was left without comment in the copy of the *Divine Comedy* containing Tasso's holograph annotations.[20]

L'Aminta di Torquato Tasso difeso e illustrato . . . . , con alcune osservazioni d'un accademico fiorentino, Venezia, Sebastiano Coleti, 1730. In his *Discorsi, ed. cit.*, p. 23, Tasso mentions Lucan and Silius Italicus and says: *"l'uno e l'altro de' quali troppo ampia e copiosa materia abbracciò . . . . ,"* and then significantly compares Livy and Silius.

[18] The precise passage alluded to is probably *Æneid*, IV, 412-449, as was kindly suggested by Dr. T. T. Savage, of Brown University, whom I consulted.

[19] See *Apologia del S. Torquato Tasso, In difesa della sua Gerusalemme Liberata*, Ferrara, Appresso Giulio Cesare Cagnaccini et Fratelli, 1585. On p. 15 v. Tasso says: "Dante, Poeta divino . . . . ad imitatione del quale trattai alcune delle cose celesti;" and then on p. 42: "Dante, che scrisse più fiorentinamente del Petrarca, ma non ebbe elocutione così poetica e così pellegrina." See also Solerti, p. 416.

[20] See *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri Postillata da Torquato Tasso*, Pisa, 1830; and Celani, Enrico: *La postille di T. Tasso alla Divina Commedia, edite nell'autografo della R. Biblioteca Angelica, con prefazione di T. Casini*, Città di

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The defect that Tasso finds in Ronsard (VII) is that he lacked art. Tasso was doubtless referring not to Ronsard's lyrics, but to his *Franciade*. For the sake of curiosity let us note that only once in all his published writings did Tasso mention Ronsard,[21] whom he might possibily have met in France in the latter part of 1570 or the beginning of 1571, though there is no record whatsoever of such a meeting. Ronsard's lyrics Tasso had known through Speroni; the *Franciade* he must have read shortly after returning to Italy in 1571.[22]

Trissino is mentioned three times in Tasso's annotations (III, VI, X). Tasso finds that Trissino, as Silius Italicus, selected the wrong medium of literary expression; that he tried to soar poetically, but went along the ground instead, like one "with fettered feet;" that in spite of these defects he was felicitous in his usage of new words drawn from Greek sources, according to the precepts of Horace. The second of these comments, which accuses Trissìno of being earth-bound in spite of his poetic ambition, finds an interesting echo in Tasso's annotations to Trissino's *Sophonisba*.[23] In this the first formal Italian tragedy Tasso found several praiseworthy things, always complaining, however, that, except for a very few inspired lyric strains in the choruses, the author failed to come up to the noble requirements of his theme, being not only prosaic, but often colloquially plebian.[24]

Castello, Lapi, 1896. (*Collezione di opuscoli danteschi*). A direct reference, however, to Count Ugolino may be found in Tasso's *Discorsi . . . . ed. cit.*, pp. 60–61. Giovanni Rosini, in his *Saggio sugli amori di Torquato Tasso*, Pisa, Capurro, 1841, mentions, on p. 184, a copy of Virgil with numerous comments by Tasso. Of course this book was inaccessible to me, but it must have annotations somewhat similar to ours because Rosini says (*loc. cit.*): "E questo pure è veramente un tesoro (giacchè i detti commenti si potrebbero chiamar sovente la poetica del Tasso); e di più sono sfoghi del suo Amore e dell'altrui tirannia."

[21] See Maugain, *Ronsard et l'Italie*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1926; also Pierre de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'Humanisme*, Paris, Champion, 1921, pp. 225–226, where the author notes that only in one place does Tasso mention Ronsard, that is in his Dialogue: *Il Cataneo o vero de gli Idoli*. The autographic reference I am now publishing seems to be, therefore, the only other mention of Ronsard by Tasso, though not actually appearing in published works. De Nolhac also notes that, among Italian writers, Lodovico Castelvetro is the first to show a direct knowledge of the works of Ronsard.

[22] Solerti, pp. 148–149.

[23] *Op. cit.* in my note 7.

[24] See also B. Morsolin, *op. cit.*, p. 436, who notes a reference to Trissino in which Tasso finds him using such lowly and trivial language: "che Orazio lo chiamerebbe

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Of slighter significance is Tasso's remark (XI) that, in accordance with Horace's precept, new ages will bring new objects and consequently new words which the poet may quite legitimately use.

There is only one anonymous literary reference in Tasso's annotations. It says (III) that, like Trissino, another great poet, whom Tasso out of veneration does not mention by name, sinned in not giving to his work the unity required by Horace's precepts; and Tasso adds that such a defect will be forgiven even by the severest of judges, because this poet "gave birth to so many marvelous and divine beauties." In general, I am inclined to suspect that the poet here reverently referred to is Ariosto, whom Tasso admired most genuinely, in spite of the fact that envious comparisons were frequently made between these two great epic poets. As Tasso was usually the first magnanimously to admit his own inferiority, this annotation might be an additional corroboration of his attitude. The word "veneration," however, suggests a more personal feeling than admiration, and one that would better explain this exceptional reticence, if the person alluded to could be Tasso's father, whose poetic work Torquato admired exorbitantly and valiantly defended.

The annotations we have so far discussed are mainly literary. We now come to those which may well be considered strictly personal, even though referring at times to literary matters.

When, for instance, Tasso writes, immediately beneath Horace's: "Decipimur specie recti," (l.25): "Come il Pigna," we may ask ourselves: "Why Pigna?" An important fact especially revealed by these annotations is that a word of generally unfavorable significance in the Horatian text immediately suggested to Tasso's ultra-sensitive mind a specific person. It is both the propensity of the poet to give body to an abstraction and that of an exceptionally subjective poet and of a man who, at least at certain times, was the victim of monomania, to find everywhere suggestions of enmity and persecution. This very propensity suggests again not the merry young courtier, but the mature, and, as we know, wretched Tasso. In the annotation just quoted it looks as if Horace's word *decipimur* suggested immediately to poor Tasso not abstract deceit, but a specific deceiver. This thought im-

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'sermo pedestris'." And in his *Discorsi* (*ed. cit.*), p. 24, Tasso calls Trissino "digiuno ed arido," because he took, in his epic, too large a subject and (p. 34) tried in vain to imitate Homer.

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mediately became personified in Il Pigna,—the current name of Giambattista Nicolucci (1530-1575). Between these two poets of the court of Ferrara there had been at first great friendship, so that we find in one of Tasso's sonnets, written on the occasion of the marriage of Pigna's daughter, high praise of the older colleague,[25] but later both literary and amorous rivalry; literary because, of course, Pigna's imitative mediocrity was not comparable with Tasso's recognized genius, and amorous because both men had loved Lucrezia Bendidio. It is well known that Tasso, in his youthful pastoral drama *Aminta*, portrayed Il Pigna in the personage of *Elpino* and was pleased to call him "il saggio Elpino."[26] Later Tasso alluded to Il Pigna in the *Gerusalemme Liberata* in the personage of Alete, but with unequivocal animosity, if not hatred, calling him then also "shrewd deceiver" and "great forger of calumnies."[27]

Distinctly personal and bitter is also Tasso's remark (II) that court poets are just like lambs among tigers. Here too we find an echo of Tasso's troubles at the Court of Ferrara, troubles too well known to need discussion here. Let us note, rather, that Tasso is not thinking in terms of Horace's treatise, but *feeling* in terms of his own unhappy life. We may even detect, in this exclamation, not merely sarcasm, but self-commiseration. Here again it is not the young, care-free court poet who is writing this annotation, but the mature, embittered man, disillusioned with court life and persecuted by his fellow courtiers. These chronological suggestions will soon receive ample corroboration.

The most revelatory annotations, in fact, and the most sanguine, are those that refer to L'Infarinato and L'Inferigno, which are the well known academic pseudonyms, respectively, of Leonardo Salviati and Bastiano de'Rossi, both Florentines, personally unknown to Tasso and charter members of the Crusca. These were the men who, under cover of the Florentine Academy, virulently attacked Tasso and his *Gerusalemme*, in the attempt to prove, especially, that his epic poem was greatly inferior to Ariosto's and inherently bad both in content and style. I do not need to set

[25] See Solerti, pp. 169 ff.

[26] See, for instance, the edition of the *Aminta* with annotations by G. P. Pellizzaro, Napoli, Perrella (1914), Act I, Sc. 1, l. 183, "Il saggio Elpino" and note; also Sc. 2, p. 302 and note. See also Solerti, pp. 170 ff.

[27] See *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Canto II, octave 58, ll. 7, 8. "Al finger pronto, a l'ingannare accorto Gran fabro di calunnie. . . . . " See also Solerti, p. 172.

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forth the details of "the greatest polemic of the Cinquecento," because it has an abundant literature of its own.[28] Let me point out, however, the significance of Tasso's four annotations concerning these two men.

The very first of his annotations to the *Ars Poetica* refers to them. Horace's great precept that poets and painters should have, as they always have had, the right of "hazarding anything,"[29] that is, the right of audacity, these men will not understand. They meddle freely with other people's compositions; they claim the right of poets, but will not grant it. Tasso's tone is full of sarcastic animosity. His use of the verb *frullano*, which has an untranslatable force, is obviously derived from the *frullo*, bolter, which was, of course, the device of the Crusca.

A similar comment to the pedantry of these two academicians who wanted to restrict unduly Tasso's choice of subject is made by Tasso (IX), and he adds: "the ancients did not speak of everything." The ancients, for example, could not have written a Christian epic. In Horace Tasso finds a perfect refutation of the pedantic arguments of his attackers. He seems particularly convinced of this when (XII) he again hurls back at these Cruscanti the verb *frullare*, meaning that the two, indulging in excessive and superfluous criticism, are caught at their own game, and find exact contradiction in Horace. Tasso seems almost to laugh at his critics, but his is a bitter laughter; for, a moment later, losing his restraint, he bursts forth into an unmistakably angry exclamation, almost a curse: "To the flames, then, with bolter and bolters." Tasso's mood changes from refutation to indignation, and from indignation to rage, as he finds in Horace futher corroboration of his views and is, therefore, all the more led to consider the attacks of the Florentines as a personal affront.

It is in this mood of utter subjectivity that the last annotations are written. Again, not so much the literary precepts of Horace, but his words, especially his adjectives, drive Tasso toward further introspection and self-commiseration. Horace, in fact, is

[28] Again I refer first of all to Solerti, Ch. XX, who gives a most detailed account of the whole affair, which had been accurately set forth by Serassi in his *Life of Tasso*. Solerti gives, also, a *Bibliografia delle polemiche* . . . . in his *Appendice alle opere in prosa di Torquato Tasso*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1892. See also V. Vivaldi, *La più grande polemica del Cinquecento*, Catanzaro, Calió, 1895.

[29] I am using H. Rushton Fairchlough's translation of Horace, *op. cit.* See my note 11.

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merely giving rules for proper poetic characterization. "If you wish to portray Achilles," says Horace, "let him be impatient, passionate, ruthless, fierce." These adjectives at once suggest the Duke of Ferrara and Tasso writes on the margin (XV): "Come Alfonso." It was Alfonso d'Este who, at one time, had Tasso imprisoned in the hospital of Sant' Anna and, regardless of the poet's endless pitiful appeals for release, was indeed bitterly inexorable for seven years. Of course Tasso attributed such harsh treatment not to his own actions and to his insanity, but to Alfonso's personal enmity. In fact, in a letter written to Don Angelo Grillo and dated March 23, 1585, Tasso clearly set forth his attitude toward the Duke, saying: "ma dee sapere che l'illustrissimo signor Don Alfonso d'Este è la principal cagione che impedisce la mia libertà . . . . il quale è contra mes degnatissimo."[30]

Similarly, Horace's phrase: "Let Medea be fierce and unyielding," prompts Tasso to write in the margin (XVI): "Lucretia B.," apparently Lucretia Bendidio, the lady whom he had so much loved, who, unconquered by him, had once preferred the attentions of Il Pigna, and who had finally become the mistress of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, brother of Alfonso.[31] And Horace's "flebilis Ino," or rather, the adjective *flebilis*, prompts Tasso to write immediately after *Ino* (XVII): "Leonora." Was this "tearful" lady Leonora d'Este, Alfonso's and Luigi's invalid sister? This involves us in the old question as to whether Tasso was in love with the Duchess or not. It is well known that this love affair between a desperate poet and an inaccessible lady, first mentioned by Tasso's earliest biographer, Manso,[32] became a favorite romantic story, was treated romantically by Goethe, Goldoni, etc.,[33] and has even been

[30] See *Le Lettere di Torquato Tasso, disposte per ordine di tempo ed illustrate da Cesare Guasti*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1853, II, 359.

[31] See Solerti, p. 175; Giuseppe Campori e Angelo Solerti, *Luigi, Lucrezia e Leonora d'Este*, Turin, 1888; Solerti, *Ferrara e la corte estense nella seconda metà del secolo decimosesto*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1891; Francesco D'Ovidio, *Studi sul Petrarca e sul Tasso*, in *Opere*, XI, Rome, Edizioni A.P.E., (1926), pp. 337 ff. (This study of Professor D'Ovidio first appeared in the *Nuova Antologia* of July 15, 1882.)

[32] See D'Ovidio, *op. cit.*, p. 364. Professor D'Ovidio says: "Neppur uno dei contemporanei suoi fa il minimo accenno a questo voluto amore," but was not Manso, Tasso's biographer, a friend and contemporary?

[33] For dramatizations of Tasso, see *Il Tasso in teatro*, in a "numero unico": *Torquato Tasso, xxv aprile 1895*, Bergamo, 1895, pp. 4–5; Salvatore Capasso, *Tasso nella commedia*, in *Bios*, IV, 13, Naples, Pesola, 1895; and Angelo Mori, *Le sventure del Tasso nel teatro italiano*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1895.

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championed by scholars.[34] The most authoritative biography of Tasso,[35] however, demolishes completely this romantic tale and even portrays Leonora, though sickly, as a very forceful woman. If this is the case, why did Tasso think of her in connection with the word "tearful?" Could not *flebilis* possibly be interpreted not as mournful, but as mourned?[36] If this interpretation is plausible, then, as Leonora died on February 19, 1581, Tasso might well, even years later, be mourning the death of this friend, patroness and benefactress. The question is complicated, however, by the fact that there were at Ferrara other ladies by the name of Leonora or Eleonora, for instance Leonora di Scandiano, whom Tasso had undoubtedly loved and who died March 19, 1582. (The abundance of Leonoras at Ferrara was due to the fact that it was a favorite name in the ruling house of Este.) The exact identification of the Leonora here inscribed remains doubtful. On the whole I am inclined to suspect the Duchess Leonora, also because in a letter written while Tasso was at St. Anna, he actually said "he was not weeping in verse for her illness" for certain reasons.[37]

Again, at the mere mention by Horace of the word *perfidus*, l. 124, the idea of perfidy translated itself immediately in Tasso's mind into a specific name. Here, however, a peculiar thing occurred: Tasso first wrote on the margin, precisely opposite *perfidus*, "il Pi . . ," then cancelled, with three little strokes, "Pi," and added "Madalò." The idea of wickedness, apparently, first suggested to him Il Pigna, then, on second impulse, he substituted Madalò, which was the current name of that Ercole Fucci who, also once a fellow courtier and friend, quarreled with Tasso, was slapped by him and, in revenge, waited for him one night (July 1576) and struck him with a club,[38] a blow which used to be erroneously considered the actual cause of Tasso's insanity and therefore of his seven-year imprisonment.

[34] See Rosini's book, *op. cit.* (my note 20) which was written to prove the truth of this love affair. But see Solerti, pp. 842 ff.

[35] Solerti's, of course.

[36] Latin dictionaries seem to admit for this adjective both an active and a passive interpretation. Again I am indebted to Professor J. J. Savage, of Brown, for enlightenment, and to my teacher and old friend Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard, who called my attention to a similar use of *flebilis* for "mourned" in Horace, *Odes*, I, 24,. 9.

[37] "Non piangeva in versi per la malattia di lei, a cagione di una non so qual tanta ripugnanza." Quoted by D'Ovidio, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[38] Solerti, pp. 239 ff.

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The message of sadness carried by the last two words of Horace's l. 124: "tristis Orestes," coming as it does after such a series of personal, tragical suggestions, makes Tasso burst into his final and most pathetic annotation, which takes the form of a spontaneous couplet:

> Dove mi dica ognun dove fu visto
> Di me infelice più, di me più tristo.

This is the natural climax of poor Tasso's morbid self-commiseration. As I have looked in vain through all of Tasso's works for this couplet, and as it seems to tally so naturally with the poet's increasingly wistful mood in these annotations and so appropriately and dramatically to crown them, I have become convinced that these two lines were not quoted, but directly occasioned by the reading of Horace's words. They give, more than any other of his annotations, the full purport of the poet's tragical wretchedness. And with these words the annotations suddenly cease. One might almost imagine Tasso desperately putting away the book that had aroused so many painful thoughts, and perhaps surrendering entirely to one of his violent fits of despondency.

There are, to be sure, a few more underlinings, in fact two, in the remaining lines of the *Ars Poetica*, but as they are written in a darker ink and are not accompanied by any words in Tasso's handwriting, we may as well dismiss them as unrevelatory.

I now come to the chronological discussion. When did Tasso write these annotations? As a matter of fact we have already had intimations. We noticed, in general, that his remarks were not those of an enthusiastic young courtier, but of a mature man, disillusioned with court life and persecuted by his ducal patron and other enemies. Among these we found Madalò, with whom Tasso had a violent altercation in July 1576. These annotations must, then, have been written after that date. We found, also, the four annotations directed against two members of the Crusca Academy. A glance at the exact chronology of the great polemic between Tasso and the Crusca will enable us to discover the date of composition of these annotations.

First of all, let us consider the dates of the Crusca Academy. Although ever since 1582 certain Florentine writers, in fact, five, had gathered in a group to discuss literary questions, to which group was added a few months later the Cavaliere Lionardo Salviati, only in January 1583 did this group adopt the name Accademia della Crusca, and as an emblem or device, the *frullo*,

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bolter.[39] As Tasso refers twice clearly to the *frullo*, his annotations must, then, have been penned after January 1583 and, obviously, before his death on April 25, 1595. But Lionardo Salviati died on July 12, 1589. While one might argue that Tasso's generally chivalrous spirit would surely not have shown such bitter animosity toward an opponent already dead,[40] that it would not have gone so far as to wish him unceremoniously to everlasting flames, and that the very impetuosity of Tasso's remarks shows that the offense under which he was suffering was fresh, there are two stronger arguments that draw the dates closer together. It appears, in fact, that Salviati had shrewdly withdrawn from the famous polemic ever since April 19, 1586, for the simple reason that he was endeavoring to secure a position at the Court of Ferrara, an ambition which was realized early in 1588.[41] Tasso also, very soon after the initial publications and episodes of the polemic, dismissed the whole affair,[42] leaving it to his friends and enemies to prolong and embitter it. Our chronological limits, then, are broadly, January 1583—April 1586. But we may restrict these dates even further.

The one publication which initiated the whole polemic, the famous *Carrafa Dialogue*, made its appearance toward the end of 1584, for the dedication accompanying it was dated November 11 of that year.[43] Furthermore, the *Prima Stacciata*, or first printed attack by the pseudonymous academicians, which must have supplied the reason for four of Tasso's annotations, appeared in Florence on February 16, 1585,[44] and was received by Tasso at Ferrara by the 19th, because on this date Count Bardi, who brought three copies of the book from Florence to Ferrara, discovered that Tasso had already received a copy from Vincenzo Fantini.[45] On March 18th Torquato Tasso wrote to Cataneo: "A le opposizioni fattemi risposi in cinque giorni. . . . ."[46] The state-

[39] Solerti, p. 415, who refers to Cesare Guasti, *La Crusca e il Tasso*, in *Lettere*, IV.

[40] As a matter of fact, since Il Pigna died in 1575, and since, as I have just said, these annotations must have been written after 1583, Tasso *did* refer to one already deceased and not in complimentary terms.

[41] Solerti, p. 439; and V. Vivaldi, *Studi letterarii*, Naples, 1891, p. 48.

[42] Solerti, p. 437.

[43] Ibid., p. 415.

[44] Ibid., p. 416.

[45] Ibid., p. 421.

[46] Ibid., p. 422; and *Lettere, op. cit., Vol. II*, p. 357.

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ment of Serassi, that Tasso probably did not receive the offensive publication before March 8th or 10th, would, indeed, permit a date several days earlier. Serassi's date, taken in connection with Tasso's positive statement in his letter of March 18th that he *had* replied to the publication "in five days," would enable us to fix the date of the annotations during the middle days of March if we could assume that Tasso consulted his Horace and wrote his annotations immediately upon receipt of the offensive publication from the academicians. We do not, however, feel free so to restrict the date for two reasons. In the first place because we cannot properly assume that Tasso's annotations may *only* have been written immediately upon receipt of the first attack from the Florentines. Deeply hurt as he was, his indignation must have lasted more than just a few days; and, even if it had subsided, could easily have been re-aroused, for instance, by the reading of the *Ars Poetica*, especially in the case of a man so sensitive and so temperamental. In the second place, because Tasso happened to say, in his above-mentioned letter of March 18, 1585, and talking of his reply to the Crusca men: "nè so bene s'io ci ponessi tutto l'ingegno: ma certo non ci posi tutto lo studio nè tutta la diligenza, perchè i miei libri sono incassati, co'quali avrei potuto aggrandire il volume e confermare assai le mie risposte; ma non ho voluto cavarli." In short, almost immediately upon receipt of the book by the Florentine academicians who attacked him, possibly within five days, as he stated himself, he composed his first reply, but without the advantage of refuting his detractors authoritatively through his books, which then were boxed. We may well infer, accordingly, that after about February 24th (five days after the receipt by Tasso of the *Stacciata*, according to Solerti) or after March 13th or 15th (five days after, according to Serassi), and before Tasso dismissed the whole affair, he must have opened his boxes of books, among which must have been the Horace we have been examining.

But when did Tasso really dismiss this grievous affair? Certainly not before writing his final reply or *Apologia*, which appeared on July 20, 1585,[47] and was written in a very serene and restrained tone. We may, then, conservatively and correctly assume that very probably indeed Tasso must have consulted his authorities, namely his books, some time between his first impulsive and uncorroborated reply of February or March and his final reply

[47] Solerti, p. 424.

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of July 20th. Some day during those four or five months Tasso must have opened the box containing his books, must have gone over Horace's *Ars Poetica* and, again wrought up by the splendid corroboration he found there, full of indignation at his enemies and of commiseration for his unjustly, meanly offended self, must have penned his bitter and desperate annotations.

Indeed, I should be inclined to place the time considerably earlier than July 20th, because already in a letter to Giulia Caria, dated June 7th,[48] he thanks her for a sonnet written to him "ne l'occasione di queste dispute [with the Crusca], ne le quali fui provocato quasi in una picciola battaglia . . . . " referring to the matter as a thing of the past; and also because in an earlier letter, to Antonino Sersale, dated May 16th,[49] he says that the doctors have ordered "che io non istudi nè scriva." In still another letter, dated May 1st,[50] to Luca Scalabrino, he begs that his *Apologia* be printed "intera." If, then, by May first the manuscript of his last official reply to the Crusca was completed and if by May 16th he was forbidden to study or write, it seems very probable that by those dates the polemic had been, in general, dismissed by him. Of course these details are not conclusive, but they surely point toward a strong probability that Tasso's annotations were written in the early, rather than the late Spring of 1585, possibly in April. This is as near as we can come, with the data in hand, to the time of composition.

At this time, the Spring of 1585, Tasso had already been confined in the prison or hospital of St. Anna for six years. When he was finally released, in July 1586, he was so eager to leave the place of his infinite suffering that, as we know, he departed leaving all his books behind.[51] Among these books was doubtless the Horace of 1482 with his annotations.[52]

As we now study critically these annotations, jotted down in his broad hand and in his utterly spontaneous manner, we are stirred by the dramatic story they tell. We can follow the poet-prisoner of St. Anna in the emotional crescendo occasioned, in

[48] *Lettere, ed. cit., vol. cit.*, p. 379.

[49] Ibid., p. 375.

[50] Ibid., p. 367.

[51] Solerti, p. 493.

[52] I wish to thank most heartily the Harvard Library, without which this study would not have been possible, and particularly Mr. W. R. Briggs, Assistant Librarian, who so kindly expresses the hospitality of that great library.

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his ultra-sensitive, even morbid spirit by the connotations of the Horatian precepts as he moves from mere literary criticism, as that applied to Trissino, Dante, Virgil, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Ronsard, to bitter, passionate indignation at the Florentine pedants; from questions of literary characterization to the piercing remembrance of those persons who were so responsibly connected with his accumulated misfortune, and as, finally, in a climax of emotion, he relegates his enemies to eternal flames and gives vent to his utter desperation in a lyric outburst:

> Dove mi dica ognun dove fu visto
> Di me infelice più di me più tristo.

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LIII

THREE *AUTOS* OF JORGE DE MONTEMAYOR

MONTEMAYOR, the illustrious author of *Diana*, has not until recently been accorded a place among Spanish dramatists. His name does not appear in the catalogue of La Barrera nor in the *Orígenes del Teatro Español* of Moratín. The only mention of his dramatic activity, so far as I know, is the brief description of the *autos* here printed in the history of the early Spanish drama by Professor J. P. W. Crawford.[1] These *quintillas*, it is true, afford little promise of the matchless beauty of diction which distinguishes the *Diana* but, quite apart from the later fame of the author, the *autos* possess the interest inherent in all early drama.

Composed for presentation during the celebration of the Nativity, the *autos* bear no title other than the caption *Al Serenissimo Principe de Castilla fueron representados estos tres autos de George de Montemayor en los maytines de la noche de nauidad, a cada nocturno vn auto.* The three form a sequence linked together, by the allegorical figure of Time which thus supplies the unifying element. The first *auto*, beginning *in principio creauit Deus caelum & terram*, deals with the Creation, the Fall and the promise of Redemption; the second, beginning *Verbum caro factum est*, dwells on the mystery of the Incarnation, while the third, which starts with the jubilant notes of *Gloria in excelsis deo*, recounts a comic episode of the reception of the news of the Nativity by Adam's descendents.

The distinct dogmatic purpose which is evident in these plays indicates that they belong to the dramatic tradition of Lucas Fernández and Sánchez de Badajoz. One is reminded of the didactic speeches of the latter's *Farsa de Natividad* but Montemayor uses such allegorical figures as *Tiempo*, *Innocencia* and *Esperança* instead of the *fraile* and *cura* as expositors carrying the morality a step beyond his predecessor of Extremadura. In the third *auto* the author reverts to a more direct and farcical representation with the figures of the *Bobo*, the *Viejo* and Gil, Llorente and Gonçalo. One recalls the atmosphere of the early

[1] J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922. (Univ. of Pennsylvania Publications. Extra series in Romanic languages and literature. No. 7) p. 138.

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Christmas eclogues in the game played in the third *auto*. The musical element is interesting as a reminiscence of the primitive stages of the drama and of Montemayor's profession, that of *cantor* as was the case with Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández. Each *auto* begins with the Latin words intoned by *Tiempo* and the responses of the *cantores*. The change to speech is indicated, for instance, in the second *auto* where the words *Dize el Tiempo* appear in the midst of Tiempo's lines. Each *auto* ends with song, the first two with hymns and the third with chanted queries and responses. Fardina in the third *auto* enters with a hymn of welcome to the new-born infant. *Naturaleza Humana* sings and dances. These musical interruptions, which serve to relieve the didactic discourses, must have been grateful to the young prince. When the *autos* were written it appears that Montemayor had risen to the position of a somewhat favored court entertainer and on this occasion was continuing the custom of Gil Vicente who in the first half of the same century wrote no less than seven plays for presentation before members of the Portuguese royal family at Christmas matins. Of these the one most nearly approaching in quality the *autos* of Montemayor is the *Auto da Fe* of 1510. This is a short play inferior in sustained seriousness of purpose to Montemayor's trilogy. The *Auto da Mofina Mendes* 1534, has four allegorical figures, *Prudencia*, *Pobreza*, *Humildad* and *Fe*, and an inexplicable bearded figure, the *Barba Triste*, who has no resemblance to Montemayor's lively *barbados*. Fardina, who elects to be the bride of Christ in our third *auto*, may have been inspired by Cassandra of the *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra* according to Professor Crawford. One might trace a similarity, too, between the sung queries and responses of the *cantiga* that closes Vicente's *Auto Pastoril Portuguesa*:

"Quem he a que paria?
A Virgem Maria."

and the ending of Montemayor's *autos* were it not for the possibility that such *cantigas* may have been common along the Mondego that both poets knew. Vicente's remaining Christmas *autos* are totally alien in spirit and subject to Montemayor's.

Bibliography

The undeserved obscurity of these *autos* is probably due to their excessive rarity, for though presented before Philip II when still a prince they were not printed separately, nor, indeed, in

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any form on Spanish soil. They appear only in a small volume printed in Antwerp which contains both parts of Montemayor's *obras*, the *Obras de Amores* and the *Obras de Devoción:*

Las obras de Geor/ge de Monte mayor, repar/tidas en dos libros, y dirigidas/ a los muy altos y muy po-/derosos señores don Iuã,/ y doña Iuana, Princi-/pes de Portogal./ Vignette./ En Anvers./ En casa de Iuan Steelsio, Año de/ M.D.L.IIII/ Con priuilegio Imperial. Colophon: Fue Impresso en Anuers, en ca-/sa de Iuan Lacio 1554.

12° 12 ff. without fol.+257 ff. fol.

The numbering from leaf one to thirty-six is correct, leaf 37 is printed 27, and thence through to the end the numbering is ten pages short.

There is a second title-page at leaf 75:

Las obras de De-/uocion de George de Mõ-/te mayor, dirigidas a los muy/altos y muy poderosos seño-/res dõ Iuan, y doña Iua-/na, Principes de/ Portogal. En Anvers, En casa de Iuan Steelsio, Año de/ M.D.L.IIII. Con priuilegio Imperial.

Rare as is this volume, which was destined to bring down on the author's head not only the ban of the Inquisition but the censure of critics also, still more scarce is another edition of the same year, 1554, which contains the *obras de amores* and an abortive attempt at producing the *obras de devoción.* The unique copy of this edition, so far as I am aware, is preserved in the library of the Hispanic Society in New York and is probably the one formerly owned by the Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros.[2] Following is a description:

Las/ obras de amo/res de George de/ Monte ma-/yor,/M.D.L.IIII. 9½×14 cm. 8 ff. without fol.+112 ff. fol.

Title surrounded by decorative doorway. On the verso of preliminary leaf 8 is the shield and double-headed eagle of Charles V.

A second title-page reads:

Sigvense/ algunas obras de de-/uocion, del mi/smo./ Año./M.D.L. IIII.

Of the *obras de amores* only the first four pages of the soliloquy beginning: "*Que es esto? Yo en que me fundo . . . .*" were printed, after which the volume ends abruptly. Why was the intention of printing "*algunas obras*" thus abandoned? It is difficult to say which of the 1554 editions was the first. García Peres[3] says that the Antwerp edition was undoubtedly the first but he had

[2] *Unas papeletas bibliográficas*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, II, 639.

[3] García Peres, Domingo. *Catálogo razonado biográfico y bibliográfico de los autores portugueses que escribieron en castellano.* Madrid, 1890. p. 391.

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no information of the existence of another edition of the same year. The presumption is, perhaps, in favor of the priority of the second one described since the *Cancionero de amores* continued to be printed in Antwerp. Montemayor himself ignored the existence of this incomplete edition of 1554 in the second Antwerp edition of his poems, now called a *cancionero:*

Segvndo/ cancionero/ de George de/ Monte mayor./ Dirigida al illvstris/simo Señor Gonçalo Fernandez de Cor/doba, Duque de Sessa, y de Terrano-/ua, Marques de Bitonto, Con-/de de Cabra, Señor/ de Vaena./ Shield./ En Anvers./ En casa de Iuan Lacio,/M.D.L.VIII./ Con Priuilegio./

12° 8 fol. without fol.+252 ff. fol.

In the prologue to the reader Montemayor gives his reasons for this new version:

Vn libro mio se imprimio aura algunos años con muchos yerros, assi de parte mia como de los impressores: y porque la culpa toda se me a atribuydo a mi, a este segundo libro junte las mejores cosas del primero, y las enmende, y lo mismo se haze en el segundo de las de deuocion que aora se imprimio: por lo qual merezco de la passada culpa ser perdonado. En este libro creo se hallaran algunas cosas que agradaran al que con buenos ojos las mirare: la enmienda de las quales remito a los Lectores, porque nadie las puede leer que no tenga en ellas mejor voto que yo. Vale.

Nevertheless this edition is far from presenting the careful appearance of the *cancioneros*, in two volumes, of the same year. The *segundo cancionero spiritual*, not seen by Salvá, was described by Karl Vollmöller from a volume in the Königliche Universitäts-bibliothek in Würzberg.[4] Brunet also mentions the volume:

Cette partie, qui est à la Bibliothèque Impériale, n'a point été connue des bibliographes espagnols, et nous ignorons si elle avait d'abord été imprimée en Espagne.

The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid also possesses a beautiful copy of this *segundo cancionero spiritual*, formerly belonging to Gayangos. It is printed throughout in italic, or Aldine, type and with obvious signs of care.

Segvndo can-/cionero spiritval de Ior-/ge de Monte Mayor dirigido al/muy magnifico Señor Iero-/nimo de Sala-/manca/ Vignette/ En Anvers,/En casa de Iuan Latio/M.D.L.VIII/Con Priuilegio./ Colophon: Fue Impresso en Anuers en ca-/sa de Iuan Latio,/ An. 1558.

[4] *Romanische Forschungen*, IV (1891), 333–340.

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8° 8 ff. without fol.+251 ff. fol.

This volume does not contain the *autos*, nor does it appear that they were ever printed except in the Antwerp *obras* of 1554. Why were the *obras de devoción* proscribed? Reading over the effusions on the Virgin birth in these *autos*, it is difficult to see that Montemayor could have failed to please the most rigid adherent of the Church. It is probable, however, that he was not a "*cristiano rancio*." Luís Zapata in his *Miscelánea*[5] prints some verses of Juan de Alcalá, a shoemaker of Seville, who takes issue with Montemayor because of these lines in his *Pasion glosada*:

Y estando alli el Uno y Trino
Con su compaña Real
Luego en ese instante vino
El cordero material
Ante el Cordero Divino . . . .

The heresy appears to consist in making Christ the Trinity.[6] At all events the *obras de devoción* appear in the Index of Fernando de Valdés of 1559 and were not reprinted after their appearance in the *segundo cancionero spiritual*.

Date and Presentation of the Autos

Our indication for dating the *autos* lies in the words: *Al Serenissimo Principe de Castilla fueron representados estos tres autos en los maytines de la noche de Nauidad*. . . . . Montemayor probably came to Spain about the time of the marriage of Doña María, daughter of John III of Portugal, to Philip II in 1543. Souza Viterbo[7] was of the opinion that the poet came in her train as *cantor*, but Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos[8] thinks that he came as a free lance and that no *cantores* were included in the train of the princess. Another María, the sister of Charles V, was the object of the dedication of the poet's first printed work, the *Exposicion moral sobre el psalmo lxxxvi del real propheta Dauid, dirigida a la muy alta y muy poderosa señora la infanta Doña María*

[5] Luís de Zapata. *Miscelánea*, ed. P. de Gayangos in *Memorial histórico español* XI (1859), 279–292.

[6] Cf. a curious note discovered by Menéndez y Pelayo in the University of Leyden. His *Orígenes de la novela*. 2nd. ed. 1925, p. CDXXVII.

[7] *Archivo Historico Portugues*, I (1903), 249–259.

[8] Her note quoted by H. A. Rennert in his *Spanish pastoral romances*. 2nd. ed. Philadelphia, 1912.

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por George de monte mayor cãtor de la capilla de su alteza. This book, consisting of ten folios,[9] was printed in the University of Alcalá, by Juan de Brocar on the first of March, 1548. Philip had left Spain,[10] however, on his journey to Flanders before Christmas of that year. The *autos*, then, were probably presented during the Christmas festivities of 1547 or of the preceding two years, since no mention is made of the young bride, who died in 1545 and who probably would have been present had the plays been performed earlier. Before the Christmas of 1551, when Philip returned, Montemayor had gone back to Portugal.[11] He was now under the patronage of Doña Juana, the younger daughter of Charles V, who had married Prince John of Portugal.

There is no mention of the presentation of these *autos* in the extracts from the archives of the Cathedral nor of the Ayuntamiento of Valladolid published by Narciso Alonso Cortés.[12] Nor does Sandoval refer to the *autos* though he mentions a play of Ariosto's presented in 1548 in celebration of the marriage of Mary, the *infanta* of Castile, with Maxmilian. This play was presented in the palace. "Y al cabo de tres o cuatro dias que fueron casados, se presentó en palacio una comedia de Ludovico Ariosto en la forma de teatro y cenas que fue cosa real y suntuosa."[13] At this time public spectacles were also customary in the Plaza de Santa María, according to an entry in the *Libro del Secreto del Prior y cabildo desta yglesia colegial de Valladolid*:

> Miercoles 15 de Junyo de 1547 años los señores prior e cabildo mandaron que en las ventanas que estan en la libreria a nynguna fiesta ni abto que se aga en la plaza de Sancta Maria que no suban ny pongan ni esten mugeres a las dichas ventanas.[14]

To judge from the rôle of the *cantores* it is probable that these *autos* were performed in the royal chapel.

There is a possibility that the *autos* may have been presented before Philip at a later date than I have indicated here. There

[9] There is a copy printed on vellum in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

[10] Martin A. S. Hume, *Philip II*, 1899, p. 24.

[11] On the 14th of March, 1551 he was granted the *escrevaninha de um dos navios da carreira da Mina, por uma viagem.* Document in the library of Torre do Tombo quoted by Sousa Viterbo in *Archivo Historico Portugues* I (1903), 256.

[12] *El teatro en Valladolid*, in *Boletin de la R. Academia Española* IV, (1917), 598 *et seq.*

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 604.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 598.

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is more probability that they belong to the earlier years of Montemayor's literary activity. The mood of the *autos* is that of the *Exposicion moral sobre el psalmo lxxxvi of 1548*, it is an exegetical one. The doctrine of the Virgin Birth is here the subject of a labored theological exposition which receives a happier treatment in the *autos*. Montemayor's progress was from the rusticity of the speech of Gil, Gonçalo and Llorente toward the courtly utterances of Silvano and Sireno in the *Diana*, which may have been published in 1559. Such an evolution may well have been the fruit of twelve years development rather than of five.

The text of these *autos* is here reprinted diplomatically from *Las Obras de George de Montemayor*, Anvers, 1554, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Signature U363.

Al Serenissimo Principe de Castilla fueron representados estos [fol. 166 vo.] *tres autos de George de Monte mayor en los maytines de la noche de Nauidad, a cada nocturno vn auto.**

En el auto primero se introduzen. Tiempo. Iusticia original. Innocencia. Sensualidad. Adam. Eua. Esperança.

Tiempo. *In principio creauit Deus caelum & terram.*

Cantores. Como vna cosa tan graue
hizo, y de tanto concierto?

Tiempo. Que lo hizo, se lo cierto
mas el como, no se sabe.

Cantores. O que nueua tan suaue,
O que nueua tan suaue,
el que *in principio* crio

* The word *nocturno* in this connection is unusual. It occurs in the *Comedia a lo pastoril para la noche de Navidad* described in *Spanish drama before Lope de Vega* by J. P. W. Crawford, p. 139. Encina's Christmas plays represented in two parts on one night were, perhaps, thus divided by *nocturnos*.

[1] *In principio creavit Deus caelum & terram.* It will be seen that Montemayor has chosen his line appropriately as an introduction to the exposition that follows. The words occur in the prophecy for Holy Saturday. After the blessing of the candle, the deacon lays aside his white dalmatic and vests in a purple folded chasuble; the priest takes off the cope and puts on a purple chasuble. The prophecies are then chanted, during which in former times priests catechized those who were about to be baptized and prepared them for that sacrament.

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cielo y tierra es de tal arte, [fol. 167 ro.]
ques el todo en qualquier parte.

Tiempo. El que crio no es criado,
Y el que el mundo principio,
principio en el no se vio,
antes el es quien lo ha dado.

Cantores. Quien formo, no fue formado,
y es natural y sin arte
el todo en qualquiera parte.

Tiempo. En qualquier acto y effecto
toda persona discreta
terna firme en su concepto,
que sera la obra perfecta,
si es el artifex perfecto.
Y pues qualquiera pintura
que sale de buen pintor
sespera tener primor,
veran quien es la criatura
en quien ha sido el criador.
Que aquel que todo lo alcança
a hecho oy muger y hombre,
y de tan alto renombre,
que les dio su semejança,
y puso en ellos su nombre.
Despues de cosa tan nueua [fol. 167 vo.]
como el mundo aquien dio ser
hizo hombre, hizo muger,
el es Adam, y ella Eua.
ved quien pudo esto hazer,
yo soy el tiempo derecho,
y el me hizo y me dio estado:
pues si aun al tiempo ha formado
hazedores y no hecho,
criador, mas no criado.
Es principio, es vn poder
que nadie pudo sentillo,
vn saber puro senzillo,
que a toda cosa dio ser
sin dalguna recebillo.

[28] *Artifex.* This is the Latin form. *Artifice* is given by Covarrubias. *Don Quixote* (ed. crit., Rodriguez Marin, VIII, 208): *Cada uno es artifice de su ventura.*

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Y en este punto acabo
de hazer a Eua y Adan,
los quales juntos estan
en vn lugar que crio,
donde todos gozaran.
Alli la summa bondad
libre aluedrio les dio,
y a la razon subjecto
la propria sensualidad,
y ansi los perficiono.
Vna dama veo asomar,
quien sera esta dama tal
la justicia original,
mas que verna aqui a buscar
dama ques tan principal.

Iusticia. Tiempo vengo despojada [fol. 168 ro.]
de todo lo que tenia,
vengo muy desbaratada,
pues de quanto posseia
no me quedo quasi nada.
Yo fui señora perfecta
en Adam, y esto es verdad:
dome la sensualidad
y tuue la por subjecta
con diuina autoridad.

Y aora Tiempo sabras,
que Eua a Adam engaño,
Satanas lo comenҫo
mira quien es Satanas,
que a Eua y Adam vencio:
passaron el mandamiento
de Dios, y el fructo vedado
comieron sin mas cuidado:
Adam dio consentimiento
ℰ incurrio en graue peccado.
La sensualidad huyo,
y fue se sin mi licencia.

Tiempo. O que gran desobediencia.

Justicia. Todo del se desterro,
y alli viene la Innocencia.

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Innocencia. Fia os alla en mugeres,
aosadas, aosadas [fol. 168 vo.]
que ellas quedan bien honrradas,
aun que con mas alfileres
esten puestas y tocadas.
Quien vio a Eua tan hermosa
y como Dios la crio,
y que del fructo comio,
pese a san con la golosa
y quanta gracia perdio.
No notays la picotera
quien la mandaua hablar
con la sierpe, ni tratar?
Si ella el pero no comiera,
ya no pudiera passar,
sea mucho nora buena:
y si Marina baylo,
tome se lo que lleuo,
que no le arriendo la pena
del peccado en que cayo.
Pues Adam quien le mandaua
de la mançana comer,
mas engaño le muger,
mira vos si la engañaua
quien lo sabe bien hazer.
Vala me nuestra señora
y como estauan hermosos,
tan bonitos, tan graciosos, [fol. 169 ro.]
mas quales estan agora
de la serpiente quexosos.

[89] *Aosadas. Farsas y Églogas* . . . . por Lucas Fernández, ed. by Cañete, p. 45. *Aosadas, si yo cuidara/Ser Amor de tal manera,/Que lluego me hiciera afuera/* and p. 148. *Y aun, a osadas,/Que, si buscarla querrés,/Cada noche la topés/Por estas encrucijadas.* Cañete defines it as *a fe mia.* Gil Vicente's *O juiz da Beira* (Mendes dos Remedios, ed.) II. 358. Per. *Sao molheres.* Cap. *Aosadas;*

[98] *Picotera.* Covarrubias has: *Picotera, la muger que tiene mucho pico, como son las berzeras, y fruteras, y gente deste jaez.*

[104] *Y si Marina baylo,/tome se lo que lleuo,* so in Correas and Sbarbi. The latter adds: *Advierte al riesgo a que se exponen las mugeres en el baile.*

[106] *No le arriendo la pena/del peccado en que cayo.* Correas and Sbarbi have *N le arriendo la ganancia.* Sbarbi adds *No ser envidiable la suerte de alguno.* Cervantes, *La gitanilla, Novelas Ejemplares,* (ed. Rodríguez Marín) II, 22: *Si como en valor subido/Vas creciendo en arrogancia,/No le arriendo la ganacia/A la edad en que has nacido.*

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Entra la sensualidad saltando como loca.

Innocencia. Loca loca loca loca,
porque loqueas tan rezio?

Sensualidad. Nescio nescio nescio nescio,
has me de atapar la boca,
siendo yo de tanto precio?
y quien es aquella? baste.

Iusticia. La justicia original
sensualidad infernal,
porque los lazos quebraste
de la obediencia especial?

Sensualidad. Los lazos yo los quebre
no se allegue tanto aca,
que ya no me prenderá.

Iusticia. Ven aca.

Sensualidad. Perdone me vuestra merced
y este se alla.
bien me entendeys alma mia, [fol. 169 vo.]
que el que os obedescia,
a mi me obedescera.

Iusticia. Tiempo que dezis a esto?

Tiempo. No se, ni se lo que diga,
pues que de tanta fatiga
se repara Adam tan presto,
quanto su culpa me obliga.

Innocencia. Que no, que no ay que dezir:
porque sabed que la loca
de Eua con astucia poca
perdio el bien sin lo sentir
por lo que entro por la boca.

Iusticia. No era mejor ser subjecta
que no tener libertad
para vsar tanta maldad?

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Sensualidad. Dexar yo de ser perfecta
es ser la sensualidad.
estando con vos ligada
no lo dexaua de ser,
pero no tenia poder
para exercitar me en nada
sino con vuestro querer.
Mas agora viua viua
el que de mi senamora. [fol. 170 ro.]
sus justicia anda en buen hora:
que si dantes fue captiua,
oro quedo por señora.

Innocencia. Mal captiuerio te tenga
loca mas que loca dos.

Sensualidad. Nescio tambien hablays vos.

Innocencia. A esto y aquello te venga
plega la madre de Dios.

Tiempo. Quien vio la sensualidad
a tu poder tan ligada.

Iusticia. No veys como esta mudada?
quien penso tal nouedad.

Innocencia. Es vna loca atreguada.

Sensualidad. Necio dexa me tu a mi,
dime que te hago yo?

Innocencia. Mira que me respondio.
y mal gozo vea de ti
la madre que te pario.

Iusticia. Sensualidad ten sentido,
ven comigo, pues pretendo [fol. 170 vo.]
cosas con que no te offendo.

Sensualidad. Dezime lo a estotro oydo,
porque a este no lo entiendo,

[171] *Atreguada.* Cf. Covarrubias. *El loco que tiene treguas con su enfermedad y buelve a tiempos en su juizio y buen seso: opónesele el perenal, que está en perpetua locura.*

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La justicia original
ya no he miedo que me vença.

Innocencia. Mira que poca verguença.

Iusticia. O como entiendes tan mal
el mal que en ti se comiença:

Tiempo. Iusticia a vuestro reclamo
no verna esta moça oy,
y pues en lo cierto estoy,
y el tiempo veys que me llamo,
quiero vsar de lo que soy.
Salga Adam luego a la hora
con Eua ambos a la par
del huerte muy singular,
salgan del lugar do moran,
sepan que cosa es pesar.

Sensualidad. Pues salgan mucho en buen hora.
quen fin yo los mandare.

Innocencia. No callara su merce
Mari picuda señora,
a mala landre la de. [fol. 171 ro.]

Entran Adam y Eua.

Adam. Eva tened entendido
lo que aora os dire aqui.

Eua. Ques lo que dezis marido?

Adam. Que nunca el bien conosci,
hasta que lo vue perdido.
Como nuestra huerta estaua
tan florida, tan hermosa,
tan llena de qualquier cosa
quel hombre en ella buscaua,
y en todo tan deleytosa.

Eua. O que perdida marido.
visteys que grandexcellencia
era el grado de innocencia?

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Adam. Si, pero mayor ha sido
nuestra gran desobediencia:
o serpiente:

Eua. O serpiente
y quien nunca te creyera,
porque apartada no fuera
de aquella huerta excellente
y en aquel grado estuuiera. [fol. 171 vo.]

Adam. Vistes con quanta razon
nos echo el señor de alli?

Eua. Ay marido ya lo vi:
mas yo hize a Dios traicion
con el fruto que comi.

Adam. Subjecto me toda cosa,
para mi todo hecho fue.

Eua. Si, mas yo me subjecte
a la serpiente engañosa,
ay triste donde me yre.

Sensualidad. Señor Adam bien vengays.

Adam. Nora buena esteys señora.

Sensualidad. Humillaos luego a la hora:
ques esto no os humillays?

Iusticia. No creays essa traidora.

Entra la esperança.

Adam muy desconsolado
estaras con tu mudança,
sabe que soy la esperança
Dios a ti me ha embiado [fol. 172 ro.]
con aquesta semejança.
Ten sentido peccador:

[219] *y quien nunca te creyera.* For examples and references of "*y adverbializado*" see note to line 168 of J. E. Gillet's edition of Perolópez Rangel's *Farça a Honor & Reuerencia del Glorioso Nascimiento* in *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 883.

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porque aun que tu ayas perdido
este bien tan escogido,
otro bien mas y mejor
el señor te ha prometido.

No oyste al omnipotente
quando a la sierpe dezia,
que la muger quebraria
su cabeça, y su simiente
muy contraria le seria?
Pues nota si no has notado,
lo que desto sentendio,
es, que alli te prometio
redempcion de tu peccado
aquel que te desterro.

Porque la muger sin par
que oyste al señor dezir,
la misma es que ha de parir
al redemptor singular,
ques quien te ha de redimir.
Y esta simiente en que ha dado,
es que de aquesta simiente
nascera el rey excellente
por do seras restaurado
al lugar mas preminente.
Y aquesta diuina pieça [fol. 172 vo.]
que parira Dios sagrado,
por quien has de ser comprado,
ha de quebrar la cabeça
al miserable peccado.
Assi que no ayas temor,
y espera en el que offendiste:
porque si vn lugar perdiste,
cobraras otro mejor,
y alegra te, no estes triste.

Adam. Esperança mia yo soy
muy dichoso en ver te ay:
y espero que sera ansi.

Esperança. Tiempo el cuídado te doy.

Tiempo. Dexa me hazer a mi,
Adam espera, ten fe

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tu pena se satisfaga,
que yo soy tiempo, y tu llaga
con tiempo la curare.

Innocencia. Todo se cura con tiempo,
y los nauos en auiento
saben mejor con la vaca,
porques ya vn poquito flaca.

Tiempo. Escucha, pierdes el tiento,
yo te verne annunciar [fol. 173 ro.]
la nueua de tu alegria.

Adam. Pues vamonos muger mia.

Esperança. Comience se algun cantar
de la futura alegria.

Salen se cantando.
*In te Domine speraui.**

En el auto segundo se introduzen. Tiempo. Naturaleza humana Entendimiento humano.

Tiempo. *Verbum caro factum est.*

[287] *Todo se cura con Tiempo.* This *refrán* (Sbarbi and Correas) epitomizes the philosophy of the *autos.*

[288] *Aviento.* Probably for *Adviento,* Advent. L. Fernández, (ed. Cañete) p. 185. *No hay quien bien le tome tiento/Especialmente en Aviento.*

* *In te, Domine, speraui* terminates the first *auto.* These words occur at the beginning of Psalm 31 and Psalm 71 and in the last lines of the *Te Deum laudamus*: *In te Domine speravi/ non confundar in aeternum.* This expression of hope and jubilee was a fitting ending for *autos de devocâo.* Gil Vicente, *Obras,* (ed. by Mendes dos Remedios) III, 82. The *Auto dos Quatro Tempos* ends: *E todos assi juntamente com Te Deum laudamus se despedirão, e derão fim a esta representacão.* The *Auto da Alma* ends *E todos com a Alma cantando Te Deum laudamus, forão adorar o moimento. op. cit.* I, 91. Most of Vicente's *autos* end with a well-known song, unlike the endings of Encina which are coplas and villancicos arranged to suit the play. A *copla* on the *Te Deum laudamus* closes the *Farsa de Santa Barbara* and the *Farsa del Santtsimo Sacramento* of Sánchez de Badajoz.

[1] *Verbum caro factum est.* A Christmas hymn. It exists in a great variety of texts. According to Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology* the earliest form known is in a MS in the Bibl. Nat. Paris (Lat. 1139f48 in a hand of the 12th century). He gives the Latin stanzas. L. Fernández p. 172 *Farça del Nascimiento de Nuestro Redemptor Jesu-Cristo* ends with this *villancico: Verbum caro factum est/ Alleluya!/Et habitavit in nobis/ Alleluya, alleluya!/* In Gil Vicente's *Comedia de Rubena* (Mendes dos

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Cantores. Como lo sabes nos di?

Tiempo. Se lo, y creo ques ansi.
Ya baxo el verbo diuino
hijo del eterno padre,
y la humildad de su madre
sola le salio al camino, [fol. 173 vo.]
alegre se Adam pues vino.

Cantores. Y como vino nos di.

Tiempo. Basta creer lo ques ansi.

Dize el Tiempo.

El infinito baxo
en la virgen soberana,
donde vuestra carne humana
por habito recibio,
ved quanto en esto se gana.
Baxo del eterno padre
este verbo que ha encarnado,
y hombre se ha fecho y formado
en el vientre de vna madre
que nunca tuuo peccado.

Y este verdadero rey
entro en nuestra clara estrella,
y quedo virgen donzella,
porque la general ley
no pudo entender se en ella.
Como virgen concibio
en el su vientre escogido
aquien la auia concebido
en su mente, y ordeno
que della fuesse vestido.

Dichoso Adam pues podiste [fol. 174 ro.]
al eterno Dios baxar,
y baxalle con peccar:

Remedios ed.) II, 23, the *parteira* advises Rubena to repeat this several times to alleviate her sufferings: *Mordei neste maçapão;/Esforçae, rosa florida/Eu venida e vos parida:/Kyrieleison, Christeleison,/Dizei tres vezes passinho:/O verbo caro fato he.* From John I, 14.

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el descendio, tu subiste,
cayo por te leuantar.
No cayo quanto a caer,
pero llamo yo caida
esta humildad tan subida,
que tomando nuestro ser
ha sido en el conoscida.

Comio del fruto vedado
por ser Dios el hombre humano:
mas agora el soberano
por ser hombre se ha baxado,
y dexa el camino llano.
Porque baxando del cielo
le dexo el camino hecho,
para que de su derecho
el hombre hecho en el suelo
fuesse de Dios satisfecho.

Entra la naturaleza humana cantando.

Si viniesse y me lleuasse por vida mia que me saluasse.
Si agora el rey diuinal
a subirme se baxasse,
vos prometo que sanasse [fol. 174 vo.]
el hombre de todo el mal,
y el summo bien alcançasse
si viniesse.

Soy naturaleza humana,
y si Dios me hora tomasse,
y en la virgen encarnasse,
a fe que de la mançana
la culpa se remediasse,
si viniesse.

Dize la naturaleza.

Qualquier persona que espera
para en algo entretener se,
bayla, o canta, o sin mouerse
esta triste, y de manera
que no ay do satisfazer se.
Y assi yo sola esperando
que Dios se vista de mi,

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baylo, canto, estoy me ansi
la diuina alma aguardando
del gran hijo de Daui.

O si viniesse mi Dios
en la virgen soberana,
Z o naturaleza humana
alcançasse quien soys vos [fol. 175 ro.]
por quien tanto bien se gana.
O quien pudiesse entender
quien sera aquella sin par
donde Dios ha de encarnar,
pues alli mi baxo ser
tanto se ha de leuantar.

Que aun que sperança victoria
me de dolor qualquiera,
siempre fue desta manera:
que quien espera mas gloria,
mas pena por lo quespera.
Y assi yo que al *verbum caro*
estoy esperando contino,
como es summo bien diuino,
cuesta me el esperar caro,
y en mi esperança me afino.[93]

Tiempo es el tiempo llegado
en que verna el saluador
a comprar el peccador.

Tiempo. El verbo ya es encarnado
en la mas alta y mejor,
Aora lo has tu sabido
di naturaleza humana,
pues alegra te, esta vfana,
que Dios de ti se ha vestido
en la virgen soberana. [fol. 175 vo.]

[93] *y en mi esperança me afino.* *Afino* seems to have the meaning *finalizar* to languish away. Covarrubias says: *afinar vale perficionar alguna cosa . . . . Dixose a fine de fin, porque en llegando las cosas a su perfeccion, han conseguido su fin, y passando de alli, buelven a perder su ser.* The Dic. de Autoridades also gives *perficionar* but does not agree with Covarrubias in deriving from *fin* but from *fino. porque afinar una cosa es hacerla que esté fina.*

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Naturaleza. Tiempo di me esso es ansi?
o gran bien, o gran contento.

Tiempo. Cree me que en nada te miento.

Naturaleza. Pues Dios se viste de mi,
reuiua el contentamiento.
Estas ropas de peccado
quitallas quiero a la hora,
no soy sierua, soy señora,
pues mi habito ha tomado,
el que cielo y tierra adora.

Alegria, alegria,
y el tocado de tristeza
vaya fuera. O que baxeza
con este habito tenia
la humana naturaleza.

Bayla cantando.

No me sigays Can Cerbero,
pues que Dios
se ha hecho manso cordero
contra vos.

No me sigas Lucifer
con maldad,
pues que Dios ha de vencer [fol. 176 ro.]
con humildad,
Tomo nuestra humanidad
nuestro Dios,
y es hecho manso cordero
contra vos.

O tiempo, y el mas vſano
que yo nunca ver pretendo,
Quien es aquel? yo lo entiendo,
el entendimiento humano
es, y algo vien midiendo.

Entra el entendimiento humano, y dize.

Qves esto? de que manera
esto se puede entender,

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que Dios tome nuestro ser
en la virgen, y ella entera
quede sin cosa perder.

Lleua compas o mesura
ser la palabra simiente,
varon el omnipotente,
y la muger virgen pura
de todo peccado absente?
Halla se en philosophia
este effecto singular? [fol. 176 vo.]
O philosopho sin par
sino soys vos, quien podria
tan gran mysterio alcançar.

Que yo siendo entendimiento
humano, si me pregunto
algo desto, estoy defuncto,
y estoy tan fuera de tiento
q̃ aun no alcanço el menor punto.
O sacro eternal maestro
que a la natura excedeys
vos soys quien esto hazeys,
y el mysterio es solo vuestro,
y vos solo lo entendeys.

Vos solo rey soberano
que tomastes carne alli
lo entendeys, y esto es ansi:
que entendimiento humano
que soy yo, no llega aqui.

Naturaleza. Hala humano entendimiento
dezi en que venis hablando?

Entendimiento. De lo que vengo tratando
tanto alcanço y tanto siento,
que no se en que voy pensando.

Naturaleza. Que sentis, pues tanto os sobra, [fol. 177 ro.]
de ver que encarno en donzella
Dios, y quedo virgen ella?

Entendimiento. De solo Dios es tal obra,
y el solo pudo entendella.

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Tiempo. Tratemos dotra question,
pues hablar es escusado
en tan alta encarnacion,
Como nascio sin peccado
la madre deste varon?
Fue justo fuesse sin el
quien le vino a destruyr,
y en quien auia de venir
el sagrado Emanuel
baxando por nos subir.

Y Dauid es quien declara
su gran limpieza excellente,
hablando diuinalmente
desta virgen limpia y clara
de todo peccado ausente.
Diziendo, estar yo contigo
solo en esto lo senti,
y que me amaste entendi,
en que nunca el enemigo
se gozara sobre mi.

Y pues auia de nascer [fol. 177 vo.]
segun Dauid quien quedasse
libre de culpa, y gozasse
sin dar gozo a Lucifer
porque del nos libertasse.
Si estar sin culpa ni mella
segun esta prophecia
a alguien le conuenia,
quien auia de ser sin ella
sino la virgen Maria?

or do en este mundo entro
con mas potencia y grandeza
que toda naturaleza,
y ado todo hombre perdio,
gano tierra y fortaleza.
Y no se puede entender:
que quando aquesto gano
que primero arrodillo

[206] *or do en este mundo entro*, probably *por do*. . . . .

Ending. Probably a hymn. The *Jesu, Redemptor omnium quem lucis*, a Christmas hymn?

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pues hizo al diablo caer
y jamas ella cayo.

Y esta primera victoria
Dios quiso a su madre dalla,
y pues siempre quiso honrralla
razon fue dalle la gloria
de su primera batalla.
Porque cosa justa era
pues que Christo venia
adonde vencer auia, [fol. 178 ro.]
que la batalla primera
venciesse quien mas queria.

Naturaleza. O razon tan estremada.

Entendimiento. Dixe algo a tu presumir?

Naturaleza. Mucho has dicho a mi sentir.

Entendimiento. Pues cree que no he dicho nada
segun lo que ay que dezir.

Tiempo. Voy me a dar la nueua Adam
al lymbo do esta esperando.

Naturaleza. Vamos, y vamos cantando,
que a quantos en el lymbo estan
viene Christo consolando.

En el auto tercero se introduzen. Tiempo. Viejo. Bouo. Fardina. Gil. Llorente. Gonçalo.

Tiempo. *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*

Cantores. Di por quien. [fol. 178 vo.]

Tiempo. Por el que nascio en Belen.

[1] *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* The song of the angels, Luke II, 14. Sánchez de Badajoz, *Farsa de la Natividad* (Recop. I, 171) *Y mayor gozo sintió/ La Señora/ Viendo la turba canora/ Y aquellos cantos de arreo,/ Que sonaron esa hora:/ Gloria in excelsis Deo.* Gil Vicente, *Mofina Mendes* (Mendes dos Remedios ed.) I, 15 *E gloria a Deos soberano/ In excelsis, et in terra/ Pax hominibus.*

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El que en virgen encarno
quedando virgen donzella
nasciendo esta noche della
madre y virgen la dexo:
grande bien se os concedio.

Cantores. Di por quien.

Tiempo. Por el que nascio en Belen.

O estremo de amor muy fino,
o gran bondad, o consuelo
que se vea oy en el suelo
hecho hombre el verbo diuino
sin desamparar el cielo.
Queste nascido vn señor
entre nos omnipotente,
y en el cielo este presente,
tan excellente primor
el que lo haze lo siente.

O naturaleza humana
a la diuina ayuntada.
como quedas ensalçada.
pues vos hija de Santanna [fol. 179 ro.]
quien vos sera comparada?
Quien podra ser como vos
hija de aquel hijo vuestro,
madre del remedio nuestro,
adonde ha mostrado Dios
ser tan singular maestro.

Humanos grande alegria
recebid, quel soberano
ha nascido en traje humano,
y por medio de Maria
de señor se os buelue hermano.
Con tan prospera bonança
no aya en vosotros discordia,
pues para mayor concordia
el que fue Dios de vengança
lo es ya de misericordia.

Line 16. For *Que esté.*

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Voy me, no ay mas que dezir
ya he complido con Adan.
doy mas todos gozaran,
y al que viene a redimir,
en su gloria le veran.

Entra Fardina cantando, y dize.

Sea bien venido sea
sea bien venido
el verbo hijo del padre [fol. 179 vo.]
sea bien venido,
oy nascio de virgen madre
sea bien venido,
el verbo del padre hijo
sea bien venido,
oy nascio con regozijo
sea bien venido.

O si mi padre viniesse
porque a Belen me lleuasse,
y en seruicio me dexasse
de la virgen, y alli viesse
al señor, y le adorasse.
Que gran cosa,
que vna virgen poderosa
ha parido al rey de vida,
y quedo siendo parida
como las flores hermosa.

Ved que tal
hija de Dios especial,
mas clara que luz ni estrella,
pues que puedo nascer della
el bien contra nuestro mal.
O diuina,
rosa, flor, y clauellina
la mas perfecta que ha sido,
y entre quantas han nascido,
la mas sancta, y la mas dina. [fol. 180 ro.]

Viejo. Tente afuera y no seas necio.

Line 43. For *De hoy más.*

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Bouo. Ea sus tengo me afuera.
o padre como sois rezio,
no seays dessea manera,
Dezi padre, si fuera burra mi madre,
no fuerays asno vos?

Viejo. Mala pascua te de Dios
asno llamas a tu padre.

Bouo. Ha esso era
no digo dessa manera,
si que tambien nasci della,
siendo vos asno y burra ella,
yo tambien borrico fuera.
Pero digo, si comierades vos trigo
siendo asno y ella albarda
o comierades ceuada.

Viejo. Quieres callar enemigo
yo bien se lo que agora te dire.

Bouo. Que por vida de mi madre.

Viejo. Que pues no honras a tu padre,
nunca te hara Dios merced.

Bouo. Que que que [fol. 180 vo.]
que no me hara Dios merced?

Viejo. No te hara merced Dios.

Bouo. Porque os llamo asno a vos,
pues yo no os lo llamare.

Viejo. Anda aca.

Bouo. Ya voy padre, y ando alla,
quereys que me llegue mas?

Viejo. No tanto, no acabaras.

Bouo. Ea ya me llego aca.

Viejo. A Fardina.

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Bouo. A Fardina.

Viejo. Necio callaras ayna.

Fardina. Que me quereys, dezid padre? 110

Viejo. Adonde queda tu madre?

Bouo. Padre aca esta en la cozina

Fardina. No lo se. [fol. 181 ro.]

Viejo. Di donde la hallare?

Bouo. Sabe donde la hallara. 115

Viejo. Adonde?

Bouo. Adonde esta,
A juro a san que acerte.

Viejo. Vete de ay.

Bouo. Que hazes Fardina aqui? 120

Viejo. Dexa me necio hablar.

Bouo. Habla padre.

Viejo. Quieres callar?

Bouo. Ea veys me padre aqui.

Viejo. Di Fardina, 125
que hablauas con la vezina
este otro dia en comiendo,
tu piensas que no te entiendo? [fol. 181 vo.]

Fardina. Y que me entendeys mezquina
que demandas. 130

Bouo. Tu ha en drogolõdrõgos me andas

[131] *Drogolõdrõgos.* The Dic. de Autoridades gives *dingolondangos, palabra arbitraria y del uso solo de la ínfima plebe, que no tiene significacion fixa.*

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mira padre yo bien se
hora bien, yos lo dire.

Fardina. Ay que palabras tan blandas.

Bouo. Ay padre que dixo blandas.
quésperays?
Iesus y no la matays?

Viejo. Han me venido auisar
Que tu te quieres casar.

Fardina. Porque vos no me casays.

Bouo. Veys alli,
no ay mas que dizir aqui,
sino ques vna raida.

Fardina. Calla necio por tu vida.

Viejo. Calla tu dexame a mi
hija mia,
bien sabes tu que oy dia
casar las hijas temprano
no es para los padres sano.
ni aun para ti lo seria. [fol. 182 ro.]

Fardina. Que quereys,
yo os digo que me casays?
ya yo soy padre casada.

Viejo. Ansi desuergonçada,
pocos años os logreys.

Bouo. Assi pocos años os logreys.

Fardina. Padre no me entendeys bien,
que no soy casada yo
sino con el que nascio
esta noche en Belen.

Line 136. For *Qué esperays?*

[143] *raida* Covarrubias and Dic. de Autoridades define as *desvergonçado* **Pelado** is similarly used in Mexico.

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Bouo. Pues traidora
con niño que nasce agora
te yuas tu a casar?

Fardina. Si que me puede saluar,
y todo el mundo le adora.

Viejo. No te entiendo.

Bouo. Que os esta escarnesciendo
esta, y vos no la entendeys.

Fardina. Padre no me escuchareys?
oy me pues no os offendo [fol. 182 vo.]
oy nascio
vn niño, el qual se vistio
por matar nuestra maldad
nuestra propria humanidad
en la mejor que se vio.

Viejo. No he entendido.

Fardina. Dezi me no aueys oydo
que ha de nascer el Messias?

Viejo. Esso si en las prophecias.

Fardina. Pues sabed que ya es nascido
esta madrugada:
de vna virgen consagrada,
nascio con gran resplandor
aquel muy alto señor
con quien yo soy desposada.

Bouo. Que hablar
quien te mandaua casar
sin licencia de tu padre?

Fardina. Vamos a ver la madre
del que nos ha de saluar.

Viejo. Pues yo consiento
hija en tan buen casamiento. [fol. 183 ro.]

Bouo. Ya mi padre esta enlodado.

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Entran Gil, Llorente, y Gonçalo cantando.

Gil. Dezid me si Christo viene
humano como conuiene
para el linage humanal,
como ha nascido en portal,
quien por tal señor se tiene?

Viejo. Ya bien vemos
ques humilidad, y aun sabemos
que en ser humilde el chiquito
en si mismo la da escripto
porque del lo traslademos.
Oy llego,
y a media noche pario
la virgen a Emanuel,
y ella misma nasce del,
que en ella y della nascio.

Bouo. Si tambien
pues que Dios nascio en Belen
saluara el mundo a barrisco
si por *dominus bobisco*
y por el *seculoria* amen. [fol. 183 vo.]

Gonça. Entre nos
nos podeys declarar vos
pues que soys de Christo sieruo,
como era *in principio* el verbo,
y el verbo cerca de Dios.

Bouo. Soy contento

[211] *saluara el mundo a barrisco.* Dic. de Autoridades defines *a barrisco: Entregar sin la cuenta y razón debida las cosas vendibles, dándolas y vendiendolas a bulto. Es voz antiguada de Aragon. Fuer. de Aragon* fol. 114. *Queremos que todas las lanas que vendrán a peso se hayan de pesar, è no se puedan barriscar ni se puedan en alguna otra manera librar sino a peso.* Covarrubias has *barrer todo lo que hay es llevarselo sin cuenta, ni razon, y de esta semejança se dixo tambien llevarlo todo a barrisco.* L. Fernández p. 80 *Es amor un mal amargo/ Mas que ruda y que torvisco;/ Es red que lleva abarrisco/ Todo el mundo sin embargo.* p. 156 Macario. *No me querais ultrajar.* Bonifacio. *Mia fe, todo hu abarrisco.*

[212] *Dominus bobisco,* a corruption of *Dominus vobiscum,* the salutation of the priest to the people. Ruth II, 4.

[213] *y por el seculoria amen.* Corruption from *Per omnia saecula saeculorum.* Gil Vicente, *Farça dos Almocreves* (Mendes dos Remedios ed.) I, 323.

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el es verbo el fundamento,
y es el verbo que encarno,
el mismo que lo hablo,
pues todos vienen a vn cuento.
mas no paro,
quiero dezillo mas claro,
pues claro viuis por el,
sabed quel verbo es aquel
que se hizo *verbum caro.*
Entendeys?
del principio el verbo es
y al principio el verbo ygual,
no ay principio ni final,
pues no ay antes ni despues.

Llorente. Pues yo quiero
me declareys por entero
el mismo verbo porque
dezis quen principio fue
cerca de Dios verdadero.

Viejo. Quien formado [fol. 184 ro.]
tiene el mundo y fabricado
antel erial lo alcanço
el mal que Adam succedio
despues de auelle criado.
Por lo qual
cerca de Dios eternal
era in principio, y sabia,
quel verbo, ques el, seria
el remedio deste mal.
Y el primor
desto es, ser verbo el pastor,
caro con la qual nos mierca:
que ser lejos, o ser cerca,
nada les lexos al señor.

Gil. Pues de aquel
que llamas Emanuel

[241] *erial.* Dic. de Autoridades defines as waste or untilled land. The passage means that the Maker foresaw Adam's fall before the land was formed. The text reads *crial* but the copy in the Univ. of Pennsylvania has *erial.* The bar on the *e* had probably been worn down.

Line 253. Les, for *le es.*

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dizes cosa tan subida,
como dize alli ques vida
todo lo ques hecho en el?
Va diziendo
adelante, y escriuiendo
ques vida de tal renombre,
que la propria luz del hombre,
aquesto yo no lo entiendo.
Que entre nos
muy bien sabemos que Dios
es la vida muy de hecho,
mas ques vida lo en el hecho, [fol. 184 vo.]
esso me declarad vos.

Viejo. El es vida
sin fin, cabo, ni medida,
no como la que tenemos,
sino la que pretendemos,
quesotra es cosa perdida.
Bien me oys,
quanto hazeys y dezis
con que Dios es satisfecho,
enel ques vida va hecho.
pues por el la recebis.
Y acostumbra
ser esta luz que alumbra
al hombre, como la letra
dize, aunque tanto penetra,
quel sentido nos encombra.
En tanto grado
basta hauer os declarado
que lo que en el hecho fuere,
es vida que nunca muere,
y aun es muerte del peccado.

Bouo. Jesus muerte del peccado?
tambien los peccados mueren?
y si los peccados comieren
morira Gil bigarrado.

Gil. Bien dixiste [fol. 185 ro.]

Line 273. Quesotra, for *que esa otra.*

[292] *morira Gil bigarrado. Bigarrado* for *abigarrado*, of changing color, i.e., livid hue? Or possibly an approximation of *barrigudo.*

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par Dios hombre bien concroistes
por mas nos aues de dezir,
que en lo dicho a mi sentir
bien a sentir nos lo distes.

Viejo. Si hare
Vos me preguntays porque
en las tinieblas luz dio,
y alli nos comprehendio:
Escucha yos lo dire,
fue nascido
nuestro Dios con tal vestido
que en vestillo nos vistio
del que Adam nos desnudo.
Y este señor fue tenido
por criatura
dalguna gente muy dura,
que su luz no comprehendian,
y como ciegos tenian
al hazedor por hechura.
Y por esto
con diuino presupuesto
Dios vn hombre le embio
delante, y Iuan se llamo,
como es claro y manifiesto,
No delante
del verbo, mas del infante
que nascio primero quel
quanto a hombre, que quanto a el [fol. 185 vo.]
hecho y no hecho es instante.
Este vino
por mensagero diuino
de la luz, mas no era luz:
que la luz es quien en cruz
nos hizo al cielo camino.
De manera,
queste era luz verdadera
que a los hombres ha alumbrado
contra el primero peccado,
y otros mil de su manera.

Bouo. Que sabor
y como habrays padre señor.

[294] *concroistes.* I do not find a definition or another example of this word.

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Viejo. Que te paresce me di. 335

Bouo. Que en toda mi vida vi
vn licenciasno mayor.

Gonça. Pues podemos,
sus algun juego juguemos.

Gil. Que este habrar es delicado. 340

Viejo. Y que juego jugaremos?

Gonçalo. Sea a passa barbado.

Bouo. Sea por Dios [fol. 186 ro.]
sus ponte y Gil palaciego
ternas te assi como parba 345
hasta que alguno con barba
passe, y no sea como el crego.

Gil. Sea ansi
alto sus ponte tu aqui.

Bouo. Alto sus ponte priado. 350

Gil. Alto di passa barbado
y responder te ha ansi.

Cantan passa barbado.

Bouo. Qvien passa?

Llorente. Passa Luzbel. 355

Viejo. Passe el vellaco marrano

[342] *passa barbado.* Is the game "beaver," popular in England a few years ago reminiscent of this ancient game? *Barba* and *barbado* in these lines may be replaced by *seso* and *sesudo.* Compare *hombre de bigote,* a man of spirit.

[345] *ternas te assi como parba. Parba,* Portuguese, a boy. Meyer Lubke derives it from *parvulus,* but Solano Constancio, *Novo diccionario . . . . etymologico da lingua portugueza,* says *o radical nao he Latino nem Grego, mas sim o Egipcio pi ré*

[356] *marrano. marrano* here means accursed, outcast. This is a valuable example of this most interesting word whose vicissitudes have been traced in the monu mental study of A. Farinelli; *Marrano. Storia di un vituperio, Ginebra,* 1925. The

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la barba no le valio,
passe passe pues passo
el pie allende la mano,
quando ser Dios pretendio.

Bouo. Quien passa?

Gonça. Passa Adam. [fol. 186 vo.]

Gil. No tiene barba ni seso,
passe que tambien passo
el precepto, pues comio
del arbol como trauiesso,
y a peccar se subiecto.

Bouo. Quien passa?

Gil. Passe Cayn

Llorente. Passe, y vaya para ruin,
ques desbarbado y cruel
pues mato a su hermano Abel,
no tiene barbas en fin.

Bouo. Quien passa?

Llorente. Passe Dauid.

Viejo. Passe, que aun ques bien barbado
de seso barba no ha vsado,
pues hizo matar en lid
al buen Vrias su criado.

Bouo. Quien passa?

Viejo. Salomon. [fol. 187 ro.]

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word occurs in the tenth century in the meaning of swine, thence it was transferred to unbelievers who eliminated this article from their diet. It migrated with the Spaniards to Italy but the Italians were prone to use the word to designate the unpopular invaders themselves. The word is rare in Spain in the sixteenth century. A related expression occurs in i Cor. xvi, 22. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be *anathema maran-atha.*" The Oxford dictionary gives an explanation and etymology.

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Gonça. Passe esse sabio varon,
sabio, pero mal barbado,
pues que muger lo ha engañado
sin bastar su discrecion.

Bouo. Quien passa?

Llorente. Passe el redemptor eterno
hijo de Dios y desnudo.

Viejo. Esse es barbado y sesudo,
pues nos libro del infierno.
Ora sus
en el nombre de Iesus
vamos todos a adorar
al que nos ha de saluar,
y ha de morir en la cruz,
y cantemos vn cantar.

Cantan vnos y responden otros.

Ya nascio
el que principio nos dio.
A que viene? a dar nos vida.
Y que tal es la parida?
qual quiso lo que pario.
De improuiso
le puso Dios tal auiso
que al demonio hizo mudo. [fol. 187 vo.]
Que le puso? lo que pudo,
y que pudo? Lo que quiso,
Do estara
esse que nascido ha?
Adonde el quiere estar.
Adonde? velo a buscar,
que en qualquiera parte esta.
De que arte?
No me preguntes la parte
del todo que en Christo cabe
que de lo que el solo sabe,
el solo puede informarte.
Es gigante?
No sino diuino infante.
y que tiene de diuino?

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Aquello que fue contino,
y lo que sera adelante.
Y de humano
tiene vn vestido muy llano.
Y para que lo vestio.
Para que conozca yo
que esta la gloria en mi mano.
Es ciudad,
ado nascio su bondad?
En vn portal, Porque modo?
Porque quien lo tiene todo
escoge a su voluntad.
Quien lo cria?
Quien? quien el criado auia. [fol. 188 ro.]
Luego el mismo era su padre.
Si, y en querer la por madre,
mostro lo que le queria.
Dezi pues,
si su propria hija es
como pudo concebir?
Vos nunca oystes dezir
Verbum caro factum est.

FLORENCE WHYTE

Milwaukee-Downer College

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LIV

THE PRIVATE LIBRARY OF VOLTAIRE AT LENINGRAD[1]

ON THE 15th of December, 1778, about six months after the death of Voltaire, his private library at Ferney was bought by Catherine the Great of Russia for 30,000 rubles plus a certain number of valuable presents to Mme Denis, Voltaire's niece.[2] This library consists of about 7500 volumes comprising, because of the number of large sets, about 2500 to 3000 titles.[3] Catherine received her purchase at St. Petersburg on July 30, 1779.[4] Wagnière, the secretary of Voltaire, had been engaged to arrange the books in the same order as at Ferney[5] and to prepare the manuscripts for binding. He arrived in St. Petersburg, as he tells us,

[1] This article is a joint report resulting from work done together in the Voltaire library at Leningrad by George R. Havens and Norman L. Torrey during the summer of 1927. While the former is chiefly responsible for the first half of the article and the latter for the second half, both authors have made contributions to the paper as a whole and have attempted a complete collaboration throughout.

[2] Fernand Caussy, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Voltaire*, Paris, 1913, p. 3. See also Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland ed.), I, 455 and pp. 453–58, 463-65.

[3] This estimate would be somewhat increased by an enumeration of all the titles contained in some one hundred fifty volumes of "Pot pourri." Cf. also n. 17 below.

[4] Caussy, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

Voltaire's books were shipped to Russia in twelve cases which Wagnière certified contained the whole of his master's library. Wagnière summarized as follows the contents of the cases:

"1. Théologie et journaux encyclopédiques reliés.
2. Théologie, Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences et Bibliothèque choisie.
3. Histoire de France.
4. Histoire de France au fond, celle des autres nations, Auteurs latins.
5. Dictionnaires in-folio; Plutarque, Platon, Pots pourris.
6. Histoire, Pots pourris.
7. Voltaire in-quarto, Corneille in-quarto, Vocabulaire in-quarto, etc.
8. Philosophie, Voltaire in-huit, etc.
9. Italiens, Anglais, Divers Français.
10. Théâtre, Poésie, Belles-Lettres.
11. Voyages, Commerce, Histoire naturelle, Médecine.
12. Voyages, Médecine, Roman, Littérature." (See P. Bonnefon, "Une Correspondance inédite de Grimm avec Wagnière," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, III (1896), 498.)

[5] On the testimony of Bachaumont vouched for in this instance by Wagnière (Longchamp et Wagnière, *Mémoires sur Voltaire*, Paris, 1826, II, 9–10). Cf. Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire*, VIII (1876), 423.

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"le 8 auguste 1779"[6] and remained in Russia at the execution of the task set him by Catherine until probably January or February, 1780.[7] The library was installed in the Hermitage and remained there until about 1862,[8] when it was transferred to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, now the Public Library of Leningrad. There in the Fine Arts Division of the Philosophy Section these books are still to be found, carefully stored in their locked cases behind glass doors and supposed still to stand in the order in which they were arranged by Wagnière after that used by Voltaire himself at Ferney. Most of his books are contained in two large double-faced cases, each case about twenty feet long and ten shelves high, giving a total book space of some eight hundred feet. The bottom shelves are reserved for folio volumes, the second shelves for quartos and the smaller volumes appear on the higher shelves. A somewhat smaller case in the gallery above contains the rest of Voltaire's books. Under the former government of Russia no one was allowed to consult more than five books of this collection a day.[9] This limit is no longer imposed and during the summer of 1927 the authors of this article were permitted to have before them on their tables any number of volumes that they wished.

For nearly one hundred and fifty years this valuable collection, owing to its remoteness and its comparative inaccessibility, has been very greatly neglected by scholars. It is true that during this period the library has not been wholly unvisited.

Joseph de Maistre, who was in St. Petersburg from 1802 to 1816, was unable, through his violent hostility to Voltaire, to see anything in his library except a convincing proof of "l'extrême médiocrité des ouvrages qui suffirent jadis au *patriarche* de Ferney."[10] His chief desire is "d'en finir avec cet homme."[11]

Beuchot and Moland, the two great editors of Voltaire, both received copies of some manuscripts in the Voltaire library.[12] Edouard Gardet in 1860 went further and published, though not

[6] Longchamp et Wagnière, *op. cit.*, I, 170. (Wagnière follows here Voltaire's predilection for "auguste" instead of what he calls the *ugly* "août.")

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 172. Wagnière's narrative is dated "A Ferney, mars 1780."

[8] Cf. Diderot, *Œuvres* (Assézat-Tourneux ed.), I, p. lxviii.

[9] Caussy, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[10] Joseph de Maistre, *Les Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg*, Anvers, 1821, I, 233.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland), I, p. vii; XXXII, 485–86.

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altogether accurately, Voltaire's marginal notes on Rousseau's *Discours sur l'inégalité* and on his *Contrat social.* These are now to be found in the Moland edition of Voltaire.[13]

In 1847 Léouzon-Leduc made a cursory examination of the library and in 1850 reported on it as follows:

> La bibliothèque de Voltaire se compose d'environ 7,500 volumes, ouvrages de philosophie, d'histoire, de littérature; elle n'offre par elle-même d'autre intérêt spécial que celui d'avoir été la propriété d'un grand homme. Plusieurs volumes, il est vrai, sont couverts de notes marginales autographes; mais la plupart de ces notes sont ou trop insignifiantes ou trop indignes de leur auteur pour qu'on les relève de l'oubli; la gloire de Voltaire y perdrait plus qu'elle n'y gagnerait.[14]

Autres temps, autres mœurs! We are no longer restrained by the need of preserving "la gloire de Voltaire," the marginal notes are not confined merely to "plusieurs volumes," the very titles of the books owned by Voltaire often give valuable indications as to the sources of his thought. Léouzon-Leduc is far indeed from our present viewpoint regarding the value of this library to Voltaire scholarship.

Count Hector de La Ferrière examined the Voltaire collection in 1863 and four years later reported on it in more enlightened, but not in more detailed, fashion:

> Une étude sur Voltaire et ses manuscrits prendrait à elle seule plusieurs mois. . . . . Sa pensée y est restée, car chacun de ces volumes porte en marge des annotations de sa main. Il y aurait donc un choix curieux à en extraire sous ce titre: *Les lectures de Voltaire.*[15]

But La Ferrière was evidently more impressed by the manuscripts than by the books.

In 1875 Assézat and Tourneux, the editors of Diderot, wrote in regard to the Voltaire and the Diderot libraries:

> Il n'est guère de livres ayant appartenu à ces deux hommes qui ne soient chargés de notes marginales intéressantes et on ne peut plus curieuses au point de vue biographique et bibliographique. Mais ces notes

[13] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 468–82.

[14] Léouzon-Leduc, "Rapport sur les papiers de Voltaire conservés dans la bibliothèque impériale et dans celle de l'Ermitage de Saint-Pétersbourg," *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Vol. I (Paris, 1850), pp. 40–41.

[15] Hector de La Ferrière, "Troisième Rapport sur les Recherches faites à la Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg," *Archives des missions scientifiques et litt.*, 2e série, t. IV (1867), p. 98.

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demanderaient pour être recueillies un labeur assidu de plusieurs années, et, détachées des ouvrages auxquels elles sont jointes, elles deviendraient sans aucun doute d'une lecture difficile.[16]

The proportion of the volumes in the Voltaire library containing marginal notes is much smaller than this enthusiastic passage would make one suppose. They are numerous enough, nevertheless, to be very important and they certainly offer material for study over an extended period.

Desnoiresterres, the great biographer of Voltaire, did not of course fail to gather together from his predecessors such information as he could in regard to this library. He writes:

La bibliothèque de Voltaire n'était point considérable. Elle consistait en six mille deux cent dix volumes[17] de tous formats, tous assez médiocres. L'auteur de *la Henriade* n'était pas un bibliophile. Les livres n'étaient pour lui ni un luxe, ni un objet de vanité et d'étalage; c'étaient autant d'outils, autant d'instruments en ses mains, dont il usait et abusait avec un sans-gêne impitoyable. Que de livres, sans doute, qui n'offriraient pas plus de dix pages dignes d'être méditées et recueillies! Ces dix pages, semées ici et là, il les séparait de ce fatras indigeste et stérile, les rassemblait, les faisait cartonner ensemble; c'était tout ce qu'il y avait de bon à garder, c'était tout ce que sa mémoire devait retenir de tant d'inutilités mal conçues et aussi mal digérées.[18]

In pointing out—what is entirely true—that Voltaire's is a worker's, not a collector's, library, Desnoiresterres is giving an opinion quite in harmony with what Bachaumont had written as early as 1778:

[16] Diderot, *Œuvres* (Assézat-Tourneux), I, lxvii.

[17] Desnoiresterres does not state (*Voltaire*, VIII, 418) from what source he drew this seemingly very exact total of the volumes in the Voltaire library, which obviously does not tally exactly with other estimates of 7,000 or 7,500 volumes generally found elsewhere. It comes evidently from Bachaumont's *Mémoires secrets*: "J'ai visité et compté sa bibliothèque: elle est de 6210 volumes. Il y en a beaucoup de médiocres, surtout en fait d'histoire. Il n'y a pas trente volumes de romans; mais presque tous ces livres sont précieux par les notes dont M. de Voltaire les a chargés." (Longchamp et Wagnière, *op. cit.*, I, 367–68.) Bachaumont's source, as given by Wagnière (*ibid.*, I, 367, 369), is a letter written from Ferney, December 8, 1774, by M. de Saint-Remi. Obviously in the three years and a little more between this date and Voltaire's final departure from Ferney early in 1778, the number of volumes in Voltaire's library probably became still larger than when counted by Saint-Remi.

[18] Gustave Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire*, VIII (2nd ed., Paris, 1876), 418–19. We have not yet found any such cases of mutilation of books. Articles or pamphlets have been often taken from various volumes and bound in a *Pot pourri*. No mutilation within an article, however.

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Tous les amateurs et curieux de livres sont très-fâchés que la bibliothèque de M. de Voltaire passe en Russie; elle était précieuse, non par la beauté des éditions, ou la rareté ou la singularité des livres, mais par des notes de sa main dont ils étaient tous chargés. On dit que son dictionnaire encyclopédique en avait à l'infini.[19]

The inventory published by M. Fernand Caussy in 1913 catalogs the Voltaire manuscripts at Leningrad, but likewise confines itself to entirely general statements regarding the printed books in the library. The limitation of five books a day still remained in force at that time and prevented M. Caussy from undertaking the larger task.[20]

There then the matter stood when the authors of this article had the good fortune to spend several weeks during the summer of 1927 working in this exceedingly interesting collection. We were accorded every facility and courtesy. Most of the material which we studied is, of course, nowhere else available.

Rarely has the fascinating, though dangerous, study of sources been offered so definite and concrete a point of departure as is presented by the Voltaire library. Perhaps the cases of Montesquieu and of Victor Hugo are similar, but unfortunately in most instances such libraries have been dispersed,[21] so that it is possible only in piecemeal and halting fashion and after great effort to determine with any degree of certainty upon what intellectual food their owners fed. With Voltaire the case is entirely different. We know, not of course all the books he consulted, but at least most of those he owned. A few volumes indeed have been lost and probably not all of the books owned by Voltaire in his youth remained with him until the Ferney period, but most of his library has been maintained intact.[22] We have, moreover, extensive marginal com-

[19] Longchamp et Wagnière, *op. cit.*, I, 513–14.

[20] Caussy, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[21] Let us hope that, in the future, the libraries of all distinguished authors may be kept, after their death, intact and available for study.

[22] It is true that there was once reason to believe that many or all of Voltaire's English books had been separated from the rest of the library and probably dispersed. Bachaumont had said that Voltaire had willed *six* English books "à un M. Durieu," and Wagnière had commented upon this statement as follows: "Au lieu de six volumes anglais à un M. Durieu, il légua tous ses livres anglais à M. Rieu, et il en avait beaucoup." (Longchamp et Wagnière, I, 496–97.) (This is Henri Rieu, 1721–1787, with whom Voltaire exchanged the letters given in the *Supplément à la Correspondance*, Moland, L.) Fortunately, not only do the numerous English books in the Leningrad library show that, after all, this particularly interesting part of Voltaire's library still exists unseparated from the rest, but we

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ments, many of them of great interest, showing as they do Voltaire's thought often struck off at white heat, uncurbed by ulterior considerations of safety or by the effect of public opinion. Great numbers of his books contain many long narrow slips of paper used to mark passages which especially interested him. Their position in the books in reference to the context, the fact that they often bear the manuscript notation, "note marginale," and that they check with such a note in the margin of the book, the cleanness of the part of the slip within the leaves of the book, contrasting with the dusty discolored part outside, the manner in which these tags have become twisted together whenever there are many in a single volume, as well as the fact that many of these slips have been torn from letters or envelopes bearing on them "M. de Voltaire" or "Ferney, près Genève" or some other illuminating bit of an address—all of these factors indicate that seldom, if ever, have they been moved from their original position. Thus we can be sure in nearly every case that we are following directly the course of Voltaire's own mind. Moreover, in some cases Voltaire has torn off a tiny bit of paper from the end of one of these markers and stuck it down over the beginning of a passage which interested him. This unusual method of marking can still occasionally be observed. These stickers still stick.

Our unusual good fortune in the case of Voltaire's literary effects is in striking contrast with the fate which befell the library of Diderot, which was likewise bought by Catherine the Great and housed in the Hermitage, but was dispersed upon its transfer to the Imperial Library about 1862 without even a list of its con-

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have also other testimony which explains how it came about that they were thus preserved. Paul Bonnefon has unearthed the source of this information and summarizes it as follows: "En mourant, Voltaire, en effet, avait légué à son voisin et ami, Henri Rieu, tous ses livres anglais, qui étaient, paraît-il, nombreux et beaux. Catherine voulut les posséder comme tout le reste et il fallut entamer de nouveaux pourparlers dont se chargèrent encore Grimm et François Tronchin. Après quelques débats on tomba d'accord pour six mille livres, en échange desquelles Rieu cédait à l'impératrice non seulement les deux cent vingt-sept volumes anglais qui avaient appartenu à Voltaire, mais aussi une collection très complète des écrits de Voltaire que son voisin avait rassemblés et fait relier en cent et un volumes." (P. Bonnefon, "Une Correspondance inédite de Grimm avec Wagnière," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, III (1896), 300.) This explains why certain of Voltaire's English books, though not all, contain even to the present day Rieu's book-plate. Fortunate circumstance indeed that Voltaire's reputation with Catherine was so great as to cause his library to be thus reunited after he himself had divided it!

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tents being made.[23] Not only is Voltaire's library still intact, but three manuscript catalogs[24] of it are preserved. The earliest of these, prepared at Ferney during Voltaire's lifetime and bearing a few comments in his hand, has now been photographed and will be published in due course.[25] A second manuscript catalog was compiled by an unknown hand in 1839. Though, of course, unscientific, it is clear, it reproduces the titles at great length, and it follows, somewhat impressionistically, an alphabetic arrangement, listing, however, as anonymous many works whose authorship is now known. This catalog was of constant service in locating volumes which we wished to examine. A third catalog with different volume numbers and with a rough system of subject classification was prepared about 1862, presumably at the time the library was moved from the Hermitage to its present home. The Public Library at Leningrad has announced to us its intention of publishing, as soon as is practicable, a scientific catalog of the Voltaire library with proper information as to volumes containing marginalia and with other pertinent indications. This catalog will greatly extend our knowledge of the development of Voltaire's thought and will be awaited with great interest by students of eighteenth-century French literature all over the world. It will suggest the possibility of many studies not even thought of as yet.

As an indication of hints which a mere catalog of Voltaire's library furnishes, let us take a few titles as samples. When we note for instance that Voltaire's edition of the *Mille et une Nuits* translated by Galland is not the early edition of 1704–1717 but that of 1747, we can hardly escape the conclusion that it was purchased with a particular view to use in connection with *Zadig*, which first appeared under another title in that year and in enlarged form under its present title during the year following. When

[23] Maurice Tourneux, "Les Manuscrits de Diderot conservés en Russie," *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3e série, XII (1885), 471–73. In spite of his investigations at Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Åbo, and Helsingfors, Tourneux was unable to locate any volumes of this library or to find a list of its contents. It comprised, according to Svignine (cited by Tourneux), 2904 volumes.

[24] Brière, the editor of an edition of Diderot in 1821, is quoted in the Assézat-Tourneux edition of Diderot as follows: "Vagnières [sic], secrétaire de Voltaire, a donné un catalogue raisonné de ces livres et des notes qu'ils contiennent. (Br.)." Assézat-Tourneux, Diderot, *Œuvres*, III, 396, n. No trace, however, has thus far been found of such a catalog. The only four known works of Wagnière have been incorporated in Longchamp et Wagnière, *Mémoires sur Voltaire*, 2 vols., Paris, 1826, and these contain no mention of such a work.

[25] By George R. Havens.

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we find also Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*[26] in the 1711 edition, we feel quite sure that these two works deserve at least special consideration in any study of the sources of Voltaire's oriental novels and *contes*. That is to say, the list of Voltaire's books with their dates of publication, even if it does not establish positive conclusions, at least opens the way for hypotheses which may, in many cases at least, turn out to be fruitful.

Take as an illustration another minor, but interesting, case. A few years ago one of the authors of this article pointed out the general similarity between Swift's celebrated Partridge hoax of 1708 and Voltaire's narration of the supposed death of Frère Berthier in 1759,[27] although at the same time conceding that Voltaire was quite capable of inventing such a trick without the help of a suggestion from Swift. However, the discovery of an *Account of the Death of Mr. Partridge the Almanach-maker*, tucked away in a volume of *Miscellanies* mostly by Swift,[28] strengthens the suspicion that Voltaire took from this source the suggestion for his practical joke at the expense of Berthier. And this conclusion becomes a certainty when we read Voltaire's letter to Frederick of September 5, 1752, in which he says that Maupertuis' reply to Haller should not have been couched in grave terms: "C'était bien le cas d'imiter Swift, qui persuadait à l'astrologue Partridge qu'il était mort."[29]

But let us take a much more important instance, namely, the case of Pierre Bayle. No one has questioned the profound influence of Bayle upon Voltaire, as upon so many other eighteenth-century authors in France and outside. As yet, however, no one has determined in detail the extent of this influence, although it is a question which must be settled in order to solve completely the much debated problem of the English influence upon Voltaire. A new clew is now furnished by the fact that Bayle is represented in Voltaire's library by eight titles. There is first of all the *Diction-*

[26] On the inside cover of Chardin's *Voyages* in the Voltaire library appears a date and what appears to be the name of a former owner: "Chastellet de Trichatteau, ce vingt octobre 1733." It would appear then that Voltaire acquired this work some time later than October, 1733.

[27] George R. Havens, *Selections from Voltaire*, Century Company, N. Y., 1925, pp. 325–26.

[28] *Miscellanies*, Vol. I, London, Motte and Bathurst, no date; Vol. II, London, Woodward and Davis, 1738. The Partridge material is found in Volume I, pp. 196 ff. The set comprises six volumes in all.

[29] Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland), XXXVII, 482.

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naire historique et critique in the four-volume folio edition of 1697; there is a manuscript *Abrégé de Bayle*, of which only three of the four folio volumes now remain; there is a manuscript abridgement of Bayle (180 sheets in folio) by Le Bret entitled *Bayle dégagé de ses inutilités*, a work which Voltaire unsuccessfully tried to interest the Cramer brothers in printing[30]; there is a third reworking of Bayle by De Bonnegarde entitled *Abrégé de Bayle et de Chaufepié*, in four octavo volumes, Lyon, 1771; there is an *Extrait du Dictionnaire historique et critique* in two volumes octavo, dated Berlin, 1765; there is an incomplete set of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1686, 14 vols. in-12; there are three octavo volumes of *Lettres choisies*, dated Rotterdam, 1714; and lastly there are the *Œuvres diverses, contenant tout ce que cet auteur a publié sur des matières de théologie, de philosophie, de critique, d'histoire et de littérature, excepté son dictionnaire historique et critique*, this in four folio volumes, dated La Haye, 1737. The definitive study of Bayle and his influence upon Voltaire must be carried on at Leningrad in the midst of Voltaire's own books with such marks and marginalia as they may contain. Nevertheless, merely on the basis of a knowledge of the editions Voltaire used, much can be done. A thorough study of their contents and a thorough study of Voltaire's own works should yield valuable results.

It is interesting to note that Cicero is represented in Voltaire's library by seven titles, Malebranche by eight, Lucretius by five, Locke by five, Pascal and Plato by four, Descartes by six, Horace by three, Bacon by two (one version in Latin and one in English). Charron and Montaigne, La Mothe Le Vayer, and Chaulieu are of course to be found in the Voltaire library. Mandeville, Clarke, Hume, Milton, Shakespeare, Newton, Collins, Toland, Shaftesbury, Addison, and Bolingbroke are among the English authors represented, and there are many, many more. Voltaire's copies of Rousseau are of particular interest because of their piquant and characteristically Voltairean marginal comments. These marginal comments will be published later in another article[31]

[30] Cf. Voltaire's letter to "M. Bret," October 10, 1761: "Je suis très-fâché que votre *Bayle* ne soit pas encore imprimé. On craint peut-être que ce livre, autrefois si recherché, ne le soit moins aujourd'hui: ce qui paraissait hardi ne l'est plus" (Voltaire, *Œuvres*, Moland, XLI, 472).

[31] By George R. Havens. This will supplement, and to some extent correct, what has appeared in Moland, XXXII, 468–82.

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and will show with peculiar clarity the clash of these two strikingly divergent minds.

Obviously the influence of an author upon Voltaire cannot be measured crudely by the number of titles of his works which he possessed, nor will the mere presence of a book in Voltaire's library suffice to prove its influence. Some volumes Voltaire, like many another reader, owned but neglected. Some he evidently studied with the greatest care. Some he found congenial, others provoked him to violent antagonism. All of these factors must be taken into account by the student of Voltaire's books. A listing of titles which he owned is, of course, only a beginning, but it is a most important step.[32] After that, it remains to make a thorough study of the origins of Voltaire's thought, but it can be made with a very solid basis and one which is lacking in the case of most other authors. Such will be the great service rendered by the Leningrad Library in publishing a complete catalog of the Voltaire collection.

The Voltaire library at Leningrad presents also an unusual opportunity to study Voltaire's mind at work. It bears witness to the fact that his was a mind of great breadth of interest, which worked prodigiously, a mind of astonishing, and at times of disconcerting alertness. If the books which he used, with their marginal notes, often betray the distinctly personal and subjective character of much of his criticism, they present undeniable evidence, nevertheless, of his painstaking methods, his extensive and often erudite reading, and the vivacity of his intellectual reactions.

Voltaire's secretary, Wagnière, has given the following account of Voltaire's method of reading, his habit of making marginal notes, and his prodigious memory:

> Il avait la méthode, quand il recevait un ouvrage nouveau, de le parcourir rapidement, en lisant quelques lignes de chaque page. S'il apercevait qu'il y eût quelque chose qui méritât l'attention, il y plaçait une marque; après quoi il relisait tout fort attentivement, et même deux fois quand l'ouvrage lui paraissait intéressant et bien fait, et il faisait des remarques aux marges. Il y en avait de très-curieuses, ainsi qu'une quantité prodigieuse de *sinets*, sur lesquels il y a quelques mots écrits de sa main ou de la mienne. . . . . La mémoire de M. de Voltaire était prodigieuse. Il m'a dit cent fois: *Voyez dans tel ouvrage, dans tel volume, à peu près à*

[32] The authors of this present article plan to publish shortly a partial list of books in Voltaire's library, which will serve as a sample until the Leningrad catalog appears. See an early number of *Modern Philology*.

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telle page, s'il n'y a pas telle chose? et il arrivait rarement qu'il se trompât, quoiqu'il n'eût pas ouvert le livre depuis douze ou quinze ans.[33]

The present state of the Voltaire library with its numerous place-markers in the books and the many marginal comments entirely confirms Wagnière's testimony as to Voltaire's methods, though the occasional use of stickers is not mentioned.

Voltaire's scholarship has often been severely criticized, especially in the fields of philosophy and religion, and it must be confessed that his temperament often makes scholarly impartiality most difficult for him to attain. There is an element of truth in Montesquieu's *boutade*:

> Voltaire . . . . est comme les moines, qui n'écrivent pas pour le sujet qu'ils traitent, mais pour la gloire de leur ordre. Voltaire écrit pour son couvent.[34]

Nevertheless, the Voltaire library preserves irrefutable testimony of Voltaire's tireless reading and search for the truth in the most scholarly sources. A general survey of the shelves shows the greater number of marginal notes in the large-sized volumes, works on philosophy and religion, historical or critical, many of them learned Latin works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, works which would have been forgotten or ignored by the general reading public, had it not been for their witty eighteenth-century popularizer.

The following are sample titles of works containing marginal notes, many of them amply annotated: Justin Martyr, *Opera quae extant . . . . omnia*, together with many works of and on the Church Fathers; Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica*, and the textual Biblical criticisms of Richard Simon; Sanchez, *De Sancto Matrimonio*; the works of Saint Thomas of Aquinas, Cotelerius, Wagenseilius, William Cave; Dom Calmet's *Commentaire sur les Testaments*; John Grabe's *Spicilegium SS. Patrum et hæreticorum*, and the learned works of Fabricius, which Voltaire used extensively; the works of Conyers Middleton, the English deist, much annotated; Jamblichus on the Chaldean mysteries; learned works on Mohammedanism and Confucianism; *l'Histoire des jésuites* and many volumes of letters from Jesuit missionaries; Fleury's

[33] Longchamp et Wagnière, *Mémoires sur Voltaire*, Paris, 1826, I, 53. The latter part of the citation precedes the former in Wagnière's text.

[34] Montesquieu, *Pensées diverses*, *Œuvres*, Laboulaye ed., Paris, 1875–79, VII, 162.

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Histoire ecclésiastique; learned works on mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and medicine; and so on almost without end until one is dazed by the extraordinary persistence and patience and even relative thoroughness of one mind in search of the truth. Superficiality has often been hidden beneath the mask of scholarship. Such was not generally Voltaire's failing. In preparing his serious works, he owned and used the best available sources. When he exaggerated, when he appears superficial or inaccurate in his criticism, it is sometimes, as occasionally in *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*,[35] from prudence or from policy; sometimes it is because impartiality, difficult even for the modern scholar, was thrice difficult in an age when scholarly methods were still only in their stumbling infancy; sometimes it was in order to be more emphatic or picturesque, to hide the pedantry of his sources, to add life to the dry bones of erudite research, to make palatable to his readers the well-nigh indigestible fare upon which he himself fed. Were Voltaire writing now, these reasons would carry less weight than for one living in the midst of the eighteenth century. They must be considered, too, in the light of Voltaire's very real contributions to sound methods of scholarly research. Only when his sources and the use he made of them have been much more thoroughly studied than they have been thus far, will it become possible at all accurately to evaluate the qualities, as well as the defects, of his fact-finding and interpretative work.

The types of books in which marginal notes appear with the greatest frequency give rise to many interesting conjectures and conclusions as to Voltaire's character and interests. Although a volume on the *Present State of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1718) shows Voltaire just learning to read English, with the translations of simple words noted in handwriting corresponding to that of his English notebook, yet, as is to be expected, the library as a whole gives one the impression of being chiefly a Ferney library. This of course is but a general impression, subject to many exceptions, but it is unlikely to be modified by a more detailed study of all the titles.[36] In works on philosophies and

[35] "J'ai vu des dépêches de M. de Chamillart qui, en vérité, étaient le comble du ridicule, et qui seraient capables de déshonorer absolument le ministère, depuis 1701 jusqu'en 1709. J'ai eu la discrétion de n'en faire aucun usage, plus occupé de ce qui peut être glorieux et utile à ma nation que de dire des vérités désagréables." Letter to the Maréchal de Noailles, July 28, 1752. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXXVII, 458.

[36] The dates of publication of the books in Voltaire's library establish of course the earliest date at which they could have been in his possession, at least in the

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religions the marginal notes are especially rich,[37] representing ideas which will be incorporated in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*, and in the devastating pamphlets of all sorts and varieties that were spread over Europe by the patriarch of Ferney. These marginal comments date especially from Voltaire's later period in which even his dramas and novels express a carefully documented hostility to the established religion, a period which for a variety of reasons[38] has been most consistently slighted, and yet which has been one of the most fruitful in the history of French thought, through Comte and Renan to Rémy de Gourmont and Anatole France. The marginal notes impress one with the fact that in the fields of philosophy and religion was to be found in this period of his life Voltaire's main interest, an interest which had long been developing, which had long been held in check, and which finally found free rein only after the establishment at Ferney.

The evidence of Voltaire's perusal of the books in his private library ranges all the way from simple marginal line indications of passages for future reference, which constituted his serious sources, to keenly critical, ironical, or in many cases petulant commentaries. Some of the least commented works are often those which Voltaire most used and most jealously guarded from the reader's knowledge. As with Shakespeare, he wanted to be thought first[39] in the field and to stay first. He carefully avoided the repetition of what others had done before him, nor did he like to use books which had become common property among his reading public. For example, to the widely read *Histoire des oracles* of Fontenelle, he preferred the more erudite Latin dissertations of Van Dale; he annotated the

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particular editions now found there, but they do not, obviously, indicate how much later he may have acquired them. For that, other evidence must be sought and is frequently likely to be unavailable.

[37] Our observation in this matter agrees with that given, at second hand, by Peignot. "On prétend, dit Peignot, et nous n'avons pas de peine à le croire, que ce sont les livres de théologie qui ont été les plus annotés de cette manière." Cited by Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire*, VIII, 419.

[38] Not least among them, the volume, the variety, and the difficult subject matter of Voltaire's works during this period.

[39] "Je suis le premier qui aie fait connaître Shakespeare aux Français" (Letter to Horace Walpole, July 15, 1768; Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XLVI, 79. "Je fus le premier qui tirai un peu d'or de la fange où le génie de Shakespeare avait été plongé par son siècle." (Second *Lettre à l'Académie Française*, in reply to Mrs. Montagu, used as a Preface to *Irène; Œuvres*, VII, 334).

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lesser known works of Pierre Bayle much more than the popular dictionary; and in his search for sources he held proudly aloof from the works of his French contemporaries, Diderot, Helvétius, and the Baron D'Holbach. On the title pages of the works of the latter, he persistently wrote, as his only comment, *livre dangereux.*[40] He liked especially sources in Latin or in English, and used preferably English works which had not been translated. For instance, he was very fond of Thomas Woolston's *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour,*[41] filled the volumes with stickers and used the references to satiety, but, when D'Holbach translated them,[42] he put the new volumes away with only the usual title-page, *livre dangereux.* Conyers Middleton's works were more scholarly, untranslated, and therefore contain many marked passages.[43] And Voltaire shows his jealousy clearly in his notes on the pages of Barbeu du Bourg's translations from Bolingbroke.[44]

Voltaire's breadth of reading is strikingly worthy of remark. Once he had gathered his varied materials, he was perfectly capable of drawing from them his own conclusions, of striking off the fitting clever witticism, whether he was reading the codices of the learned Fabricius, the commentaries of the pious Dom Calmet, or the condemned blasphemies of the radical English deist, Peter Annet. The most varied sources became purely Voltairean, once they had passed through the master mind.

Wagnière, in his praise of Voltaire's alertness, finds it necessary to defend at some length his master's impetuousness.[45] It is a matter of regret to Voltaire's friends that his passions rose so unrestrainedly when he was rubbed the wrong way by a personal attack, by a book to which he took violent exception, or even when another encroached upon a field which he considered his own. In books which may be put under one or another of these categories, the marginal notes give us Voltaire's first impressions, much of his more intimate thought which would be toned down by fear or from policy in its final published form, and also much of the unrestrained anger which slipped out only occasionally in his published works. While reading, he appears often almost to see before him face to

[40] Prudence, irony, or sincere opinion? *Qui sait?*

[41] Six *Discourses* and two *Apologies,* London, 1727–30; bound in two volumes.

[42] *Discours sur les miracles de Jésus-Christ,* s.d.

[43] *The Miscellaneous Works,* London, 1755, 5 vols. in-8.

[44] *Lettres sur l'histoire,* s.l., 1752, 2 vols. in-8.

[45] Longchamp et Wagnière, *Mémoires sur Voltaire,* I, 54. Cf. Longchamp's testimony, *ibid.,* II, 136.

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face the author in question and to engage him in angry colloquy with a directness which would be most familiar and insulting if his remarks were not ordinarily confined to the margins of his own private library. Many of the notes in the Rousseau volumes are of this character. A few selected notes from the works of Dom Calmet, Jacques Abbadie, and Antoine-Jacques Roustan will illustrate especially Voltaire's *vivacités*.

The *Commentaries* of Dom Calmet are particularly rich in notes and markers. When Calmet uses Bossuet as an authority, Voltaire writes: "Cela n'est pas certain. Bossuet est aussi confus, aussi fabuleux, que ses prédécesseurs"[46]; and when Calmet limits his ancient chronicles to the history of the Hebrews, Voltaire bursts out: "Misérable, tu regardes l'histoire de l'univers comme un petit préliminaire aux contes bleus d'une horde de voleurs!"[47] Here, too, we find two notes which appear often in Voltaire's Biblical criticism: "Du temps de Moïse, ni le papier ni le velin n'était pas encore en usage"[48]; and on the argument used by Calmet that "Moïse n'ordonne rien avec plus de soin que d'étudier et de méditer ses lois," Voltaire comments in drastic fashion: "Beau chien de raisonnement, et si c'est Esdras qui fait parler ce Moïse! Heu!"[49] When Calmet explains the flood as sent from God, Voltaire exclaims categorically: "Très faux, ridicule."[50] At the heading of Calmet's dissertation on the inspiration of the sacred writings, Voltaire writes: "Fort bête," and continues: "D'Adam à Jésu 4000 ans ou 5856; accordez-vous, cuistres."[51] When Calmet mentions the supposed discovery in the Dauphiné of the tomb of the giant king Theutobochus, Voltaire comments: "Teutoboc! ah, pauvre Calmet!"[52] *Pauvre*, *misérable*, *cuistre*, *fiacre*, such are a few of the angry or scornful epithets which Voltaire applied to Dom Calmet and thus enlivened his serious work of documentation. The explanation, which is the justification of such violent terms, has already been given by M. Lanson:

> On n'imagine pas aujourd'hui la naïveté, la puérilité, l'absurdité où pouvaient atteindre en France les commentateurs de la Bible, dans leur

[46] Calmet, *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'ancien et du nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1720, 28 vols., in-4. I, 60.

[47] *Ibid.*, I, 71.

[48] *Ibid.*, note to I, 24, *Dissertation sur la première langue.*

[49] *Ibid.*, *Dissertation sur Esdras*, I, 49.

[50] Calmet, *Dissertation sur l'histoire des Hébreux*, I, 532.

[51] *Ibid.*, I, 93.

[52] Calmet, *Dissertation sur les géants*, II, 34–35.

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effort pour justifier le sens littéral du texte sacré et l'infaillibilité absolue des narrateurs inspirés. Il faut lire Dom Calmet pour s'expliquer Voltaire: il faut le voir rendre compte de la métamorphose de la femme de Loth et de *l'avarie* de Job. Le ridicule dont Voltaire couvrit la Bible est tout entier dans Dom Calmet: il ne demandait qu'à être exploité.[53]

Voltaire had spent three weeks[54] in historical study at Dom Calmet's monastery of Senones in June, 1754; while there he had doubtless formed some of his impressions at first hand by conversation with Calmet and the monks about the dinner table. As he himself wrote to the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, "c'est une assez bonne ruse de guerre d'aller chez ses ennemis se pourvoir d'artillerie contre eux."[55]

Abbadie receives no better treatment in his *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne*.[56] The volume is brimming over with slips marked *N. M.* (note marginale), leading to such comments as *verbiage, fables, suppositions, pitoyable, faux, fou, quelle pitié, quel ridicule*; and then this note: "Ces sottises me mettraient en colère, je ne peux pas te lire," and here Voltaire apparently skips some fifty pages. Abbadie finds that the Jewish religion destroyed voluptuousness; Voltaire writes on the margin: "Témoin les 18 femmes de David, et les 300 de Salomon."[57] When Abbadie notes the "aimable simplicité de mœurs des Hébreux," Voltaire comments: "Témoin deux cents assassinats." According to Abbadie, Spinoza claimed there were no inhabitants in Canaan before the coming of the Jews. Voltaire will defend even Spinoza in the privacy of his notes: "Non, il ne prétend point cela, et je prétends que tu es un sot"; and a little later comes this comment: "Pour un sot tu as bien de la mauvaise foi."[58] Abbadie speaks of the innumerable senseless objections made to the established religion[59]; Voltaire comments like a true eighteenth-century *philosophe*:

[53] G. Lanson, *Voltaire* (Grands Ecrivains français series), p. 172.

[54] Three weeks at Senones, not six weeks, as M. Lanson says (*op. cit.*, p. 81). Voltaire's correspondence shows him still at Colmar June 6, 1754; on June 9, he is passing through Saint-Dié and hence is very near to Senones, where he may perhaps have arrived the same day. His first extant letter from Senones is dated June 12 (*Œuvres*, XXXVIII, 226), his last July 2 (*Œuvres*, XXXVIII, 232). Voltaire himself refers to his stay there in round numbers as lasting a month (*Œuvres*, XXXVIII, 233, 278).

[55] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXXVIII, 278 (October 24, 1754).

[56] La Haye, 1750, 2 vols., in-8.

[57] Abbadie, *op. cit.*, I, 187.

[58] *Ibid.*, I, 224, 252.

[59] *Ibid.*, Sect. III, chap. 18.

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"Cela est bien digne de cet impertinent livre. Des objections sans nombre ne sont-elles rien? et fait-on une seule contre des vérités mathématiques?" Voltaire has read nearly enough. He appears to skip the last one hundred and fifty pages of the first volume and comments only twice in the second, but these comments are rather significant. Abbadie speaks of the virtues of Jesus.[60] "Quoi, misérable!" writes Voltaire, "le fils de Dieu doit avoir changé l'eau en vin pour des gens ivres, avoir envoyé le diable dans le corps de deux mille cochons, s'être transfiguré sur une montagne, avoir sué sang et eau?" Thus Voltaire uses his gleanings from the English deist Woolston[61] to combat Abbadie. And as a last touch, when Abbadie claims that the prophecies were literally accomplished, Voltaire queries in a final gasp: "Et la prophétie de la fin du monde?"[62]

One of the excuses for such tirades is found in Voltaire's marginal notes on a work of Antoine-Jacques Roustan, a pastor first at Geneva and later in the Swiss church at London, entitled *Lettres sur l'Etat présent du christianisme et la conduite des incrédules*, London, 1768. After attacking Voltaire and other unbelievers, the author adds: "L'ami de la vérité est toujours décent et modeste."[63] Voltaire comments:

> Eh, mon ami, tu n'es ni l'un ni l'autre. Il ne fallait pas insulter les auteurs de la tolérance, qui ont protégé les opprimés. Prenez garde. L'orgueil fait tout. Il a dicté votre livre, comme les mandements de tant d'évêques. Vous voulez dominer, et vous ne dominerez point.

Roustan believes that these unbelievers make only a pretence of interest in natural religion. Voltaire is indignant. "Qui te l'as dit?" he writes: "Voyez la lettre d'un des chefs. Je mourrais pour cette religion éternelle, la mère de toutes les autres, qui déchirent les entrailles dont elles sont sorties."[64] And when Roustan attacks certain atheists, Voltaire excuses himself forcefully: "Ils étaient athées. Mais les chrétiens persécutent les chrétiens. Ils vous persécutent, vous dont le père n'a évité les galères qu'en venant exercer son métier de cordonnier à Genève."[65] In these notes, with

[60] *Ibid.*, II, 72.

[61] See a forthcoming monograph by Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists*.

[62] Abbadie, *op. cit.*, II, 76.

[63] A. J. Roustan, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[65] *Ibid.*, Letter II, p. 28.

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their attack on religious persecution, we find one of the chief explanations of Voltaire's animus against orthodox Christianity, and an unusually impassioned expression of faith in natural religion. But Voltaire did not long remain serious. At the beginning of the second letter Roustan addresses himself as follows to his reading public: "Puisque mes premières remarques ont eu le bonheur de vous plaire"; on which Voltaire comments succinctly: "Calomnie abominable."

But the marginal notes expressing Voltaire's violent antipathies, interesting and picturesque as they are, represent only one side of his mind and a side which it is easy to exaggerate. Often Voltaire was concerned only with serious documentation. Even when he has a general tendency to disagree violently with the author he is reading, he can nevertheless be sufficiently impartial to express frank approval when such approval appears to him to be due. Of this, Rousseau is an excellent illustration. While Voltaire writes in the margins of Rousseau's works many an unfair stricture, many an insult, or argument *ad hominem*, he is also capable of writing in approval of Rousseau's attack upon the efficacy of redemption[66]: "bon." When Rousseau combats the doctrine of original sin, Voltaire comments: "Bon cela,"[67] and a few lines further down on the same point: "Hardi et bon."[68] Even Locke, "le sage Locke,"[69] whom Voltaire so much admires and with whom he more generally agrees than with any other philosopher, is not taken without question and close scrutiny. When Locke in a dualistic passage says: "L'esprit peut mettre des corps en mouvement, ou s'empêcher de le faire."[70] Voltaire has written on his marker: "Idée des esprits à examiner" and in the margin of the book: "Obscur et douteux." Voltaire can oppose sharply Samuel Clarke, the English divine, without at the same time descending often to insults or personalities. This is due no doubt to the fact that Clarke himself is calmer, less colorful, and less aggravating than some of Voltaire's contemporary antagonists. The discussion between reader and author takes place on a philo-

[66] J.-J. Rousseau, *Lettre à Christophe de Beaumont*, Amsterdam, Rey, 1763, p. 21 (Hachette, III, 66), "l'effet de la rédemption .... se réduit à peu près à rien?"

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 19 (Hachette, III, 65, end).

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXXIII, 372.

[70] Locke, *Essai philosophique concernant l'Entendement humain*, trad. par Coste, nouv. éd., 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1758. II, 317.

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sophical plane in the realm of ideas and of pure intellect with little or no emotional bias. When Clarke, discussing Free Will, says: "Otez la *liberté à* un Etre, vous lui ôtez le pouvoir d'agir,"[71] Voltaire comments: "Non; la liberté d'indifférence est une chimère et la vraie liberté est le pouvoir d'agir," and a little later: "Volonté libre, chimère selon Locke."[72] When Clarke says: "Qu'on prenne ce que les Philosophes ont dit de plus beau sur la Morale, on n'y trouvera rien qui n'ait été proposé par Jésus-Christ et par ses Apôtres avec plus de clarté et plus de force encore," Voltaire contradicts flatly: "Cela est très faux: lisez Confucius, Epictète."[73] When, however, Clarke writes at length upon the Old Testament prophecies interpreted as foretelling the coming of Christ, Voltaire's rationalistic viewpoint makes his anger flame. Even at this distance in time one can feel his indignation vibrate through his vigorous comment: "Toutes ces prophéties appliquées à Jésus sont l'abus le plus frauduleux qu'on ait jamais fait de l'entendement humain."[74]

But there is almost no end to the examples that might be given. It will be long before a complete sifting of all the marginalia can be made. Yet what a mine they will offer for gathering of material which will illuminate Voltaire's more intimate thought! Sometimes his comments, as we have seen, are frankly emotional and temperamental, sometimes they are directed at pointing out an error in fact; sometimes they strike sharply at false reasoning; sometimes they aim to rule out whole passages as mere hollow rhetoric or "déclamation," as Voltaire calls them[75]; almost always they have their interest or their value from one viewpoint or another and throw new light upon Voltaire's mind as it works in privacy at home amongst his books. Very often in the Leningrad library one finds marginal references which will appear time and again in a history, a drama, a novel, or a philosophical treatise. Occasionally, from these leads, one may hope to trace among the manuscripts the unfolding of an idea, first in Voltaire's own hand, amply corrected, then a more finished copy in his secretary's handwriting; next a printer's first copy, with more corrections in Voltaire's

[71] Samuel Clarke, *Traités de l'Existence et des Attributs de Dieu*, etc., trad. par Ricotier, 2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1727–28, 3 vols., in-8. Chap. X, Vol. I, 115.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[73] *Ibid.*, III, 44.

[74] *Ibid.*, III, 180.

[75] J.-J. Rousseau, *Emile*, Amsterdam (Néaulme), 1762, 4 vols., in-12. III, 64, 78–79, etc.

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hand; and finally in separately bound copies the finished form.[76] Voltaire scholars can hardly fail, henceforth, to take account of the rich material the Leningrad library[77] has to offer in regard to the development of Voltaire's thought and the manner in which his mind worked.[78]

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[76] Voltaire's play, *Saül*, is found in all these states with the exception of the author's first rough draft. In a limited time, it was not possible to follow through the other plays and works which exist in manuscript form. (See F. Caussy, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Voltaire*, especially, pp. 5–6.) The numerous volumes of Pot-pourri (Cf. above, n. 3.) abound in printers' first copies of Voltaire's pamphlets, etc. These Pot-pourri volumes demand a thorough bibliographical study.

[77] Much has been said by bibliophiles of the mediocrity of Voltaire's library. (Cf. G. Peignot, *Souvenirs relatifs à quelques bibliothèques des temps passés*, Paris, 1836, pp. 13–21.) But Voltaire's books were for use, not for show, and are therefore only the more interesting to students of the man and his work.

[78] It remains only to express our keen appreciation of the unfailing courtesy and helpfulness manifested by Dr. V. E. Banck, Secretary of the Public Library at Leningrad, and by all of his staff. Without their coöperation this study would never have been possible.

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LV

THE PARADOX OF ROUSSEAU

A FEW years ago, in a series of articles on the theory of the natural goodness of man in the writings of Rousseau, Professor George R. Havens[1] defended the startling thesis that, after all, Jean-Jacques was not the rebel against tradition that the world has long considered him. Professor Havens claims that Rousseau's theory of natural goodness, when properly understood, is not necessarily related to that doctrine of an "effortless morality" which is so often associated with Rousseau. Each of the three different conceptions of *la bonté naturelle* which he distinguishes in the works of the great Jean-Jacques, (1) primitive goodness, (2) instinctive goodness, and (3) virtue (or, "goodness as harmony with man's higher nature,") he finds not fundamentally incompatible with the humanistic or traditional attitude toward life and toward morals.

Consequently, Professor Havens takes issue with those who find in Rousseau's ethical doctrines a counsel of reliance upon natural instinct and natural desire as the right guides of conduct—with M. Beaudouin when he says of Rousseau, "Dans son systême suivre sa nature est toute la morale"; with Mr. P. E. More who, according to Mr. Havens, "confuses" *natural* goodness with *innate* goodness; with Professor Irving Babbitt who maintains that Rousseau has "denied the reality of the civil war in the cave"; and with M. Pierre Masson who has remarked that Rousseau's is a Christianity "d'ou le sentiment du péché a disparu."[2]

Professor Havens argues that Rousseau was a clear-sighted, and oftentimes practical, realist who recognized the presence of evil in the world and of evil tendencies within himself and who dealt frankly with it as with all facts of experience. The conception of natural goodness "most prominently emphasized" in Rousseau's writings, he maintains, is that of *vertu*, that conception "which portrays man's higher nature warring for victory against his lower nature, a doctrine which does, in fact, seem most in accord with

[1] "Theory of Natural Goodness in Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloise*," *M. L. N.* XXXVI (1921), 385–94; "Theory of Natural Goodness in Rousseau's *Confessions*," *M. L. N.* XXXVIII, 257–66; "La Théorie de la Bonté naturelle chez J.-J. Rousseau, *Rev. d'Hist. littér. de la France*, oct. 1924-juin 1925.

[2] See *M. L. N.* XXXVI, 386.

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daily experience."[3] Thus, in his several articles, Professor Havens has depicted Rousseau, not as the enthusiastic preacher of a gospel of facile optimism based upon a sublime faith in the eternal rightness of Nature and Nature's precepts and a blind trust in natural instinct and desire as moral guides, but as the expounder of a rigorous doctrine of moral struggle against the evil within and without man, and of slow and painful achievement of the ethical reward, *virtue*.

These extraordinary assertions challenge our careful consideration. If Professor Havens is right, then Rousseau's influence, which during the past hundred and fifty years has meant an ever-increasing reliance upon the alleged innate goodness of all men, does in fact proceed from a gross misunderstanding of the basic principles which really underlay all the thinking of this great individualist; and Jean-Jacques is not a revolutionary at all, but a loyal member of that sacred society of sages to which belonged Socrates, Aristotle, and Confucius—great humanists all, who saw man's weakness as well as his strength, and preached to a careless world the old, old doctrine of salvation through inner moral struggle.

To me it seems that Professor Havens errs in his understanding of what the old humanistic doctrine actually was and, by his misplacement of emphasis, presents an essentially false interpretation of Rousseau's writings; and, further, that his articles leave with his reader a totally false impression of what is Rousseau's relation to the philosophic thought and speculation of his age.

I

Rousseau's theory of natural goodness, as it is interpreted by Professor Havens, is synonymous with the "combat theory of virtue": it represents the crystallization of all Rousseau's "conservative tendencies" into a doctrine that seems almost identical with the older humanistic (*i.e.*, non-religious) view of life. On its negative side it is an attack upon fatalism, and, more particularly, upon the religious determinism of the Calvinists;[4] on its positive side it is an eloquent assertion of the intrinsic worth of the human individual and of his power to build his own character.[5]

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

[4] Professor Havens insists that Rousseau "wished to react against the fatalism of predestination and the damnation of the non-elect." *M. L. N.* XXXVII, 265.

[5] Rousseau, according to Professor Havens, said: "It is true that man is evil, it is true that he has fallen; but this was not in accordance with any decree from

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The distinguishing features of humanism are confidence in man and a recognition of the fact of moral struggle. For humanism—so-called, as everyone knows, to distinguish it from the religious attitude toward life—asserts that the individual can exercise free moral choice and by his own strength resist temptation, and, on the positive side, train himself to do what is right. That is, he can lead the good life without dependence upon divine aid. The doctrine is at least as old as Aristotle, who expounded it fully in certain well-known sections of the *Ethics*. Humanism, then, is a theory of conduct concerned wholly with the human plane of being. Its "dogmas" are two: (1) it asserts that the inner nature of man is the scene of a moral conflict waged between two great contending forces, good and evil; (2) it asserts that man can exercise free moral choice. Both assertions are based upon experience; if the experience of temptation is familiar to all men, so, too, is the experience of willing to resist, or to succumb to, that temptation; for, as Dr. Johnson once said, all theory makes against freedom of the will, but all experience makes for it.[6]

Professor Havens would make of Rousseau a humanist in the sense just described. He has collected a surprisingly large amount of material from Rousseau's writings to prove that both by experience and by observation Rousseau was convinced of the reality of evil and of the consequent reality of struggle (the "civil

God. However, man can escape from his present degradation if he attempts to regain his true nature and if, by struggling persistently against all the artificial alterations (in his nature) he makes every effort to return to it." See *Revue d'Hist. littér. de la Fr.*, XXXI, 634–5.

[6] This view of life is called humanism to distinguish it from the religious view of life which relies, in greater or in lesser degree, upon divine guidance in the moral struggle. However, humanism is in no sense antagonistic to religion. For instance, Dante is generally considered one of the greatest of religious mystics. Yet, according to a certain interpretation of the *Divine Comedy*, the Inferno and Purgatory may be regarded as an eloquent expression of the humanistic ideal. There Dante shows the human individual gaining control over his desires and impulses, and then, under the guidance of human reason alone, effecting the purification of his nature and at last achieving self-mastery. ("Per ch'io te sopra te corono e mitrio." Virgil to Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXVII). Self-mastery, or rather, self-guidance, for it cannot be too emphatically stated that the positive element in humanism is by no means less important than the negative, is the goal of humanistic ethical endeavor. Now Dante considers this but the preparation for that beatific vision which can come from God alone, since in the realm of the divine, human reason is impotent. In Dante, then, it is clear that humanism and religion complement each other. On the human level Dante is a good humanist, but to his humanism he adds religious mysticism.

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war in the cave"). In this realistic estimate of the present he finds evidence that Rousseau accepted the first of the "dogmas" of humanism, the division within the nature of man. Rousseau does declare again and again that man as he is now is evil.[7] However—and here is an instance of Professor Havens' failure to put the emphasis where it belongs—more important than his recognition of the presence of evil in the nature of man is Rousseau's attitude towards this evil. He regards the division within the nature of man as not innate, but as unreal, artificial, produced by external means. For, as he says again and again, it is society and social conventions and laws which have degraded man's nature and which hold him enslaved now.[8] Free him from this constraint, and goodness and pity and love will come gushing forth from the primordial depths of his being. That is the inference to be drawn from a candid weighing of Rousseau's expressed opinions, that is the doctrine that was in the air and was finding favor with the men of his day, and that is what men of his own and succeeding ages have believed he meant to say.

Rousseau's conception of the nature of the cleft within man's nature must be carefully distinguished from that of the humanist. The humanist, accepting as a fundamental condition of human life the inner cleft in the nature of man, seeks to *control* the less desirable desires and lower impulses which are at war with the higher portions of his being. Rousseau, regarding the moral conflict as a condition produced from without by artificial means, longs for *freedom from all restraint* in order that his moral nature may be restored to its natural goodness; *i.e.*, he would flee from society, to whose laws he is enslaved. He longs for freedom from all re-

[7] Apparently Professor Havens is inclined to regard this recognition of the reality of evil as a "neglected aspect of Rousseau's doctrines," and to see in such phrases as Mr. More's "innate goodness" when applied to Rousseau an assertion that Rousseau was blind to the fact of evil. See, however, Mr. More's statement " . . . . evil to Rousseau . . . . was . . . . a power to be feared and spurned. As embodied in society . . . . etc." (*Shelburne Essays*, VI, 225–6.) So Professor Babbitt in his chapter on "Rousseau and the Romantic Imagination" (*Rousseau and Romanticism*, pp. 77 ff.) and M. Lasserre in his treatment of Rousseau and "La Ruine de l'Individu" (*Le Romantisme français*, pp. 33 ff.) both show that Rousseau's dissatisfaction with reality, his hatred for society and its evils is the source from which came his romantic dream of an ideal state of nature; and M. Lanson (*Hist. de la Litt. fr.*, pp. 786–791) goes further, even, in stating that this perception of evil as it is inherent in society is the source of Rousseau's ideas.

[8] See, for instance, Rousseau, *Œuvres* (Hachette): I, 112–3, 123, 149, 192; II, 4, 60, 68n., 184; IX, 197–8, 185, etc.

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straint that he may find peace and contentment in *bonté*. The humanist would seek to impose more restraint, that he may find ethical unity and peace of mind through self-guidance. The distinction is fundamental and of vast importance.

Now occasionally Rousseau does describe a dualism like the conventional one. For instance:

> En méditant sur la nature de l'homme, j'y crus découvrir deux principes distincts, dont l'un l'élévoit à l'étude des vérités éternelles, à l'amour de la justice et du beau moral, aux régions du monde intellectuel dont la contemplation fait les délices du sage, et dont l'autre le ramenoit bassement en lui-même, l'asservissoit à l'empire des sens, aux passions qui sont leurs minis tres. . . . . En me sentant entrainé, combattu par ces deux mouvemens contraires, me disois: "Non, l'homme n'est point un; je veux et je ne veux pas, je me sens à la fois esclave et livre; je vois le bien, je l'aime, et je fais le mal; je suis actif quand j'écoute la raison, passif quand mes passions m'entrainent; et mon pire tourment, quand je succombe, est de sentir que j'ai pu résister.[9]

This sounds like the traditional dualism. It is close to the description of the "civil war in the cave" as an opposition between sense and spirit, an expression of the old feeling that man is earthbound by his senses and heavenward bent by his spirit. Certainly this must have been a fact of experience to Rousseau. Can we not say that here, in this instance, his own experiences, unadorned by sophistry, speak forth? Here he is not proclaiming his *doctrine*, but is giving utterance to an observation prompted by experience. From one who enjoyed self-revelation and self-analysis so thoroughly, such utterances are to be expected. Yet they do not contain his message; that is very different. *Le grand principe* of his works he himself has given us in the words of Le Français of the *Dialogues*:

> Suivant de mon mieux le fil de ses méditations, j'y vis partout le développement de son grand principe, que la nature a fait l'homme heureux et bon, mais que la société le déprave et le rend misérable.

Originally man was good; society has made him evil. So away with society and its consequent evils, and good once more will prevail. Despite occasional passages which would seem to indicate the contrary, that seems clearly to be the center of Rousseauism, for around it all his theories touching human life revolve.

Professor Havens does not take into account the distinctions we have just made. His interest in Rousseau's attitude toward

[9] *Ibid.*, II, 249.

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the presence of evil in the world goes no further than to assert that "Rousseau n'a pas oublié la faiblesse humaine."[10] He does not point out the great significance of Rousseau's insistence that evil is an artificial thing which may be eradicated by a mere reordering of the conditions under which we live. And therefore he does not see that a wide gulf separates the liberty gained by self-mastery, which is the liberty that the humanist desires, and the liberty gained by throwing off all restraint—a certain anarchy of the spirit.

Rousseau postulated a *bon*, happy, primitive man who, when he became socialized, lost his original *bonté*, and became what man now is—a miserable creature torn by conflicting desires, enslaved by social habits and conventions, and sunk deep in evil and deception. This is what Professor Havens calls Rousseau's "realistic estimate of the present"; this, he maintains, is the basis for Rousseau's "hopeful outlook for the future," for his "combat theory of virtue." Rousseau, he says, counsels man to recognize and then to struggle against "les penchants qui viennent de l'opinion," which are the artificial creations of an evil society, and to follow the good "penchants de la nature,"[11] for then he may win back his previous *bonté*, or rather, its substitute, *vertu*. Just as in Rousseau's "clear perception of the fact of evil" Professor Havens found the traditional attitude toward *la faiblesse humaine*, so in this, Rousseau's doctrine of *vertu*, he discovers the counterpart of the old theory of virtue.

Does Rousseau's *vertu* correspond to the old humanistic or Christian conception of virtue? And is it true that Rousseau's real message to men is a counsel to struggle for virtue? Before trying to answer these questions, it is necessary that an attempt be made to define carefully Rousseau's conception of the differences between *bonté* and *vertu*, and then to discover just where his approbation seems to rest. His carelessness in the use of terms makes this no easy task. Yet the main stream of his thought can be mapped out with considerable assurance.

It will be discovered that Rousseau sometimes recognized the value of *vertu* (the virtue achieved through struggle by man living in a state of society). But his allegiance to *bonté* (natural goodness, which, even in a state of society, persists in the case of some privileged, elect souls and exacts of them no effort whatsoever,

[10] *Revue d'Hist. littér. de la Fr.* XXXI, 631.
[11] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 225.

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but merely obedience to their instinct) is far more fundamental with him. And it is the doctrine of natural goodness that is expounded with enthusiasm, even with ecstasy, and by setting on fire the imagination of his contemporaries wrought the revolution which has for a hundred and fifty years been associated with his name.

Bonté, Rousseau conceived as an unmoral quality possessed by primitive man in the state of nature. Then men lived solitary lives free from all social duties and ignorant of the moral values of good and evil.[12] Their simple, solitary lives were guided by the natural instinct of self-love (*amour de soi-même*). They were happy because their desires, which coincided with their physical needs, were all satisfied by Nature, and because they were free from the worries and inconveniences due to social existence.[13] Their only instinct regarding others was natural pity,[14] and that gave way before the stronger passion of self-love whenever the two happened to come in conflict.[15]

But with the organization of the unnatural state of society man lost his original *bonté* and he then became evil; that is, he became harmful to himself and to his associates. "L'haleine de l'homme est mortelle à ses semblables," Rousseau declares in *Emile*; "cela n'est pas moins vrai au propre qu'au figure."[16]

Rousseau has given in elaborate detail the steps by which man was denaturalized through the organization of society and the progress of civilization. It is possible to give here only the barest outline of his argument.

Primitive man was free, he tells us, but society deprived him of his natural liberty when it forced him to live in close contact with his fellows, for the pursuit of his own welfare and happiness is complicated by the fact that he must now, as a matter of expediency, if for no other reason, consider how he can avoid bringing injury to others. So man's present subjugation to the laws and conventions and customs of organized society is contrary to the natural plan and wholly hateful.[17] Primitive man was a self-centered, self-sufficient creature; society has taken from him his

[12] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, I, 4, 53, 97–98, 100; II, 36; V, 107n; IX, 210.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 9[illegible]1, 143; II, 47, 52, 148, 200, etc.

[14] Sexual love, was, of course, regarded as a physical need. See *ibid.*, I, 101; II, 184.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, [illegible] 110; II, 27.

[16] *Ibid.*, I, [illegible] 110; II, 27.

[17] *Ibid.*, II[illegible], 51–2; III, 306.

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independence and rendered him feeble. As human desires keep step with increasing civilization, as the human being becomes accustomed to the luxuries and comforts which civilization brings, his desires become more and more complicated and exacting. New habits grow out of new conditions of life and these habits take a firm hold on the nature of man. For habit is as a second nature to which the individual gradually becomes subject. Then, too, society deprives man of his independence by transforming the natural *amour de soi* into *amour propre*—a self-conscious and comparing emotion from which springs vanity and pride.

Especially important for us is the transformation of *amour de soi* into *amour propre*. The *amour de soi* of natural man, it will be remembered, was a passion *bon*, but *unmoral*, since it concerned only the individual in his relation to himself. But with his entrance into society man left behind him forever "cette condition originaire dans laquelle il couleroit des jours tranquilles et innocens." For in society his relative position in the world became apparent to him; he became self-conscious. Hence vanity, pride, boundless desire and dissatisfaction—all have their source in this *amour propre*.[18] *Amour de soi* may therefore be defined as an unconscious, unmoral selfishness; and *amour propre*, as conscious, immoral (because anti-social) selfishness. The one Rousseau regards as a natural interest in self, the other as an egoism which has been altered in accordance with the changed conditions of social existence.

As *bonté* is the moral quality to be associated with *amour de soi* so *vertu* must be associated with *amour propre*.[19] *Bonté* in the state so *vertu* must be associated with amour propre.[19] *Bonté* in the state of nature was the result of an unresisting abandonment to nature's guidance, a giving way, as it were, to the natural instincts and impulses which, in the state of nature, were always right. Similarly, *vertu*, Rousseau defines as the result of following the guidance of conscience, the voice of nature which lives on in socialized man.

Rousseau seems to reason in somewhat this manner: In the primitive state man had no need for a moral guide by which his actions might be directed: natural instict sufficed. So, concludes Rousseau, had the human individual remained unspoiled by social contact, had he continued to live the simple life mapped

[18] *Ibid.*, I, 123, 149; II, 182–4, 215, 223, 337; IX, 107–8; 185.

[19] *Ibid.*, I, 110; "la bonté convenable au pur état de nature n'étoit pas celle qui convenoit à la société naissante."

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out for him by nature, his would be a life of purity and goodness regulated entirely by natural instinct and natural desire.[20] But man has departed from the felicitous natural condition, and in proportion as he has become civilized he has found need for a guide other than natural instinct. For now man is forced to struggle with the external social conditions which are antagonistic to his true nature (Rousseau noticed "une secrète opposition entre la constitution de l'homme et celle de nos sociétés"), and against the unnatural passions which these conditions have awakened within him. And it is of this conflict between opposing emotions, he tells us, that there is born conscience, which is destined to be the moral guide of man in his social existence.[21] For conscience is a development of man's natural *bonté* which is so adapted to the social condition as to be a proper guide in the struggle against the evil tendencies arising from the social condition.

Vertu, then, is the result of a struggle against the artificial, that is, social, prejudices and against such unnatural passions as pride, jealousy, avarice, dishonesty, which have their source in *amour propre*. It is the result of a faithful adherence to the promptings of conscience, whose function is to preserve man from all social tendencies and to keep him in nature's path. *Vertu* may, then, be described as *bonté* which has gone through the refining process of self-conscious struggle against society's evils and has emerged a positive quality. It comes as a result of remaining true to the real injunctions of nature as opposed to the false counsels of a reason under the domination of society. As man is evil now, so it is necessary for him to struggle to attain virtue. Hence Rousseau can speak of "sacrifices faits au devoir et à la vertu."

Rousseau does therefore offer us two ideals: (1) *la bonté de l'homme de la nature*; and (2) *la vertu de citoyen*. *Bonté* belongs to his dream of an ideal state of nature. *Vertu*, as he defines it, is an ideal fashioned after the pattern of *bonté*, but more or less in accordance with the facts of experience: it was the remnant, changed in substance as well as in appearance, which remained after the wreck of his ideal as it was shattered by impact with the actual. It would seem evident, therefore, that Rousseau regarded *vertu* as a substitute for the *bonté* which man lost irretrievably through the organization of society.[22]

[20] *Ibid.*, II., 264; XII, 143.

[21] *Ibid.*, II., 122, 237, 257, 260, 262, 264, 267, 307, 353; IX, 118, 350, 357; XII, 143-4.

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Yet at times Rousseau seems to value *vertu* more than *bonté*. Occasionally he declares that *vertu* is more exquisite and admirable than *bonté* because it is more difficult of attainment. It may be that at such times his recognition of the fact that virtue is obtained through a moral effort of which he felt himself incapable, enhanced its value in his sight. At any rate, a true admiration for virtue, as well as a conviction that it is the only path of goodness open to the individual in society, seems to speak out in the few passages where Rousseau calls society the benefactor of man *because* it has established morality and love for virtue![23]

It may be said with little hesitation, however, that Rousseau's praise of *vertu*, as well as his statement of the benefits conferred upon man by society, was forced upon him by his recognition of the facts of experience. And the existence of society, with all its accompanying evils, was a fact which was ever a source of discomfort and dismay to him. Disgusted and oppressed by reality he was ever prone to flee from it into a *pays des chimères*, the state of nature, which was in every respect the antithesis of the social state he hated. And he was more interested in this Arcadia of his dreams than he was in any sordid reality.

Even in his doctrine of *vertu*, propounded in his moments of "realism," Rousseau reserves the highest honor and distinction for the person who has no need for *vertu*—who keeps his *bonté* even in corrupt society. These were the favored few, the so-called beautiful souls, "unfortunates too privileged to follow the common pathway." To Rousseau, it has been said, they seemed "as a small transfigured band in the midst of a philistine multitude." It was the privilege, as well as the misfortune, of Jean-Jacques to be of this select company:

> Ses émotions . . . . sont naturelles et simples comme son caractère; il est, parmi tous ces énergumènes de sensibilité, comme une belle femme sans rouge, qui, n'ayant que les couleurs de la nature, paroit pale au milieu des visages fardés.[24]

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[22] In *Emile* Rousseau tries to bring together these two ideals, to make of the boy a natural man *and* a social being. First Emile is *bon*; then, because he must live in society, he must learn the way of *vertu* (see *Ibid.*, II, 226). The latter contingency is forced upon him by the fact of the existence of society.

[23] See *Ibid.*, II, 445: Natural man, "né dans le fond d'un bois . . . . eût vécu plus heureux et plus libre; mais n'ayant rien a combattre pour suivre ses penchants, il eût été bon sans mérite, il n'eût point été vertueux et maintenant il sait l'être malgré ses passions." Cf. *Social Contract*, Part I, ch. 8.

[24] *Ibid.*, IX, 199.

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For this reason, he claims, he was out of harmony with his world; yet his preternatural fineness rendered him superior to its degradation. Although he adored virtue, he himself was not virtuous, for natural instinct guided him aright.[25] This subtle defense of himself is as a golden thread woven through his condemnation of society's evils, giving lustre and emotional warmth to what might otherwise have been sterile philosophic speculation.

Rousseau's heart was on the side of Nature; by choice he dwelt in the *pays des chimères* of his imagination. His ardor, his enthusiasm, his eloquence—all are in the service of his Arcadian imagination. And it is his imagination which ruled his intellectual and literary life. And it is his imagination, not his reason, that "set the world on fire" (Madame de Stael). We cannot therefore agree with Professor Havens when he says that Rousseau's "real message" was a counsel to attain virtue. *Vertu* is but one of the two ideals which Rousseau sets before us. And can there not be detected in his exposition of the doctrine of *vertu* a certain hollowness of tone, a formal and therefore forced commendation which renders it ineffectual in comparison with his rapturous attitude toward the doctrine of *bonté*, of natural goodness? In any case, it *was* ineffectual, and all his contemporaries and all his posterity (with the exception of Professor Havens), untouched by his mention of *vertu* to the point of rarely noticing its existence, were roused by his passionate cult of *bonté*.

It is unfortunate that Professor Havens does not distinguish Rousseau's conception of *vertu* from the traditional conception of virtue. In spite of their apparent and superficial similarity, the two doctrines are separated by a wide and impassable gulf.

First, Professor Havens insists that Rousseau's theory of *vertu* was an attack upon the fatalism of Calvinism. Now Rousseau may have intended to deal religious determinism its death blow, but really he has succeeded in setting up in its stead a naturalistic determinism even more paralyzing and more terrifying. For his doctrine of Sensitive Morality outlaws free will and regards man's moral nature as merely the reflection of his surrounding. At the same time that this doctrine allows him to shift all responsibility for his own misdeeds to his environment, it takes from him the hope of ever attaining good, since it declares that he is powerless to alter the nature of his surroundings. In other words, Rousseau says: If you are of the elect, all you need to do is to follow nature,

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

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instinct, desire, since *bonté* reigns in you. This is equivalent to the Calvinistic "saved by the grace of God." However, if you are not one of God's chosen few, you are damned, the Calvinists declared. So Rousseau, too, says: If you are not of the elect of Nature, you are lost because, having no *bonté*, your only hope for success is by the hard path of the pursuit of *vertu*—a forlorn hope since the hostile forces of society will always be too strong for you.

No, Rousseau does not "oppose fatalism," and if in one breath he urges men to realize the highest possibilities of their natures (by recalling them to their primitive goodness!), certainly in the next he whispers to those who pay close heed to the discouraging message that, unless they be of Nature's elect, no matter how hard they try, they cannot be good in a world which is vitiated by society.

The beautiful soul is saved, for he is the elect of Nature. But he would do well to flee from surroundings detrimental to his precious natural innocence and purity and seek another environment more favorable to the practice of virtue. Rousseau speaks of "un régime exterieur qui . . . . pouvait mettre où maintenir l'áme dans l'état le plus favorable à la vertu." It would of course be expected that this milieu would be far removed from the contaminating influence of society. Rousseau declares that he always had a predilection for solitude because in solitude only could the true depth and purity of his moral nature express itself.

Professor Havens says that Rousseau wants us to create a *milieu favorable à la vertu*, and that his message to man is a call to this noble task:

> Mais Rousseau rêve une société plus favorable à la bonté . . . . Rousseau croit donc qu'il importe de créer un milieu favorable à la bonté; . . . . il croit que le milieu peut dominer l'hérédité. . . . . Il croit donc au progrès possible. . . . ."[26]

Certainly he misunderstands Rousseau here, for never does Jean-Jacques entertain such high hopes. He says, rather—Mankind is in a bad way now. A few souls are good. Even they, if they would preserve their goodness, would do well to flee from society.

II

The fallacy which underlay Rousseau's interpretation of the dual nature of man has already been noted. His very definition

[26] *Revue d'Hist. littér. de la Fr.* XXXII, 225.

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of *vertu* is founded upon a literal acceptance of the belief in original *bonté* and hence of the story of man's fall from Nature. Yet, curiously enough, under the pressure of controversy and sometimes in his moments of realism, he admits freely that his picture of the state of nature is all an unreal vision—a fairy tale, *un état qui n'éxiste plus, qui'n'a peut-être point existé* (Second Discourse). Yet it is no less dear to him. It seems to me that Professor Havens does not give to this attitude of Rousseau toward his own doctrines the attention it merits. It must not be forgotten that Rousseauism is, properly speaking, not a logical, philosophic system. Rousseau's message cannot be determined by any statistical method such as that employed by Professor Havens. For Rousseauism is first of all a defense of a human personality, the personality of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, against the disapproval of the society into which he was born. In the salons of Paris he found himself miserable, awkward, and ill-at-ease, and he felt instinctively that his unsocial habits must render him ridiculous in the eyes of the great ladies and the gentlemen who frequented them. There he was thrown into the heart of a highly artificial society, governed by a convention which remained an unfathomable mystery to that proud barbarian, Jean-Jacques. He was out of harmony with his age, and he was convinced that it was his age, and not himself, that was at fault. In the eighth book of his *Confessions* he says:

> Quoique la mauvaise honte et la crainte des sifflets m'empêchassent de me conduire d'abord sur ces principes et de rompre brusquement en visière aux maximes de mon siècle, j'en eus des lors la volonté décidée, et je tarde à l'executer qu'autant de temps qu'il en fallait aux contradictions pour l'irriter et la rendre triomphante.

The First Discourse was not a logical or a reasoned attack upon society; it was the instinctive reaction of Rousseau's proud nature against the society which, he felt, had excluded him; it was the expression of his smouldering, deep-seated resentment against the whole social structure which seemed to him so hopelessly out of joint.

It is noteworthy that the First Discourse is an attack upon things as they are; Rousseau pours forth with unmitigated fervor his long-suppressed hatred for the actual. Those descriptions of an ideal state of nature, opposite in every detail to the world of reality, of an age when men were happier and better than we, he uses effectively in this first essay as a foil to set off the real social

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state; they are scenes conjured up by his ever active idyllic imagination for the purpose of artistic contrast.

So it is that the *salon* and *boudoir* lives of Parisians who boasted of their learning and culture he contrasts with life in ancient Sparta, about which his imagination weaves an enticing picture of a city famous for the happy ignorance of its inhabitants, a republic of demigods rather than men, so greatly superior did their virtues seem to those of men as he knew them. To ancient Sparta he offers this paean of praise not because he thought Sparta was actually thus ideal, but because in so doing he condemned Parisian life more effectively. Ideal Sparta and the ideal primitive state are fabrications of his fancy, no more "real" to him than the kingdom he ruled so wisely and benevolently or the beautiful princess who loved him so dearly and with whom he lived so happily in a magnificent palace![27] They were as "real" as his dreams were real, but no more so. They were Arcadias where his wounded spirits found solace and exquisite happiness after unpleasant experiences.

His dream-world was, as he said, a projection of himself upon the landscape, a very part of himself, or rather, the enlargement of his nature into a little world. That this *pays des chimères* should suffer ridicule at the hands of others was, therefore, unbearable to him. But when he had described the ideal state of nature in the First Discourse, he laid himself open to the merciless analysis of the philosophers. The attack bore most heavily on that portion of the discourse which set forth his cherished dream of the ideal, and he rushed forth to resist the onslaught. To defend it before the world meant to render it logical and plausible to the minds of men, and so Rousseau summoned his "sluggish" mind to the defense of the unguarded utterances of his heart.

It is possible to recognize throughout his writings these two distinct sets of ideas, the one the spontaneous reactions of his emotional nature against the social world he hated; the other his efforts to rationalize his rebellious feelings and his delectable dreams and thus to make them appropriate for the drab world of fact. It is the old conflict between undisciplined desire and fact, a conflict which he experienced in his own life and which he regarded as the curse inflicted upon him by society rather than as the result of his own inability or his unwillingness to adjust himself to the conditions of social life.

[27] See *Confessions*, Bks. I and II, especially.

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Professor Havens several times indicates that Rousseau's choice of an idealistic past rather than an idealistic future is one of the significant phases of his work that critics have neglected. I have searched vainly in his articles for an indication of just what he deems to be the "real significance" of this fact. To me it appears just this: the state of nature was one of the many *pays des chimères* which Rousseau preferred to reality. Perhaps, even, it was less delectable in his sight than many others, for in it he himself appeared only by implication. It *happened* that this Arcadia was dated in the remote past of the race; the interest in evolution, in anthropology, and in philosophical speculation in England had caused much discussion of savage life. These ideas were in the air, part of the material which his *imagination creatrice* appropriated.

Thus there are two streams of theory in Rousseau's works, the one, the fervent, impassioned, eloquent expression of the emotions of his heart, which, bruised by society's rebuffs, sought solace in imagination's dream; the other, the more sedate doctrine of his head, where reason was put in the service of his Arcadian longing.

The contradictions in Rousseau's utterances which have fascinated scholars and have earned for him the title, man of paradoxes, have their roots in his divided personality. The impetuous and spontaneous outpourings of his imaginative and undisciplined heart are ever at variance with the more sober judgments of his head. Rousseau the idealist is at war with Rousseau the realist. Actually, it was the labor of his life-time to defend his idealism to a practical world. This endeavor led him into contradictions and inconsistencies. His valiant attempts to rationalize his idealism produced paradoxes: that was inevitable, he declared. "Pardonnez-moi mes paradoxes: il en faut faire quand on réfléchit; et, quoique vous puissiez être, j'aime mieux être homme à paradoxes qu'homme à préjugés."

To recapitulate: Rousseau hated things as they are. Suffering from a *malaise sentimental*, he sought solace from the unpleasantness of reality in the *pays des chimères* conjured up by his imagination in accordance with his desires. This was his retreat from the unfriendly world, his ivory tower. Experience sometimes forced him to descend from his tower and to face reality. The contrast between the real and the ideal was devastating to him. His mind at length became active in the service of his imagination and he

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struggled in sporadic fits of enthusiasm to bring his ideal into harmony with the real.[28] He did not succeed in all particulars, but he succeeded well enough to mislead Professor Havens into thinking that the doctrine which he then propounded is his real message. He and the generations which followed him attached little significance to his threadbare rationalized idealism, and enthusiastically embraced his thrilling, new, soul-satisfying gospel of the goodness of nature, which promised more than the philosopher's stone could confer—virtue without effort.[29]

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[28] For an excellent treatment of the general contradiction between the radical and the conservative Rousseau see the article by M. Gustave Lanson, *Annales de la Soc. J.-J. Rousseau*, VIII, pp. 1–31.

[29] A large part of the material for this paper is drawn from a thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Reed College (1926). The writer is happy to have this opportunity to thank Professor Barry Cerf of Reed College and Professor Irving Babbitt of Harvard University for the many helpful criticisms and the sympathetic encouragement received from them. Professors C. H. Grandgent and J. L. Lowes also have read the article in manuscript. Without in any way rendering them responsible for the errors it may still contain, it is a great pleasure to be able to acknowledge here my indebtedness to their judgment and learning.

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LVI

THE TITLE OF SEDAINE'S *LE PHILOSOPHE SANS LE SAVOIR*

LE PHILOSOPHE SANS LE SAVOIR has always been one of the most discussed of the eighteenth-century plays. Ever since it was presented to the police censors for approval and permission to be played, it has been subjected to diversified criticism. This criticism, however, has failed to solve several questions arising from contradictory statements made at the time of the play's appearance. The original title of the play, the reason for the hesitation between the two titles, and the relation of the title to the principal character are still unsolved questions which hinder the accurate interpretation of Sedaine's work.

The title of *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* has already been the subject of much discussion.[1] Numerous critics since 1765 have asserted that the original title of the play was *Le Duel*. Bachaumont,[2] when alluding in the *Mêmoires* to *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, uses the phrase "ci-devant intitulé *Le Duel*." La Harpe, in his *Correspondance littéraire*[3] and again in the *Cours de littérature*,[4] refers to the play as *Le Duel*. In the *Cours*, he quotes Sedaine as having said in the preface to his work that such was the real title. Petitot[5] stated that "dans la première intention de l'auteur sa pièce était intitulée *Le Duel*: la police s'opposa à ce qu'elle fût jouée sous ce titre." And when, Petitot adds, the author was forced to substitute another title for *Le Duel*, he chose *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, the term Philosophe being at that time vague and readily applicable to anyone. Since Petitot, such critics as Lenient[6] and H. Lion[7] have considered *Le Duel* the original title of the play. Even Guenther in his work

[1] The most recent discussion is by Professor Oliver in his critical variorum edition of Sedaine's play. See *University of Illinois Bulletin*, IV, 3, March, 1913, p. 83.

[2] II, 292.

[3] I, 47.

[4] X, 406.

[5] *Répertoire du théâtre français*, VII, 305.

[6] Lenient, C., *La Comédie en France au XVIIIè siècle*, II, 123: "D'abord, son titre primitif, Le Duel, avait effarouché la police."

[7] Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la littérature française*, VI, 612: " . . . . quand il hasarda *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* (1765), ou pour mieux dire (car ni ce titre, ni le premier, *Le Duel*, que n'autorisa pas la censure, ne sont les bons), *Le Père de famille*."

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L'Oeuvre dramatique de Sedaine[8] asserts that "le premier titre de cette pièce était *Le Duel.*"

There are grounds for questioning the accuracy of these statements. The phrase of Bachaumont, "ci-devant intitulé *Le Duel,*" has been commonly interpreted to mean that Sedaine first called his play *Le Duel* and later *Le Philosophe sans le savoir.* But it could mean that the title *Le Duel* had been proposed for the play by someone other than the author and until the appearance of the play popularly accepted as appropriate. La Harpe's reference to Sedaine's alleged admission that *Le Duel* was the real title can not be located in any preface. There is no proof that Sedaine intended, as Petitot asserts, to call his play *Le Duel.* On the contrary, it is a well-known fact that he protested on one occasion when the police advocated naming the play *Le Duel.* Guenther, as we shall see, supports his assertion by theoretical considerations, rather than by documents. Moreover, contradicting all this evidence to the effect that the original title was *Le Duel,* is the following extract published by Sedaine in the *Théâtre choisi de Pixérécourt*:

> En 1765 [sic], m'étant trouvé à la première représentation des *Philosophes,* je fus indigné de la manière dont étaient traités d'honnêtes hommes de lettres que je ne connaissais que par leurs écrits. Pour réconcilier le public avec l'idée du mot philosophe, que cette satire pouvait dégrader, je composai *Le Philosophe sans le savoir.*[9]

That considerable confusion over the title of the play arose in 1765 and spread in subsequent years can be seen from the various interpretations given to the production by contemporaries. Bachaumont analyzed the play and was considerably puzzled whether the title was *Le Duel* or *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*:[10]

> Le duel, qui n'est qu'épisode dans la pièce, l'occupe tellement toute entière, que le mariage et la noce ne sont que le cadre où il est enchâssé. De douze acteurs dont la pièce est composée, sept seulement sont occupés de l'action principale, d'autres sont tout entiers au duel, et les premiers sont si étrangers à cet incident, qu'il arrive, se passe et se termine sans qu'ils y participent en rien, sans qu'ils en aient rien sçu, et ils sortent de la scène sans s'en douter. . . . .

The police censors maintained that

[8] Paris, 1908, p. 218.
[9] IV, 509.
[10] *Mémoires secrets,* II, 294.

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le titre de la pièce était *Le Duel*, et qu'elle en était l'apologie.[11]

They changed certain of the details in the episode of the duel, but finally permitted the play to be given under the original title *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*. Many contemporaries, however, rejected the title *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* as unsuitable. Sabatier, for instance, wrote: "En effet, ce drame ne répond ni à son titre, ni aux règles du théâtre."[12] Even after the changes exacted by the censors, Sedaine felt that the play did not justify its title: "De tous les défauts de ma pièce, celui qui n'échappe pas à la plus légère attention, est qu'elle ne remplit pas son titre; j'ai été le premier à le dire après les changements."[13] Only Grimm defended the title:[14] "Si M. Van Derk n'est pas un véritable philosophe, qu'on me dise ce que c'est qu'un philosophe. Or il l'est certainement sans le savoir."[15]

Professor Oliver is inclined to attribute all this confusion to Bachaumont, who, it seems, originated the idea that the title of the play was *Le Duel*.[16] But Bachaumont's article, written only three days before the first performance of the play, merely recorded in a parenthetical remark what must have been generally known. A rumor so widespread must have had its beginning either with the author or with the police censors. Sedaine implied in his *Mémoires* that responsibility was to be placed upon the censors.

> Jamais ouvrage [he wrote] n'avait eu autant de peine que celui-ci à paraître sur la scène: je fus un an entier à en obtenir la permission. On disait que le titre de la pièce était *Le Duel*, et qu'elle en était l'apologie.

Positive proof, however, that the police censors spread the report can be had from a passage in Collé's *Journal*.[17] When, on October 21, 1765, Collé noted that the first performance of *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* was to take place, he added:

> C'eût été une espèce de dernière répétition, pour la donner ensuite à

[11] *Théâtre choisi de Pixérécourt*, IV, 509.

[12] *Les Trois siècles littéraires*, III, 296.

[13] Preface to edition of 1766.

[14] *Correspondance littéraire*, VI, 445.

[15] This confusion over the title extended even to the translations. When, in 1768, the play was translated into German, the translator adopted *Das Duell* as the title, and *Der Weise in der that* as the sub-title. O'Brien, in 1772, similarly accepted *The Duel* as the title for his English translation. See Oliver, *op. cit.*

[16] P. 84: "Pending more evidence, therefore, I think that Bachaumont originated the idea that the title was ever really *Le Duel*."

[17] *Journal historique*, III, 51.

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Fontainebleau; mais, comme le fond de cette pièce est un duel, la police ne l'a point voulu passer, ce qui me paraît une très plate pédanterie.

There can be no doubt that the police, and not Bachaumont, originated the idea that the play should be called *Le Duel*. Their motives will be discussed later. Just what procedure they followed in spreading the report is a matter of conjecture. According to Sedaine, they said outright that the title was *Le Duel*, and not *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, whereas Collé affirms they objected to the "fond," that is to say to the situation of the play, intimating at the same time there was a close relationship between situation and title. The ultimate effect of either procedure would conceivably be the same.

Still, the police rumor would possibly not have caused the confusion, had the play not been of such a type that it could easily be misinterpreted by the public. Although called a comedy, it was written in accordance with Diderot's rules for the *drame*, two of which were (1) that the character should be subordinated to the situation and (2) that the abstraction of the character, *i.e.* the portrayal of the abstract qualities of human nature in a character, should be subordinated to the "condition" of the character, *i.e.* to the portrayal of the relationship between the individual and his position in life.[18] These two rules changed somewhat the conventional methods of naming French plays. Formerly it had been customary either to name a comedy of intrigue after the situation or a comedy of character after the principal character. A new method had to be devised for the *drame*. The character and the abstraction of a character, being considered of less importance than the situation and the "condition" of a character, could not furnish a name for the play. The choice of a title depended upon the relative importance accorded the situation and the "condition" of the character. If the situation was held more important than the "condition" the play should be called *Le Duel*, if the reverse was held to be true, it had to be named *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*.[19] There was sufficient analogy between the situation of a

[18] Cf. Brunetière, F., *Les Epoques du théâtre français*, 12è conférence, p. 295: "A la peinture des caractères substituer celle des conditions, c'est au lieu de l'avare, ou de l'hypocrite, ou du misanthrope, au lieu de la précieuse ou de la prude, nous représenter sur la scène le magistrat, le financier, le négociant, le militaire, le 'père de famille,' ou 'le fils naturel'."

[19] Guenther, in *L'Oeuvre dramatique de Sedaine*, seems to reason exactly as I suspect a contemporary audience of Sedaine reasoned. "Le premier titre de cette

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comedy of intrigue and that of a *drame* to lead astray an eighteenth-century public which must have inferred from the police report that the situation was the paramount element in the play, and quite logically, concluded that the title should be taken from the paramount element. For the great majority of persons the choice was easily made: the play was *Le Duel*. Sedaine, however, had reasons to prefer the judgment of Diderot. That Diderot considered the "condition" of more importance than the situation is evident from his treatment of "Les Conditions au théâtre" in his third conversation with Dorval.[20] Furthermore, his two model *drames* took their names from the "condition" of the principal character rather than from the situation. For Sedaine, then, the play was *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*.

The confusion which originated in the police report and which increased as a result of the public's failure to comprehend the rules for a *drame* became even greater when the public began to analyze the attitude of the police towards Sedaine's play. Before the first performance, much mystery surrounded the negotiations of the censors with Sedaine. It was currently known that the police objected to the episode of the duel, and it was concluded that the opposition arose through fear lest duelling become more widespread. Nevertheless, an illustrious work of the preceding century had vaunted duelling and had not been suppressed.[21] After the first performance, the public realized that the episode of the duel was still present but that under no circumstances could it be construed as an apology for duelling. Later in the eighteenth century, the censors permitted the publication of two plays both of which were entitled *Le Duel*.[22] Their opposition to Sedaine's play was deemed so illogical that the public was forced to disregard their conclusions and to choose for itself the more appropriate of the two titles. The attitude of the police toward Sedaine's work then lost its significance. It is none the less of supreme importance in explaining the various vicissitudes through which the play passed,

pièce," says Guenther, "était *Le Duel*, car si elle présente avec son personnage principal le type d'un vrai sage, c'est un duel qui est le motif de l'action." Cf. La Harpe, *Correspondance littéraire*, Vol. I, p. 47: "Il a donné au théâtre français *le Philosophe sans le savoir*, ou plutôt *Le Duel*, car le premier titre ne signifie rien."

[20] Diderot, Extraits (Ed. Hachette), p. 93.

[21] Cf. Collé, *Journal historique*, III, 51.

[22] Chabannes, *Le Duel*, in *Théâtre de M. Rochon de Chabannes*, II, 121. Rauquil-Lieutaud, *Le Duel*, ou *La Force du préjugé*, comédie en trois actes, en vers. Paris, 1786.

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as well as in establishing a background for the interpretation of the play.

A review of the history of the play may be of assistance in explaining the attitude of the police. On May 2, 1760, Sedaine was present at the first performance of Palissot's *Les Philosophes*. He was scandalized by the manner in which respectable men of letters were maltreated,[23] and particularly because among those mistreated was his good friend Diderot, by whom he had been befriended ever since the suicide of the elder Sedaine. In fact, Sedaine was so scandalized that when on July 26, 1760, a revenge performance was planned and Voltaire's *Ecossaise* was chosen as the occasion, he undertook to lead the advance guard of the philosophic army. An account of the affair was given in Fréron's *Année littéraire*:[24]

> Hier samedi 26 de ce mois, sur les cinq heures et demie du soir, il se donna au parterre de la Comédie Française une des plus mémorables batailles dont l'histoire littéraire fasse mention. Il s'agissait du *Caffé* ou de *L'Ecossaise* qu'on représentait pour la première fois. Les gens de goût voulaient que cette pièce fût sifflée; les philosophes s'étaient engagés à la faire applaudir. L'avant-garde de ces derniers, composée de tous les rimailleurs et *prosailleurs* ridiculisés dans *l'Année littéraire*, était conduite par une espèce de Savetier appellé *Blaise* qui faisait *Le Diable à quatre*.[25]

L'Ecossaise was successful, but it did not furnish an adequate reply to the traducers of the philosophic party. Sedaine still smarted under Palissot's censure of Diderot. The following year, however, 1761, Diderot had the opportunity to present his *Père de famille*. Voltaire regarded it as the most conclusive reply to Palissot, but none the less the play was rather unsuccessful. It seemed that Diderot would never be vindicated and the public would never again be reconciled with the Philosophe.

Sedaine, almost in despair, decided to sacrifice his comfort in one last attempt at justification. He began his play before the closing months of 1763. His imagination was not very fertile. Besides, he was ever a slow worker. Pipelet[26] quotes him as saying that it took at least a year to make a plan for a play, although he could execute the plan in thirty days. "Ce fut ainsi qu'il composa *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*." At this time, a young noble having

[23] *Théâtre choisi de Pixérécourt*, IV, 509.
[24] 1760, V, 209.
[25] *Blaise le savetier* and *Le Diable à quatre* are titles of two of Sedaine's plays.
[26] *Eloge historique de Sedaine* 1797, p. 12.

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fought a duel on the road to Sèvres, and the incident having become well known, Sedaine decided to use it as the situation for his play. He incorporated this situation in an adaptation of the general theme of Diderot's *Père de famille*,[27] thinking doubtless that if Diderot's play could be recast in such a way as to become better adapted to the stage, it would be successful. Thus by using the new rules of the *drame*, by imitating the theme of the *Père de famille*, and by exonerating the philosophic party, he sought to vindicate Diderot the theorist, the playwright, and the Philosophe. In addition to the broad outlines of the subject, and the rules for writing a *drame*, he possibly took some of the details from events in Diderot's life, such as the incident of Van Derk going off to bed with the keys to the yard door.[28] Other incidents he adapted from contemporary events, as, for example, the episode of the duel and the incident of the three knocks upon the door.[29] Although the play was ready for presentation by November 1764, Sedaine was forced to wait a whole year to obtain permission for the performance.[30] It seemed to him that never did a work have so much difficulty in appearing, but in this he was mistaken. Sauvigny, who composed the *Socrate* for the same purpose which Sedaine claimed in writing *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, waited two years and nine months for permission to stage his play.

None the less, Sedaine had good reason to complain of the treatment he received at the hands of the censors. His friendship for Diderot and his relationship with the Philosophes had naturally aroused suspicion. When the real purpose for writing the play became apparent, the censors grew over-cautious. Their activities in the four preceding years had not been received with enthusiastic applause. Caught between the two opposing forces—the Philosophes and their opponents—they rendered few decisions which were not criticized by one group or the other. Becoming weary of the continued accusations of partiality, they naturally wished to hush up the quarrel on both sides, particularly on the side of the Phi-

[27] Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la littérature française*, VI, 613.

[28] See Morley, *Diderot*, I, 14.

[29] Sedaine explains the origin of the three knocks upon the door as follows: "Dans ce même temps, un grand seigneur se battit en duel, sur le chemin de Sèvres: son père attendait dans son hôtel la nouvelle de l'issue du combat, et avait ordonné qu'on se contentât de frapper á la porte cochère trois coups, si son fils était mort; c'est ce qui m'a donné l'idée de ceux que j'ai employés dans cette pièce." See *Théâtre choisi de Pixérécourt*, IV, 509.

[30] *Op. cit.*, IV, 509.

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losophes, who were clamouring for revenge against Palissot. They realized that Sedaine's play might renew the whole controversy. But they foresaw also the outright suppression would stir up considerable trouble. They thought it better to avoid arousing the philosophic party, and to seek the suppression of the play by a subterfuge. Unfortunately for Sedaine, they saw in the duel a means to attain their ends. Richelieu had opposed Corneille's play because of a duel, why should not the police of the eighteenth century exercise as much precaution as Richelieu? And so they quibbled, until they obtained Sedaine's consent to suppress the expression "C'est un duel," but in the meantime the statement of the elder Desparville that Van Derk is "Le Philosophe le plus ferme, le plus . . . ."[31] was also suppressed. This latter phrase occurred at the *dénouement*. It was the only appearance of the word Philosophe in the play and it would have summarized admirably Van Derk's "condition" and have shown as well the connection between the "condition" and the title.[32]

Why did Sedaine permit his play to be changed in this way without at least some audible protest? I think it was not in Sedaine's nature to object; moreover, as the authorities feigned to ignore the bearing of the play upon the philosophic movement, what was the use of stirring up this new hornet's nest, particularly since the police censors showed themselves severe but by no means adamant? And so change after change was made, Sedaine very affably conceding the maximum and nourishing the hope that he could print the original version. That he recognized the pernicious work wrought by the censors is, however, evident:[33]

Les considérations les plus sages m'ont forcé de changer la situation, et d'affaiblir mon caractère principal; j'avoue que le titre de philosophe paraissait proposer Van Derk comme un modèle de conduite, et ce prétendu modèle malheureusement trop près de nos moeurs était trop loin de nos loix, mais si cet ouvrage a le bonheur d'être représenté dans les pays étrangers, les considérations nationales n'y subsistant plus, puisque

[31] Oliver, *Critical variorum edition*, p. 169, Note 634. This suppression, to be sure, could have been suggested by Diderot rather than by the censors. There is no evidence, however, to indicate that such was the case.

[32] This view incidentally was not held by Diderot who declared in a letter to Le Monnier (*Oeuvres*, Vol. XIX, p. 360): "Je ne veux point du tout le mot de Philosophe, ni dans une bouche ni dans une autre. Il me plaît infiniment que le titre de la pièce ne s'y trouve pas seulement une fois." Cf. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, VI, 445.

[33] Preface to edition of 1766.

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le lieu de la scène n'est plus le même pour eux; je crois que le caractère de mon philosophe, tel qu'il était, aura plus de ressort, et le personnage plus de jeu; les passages de la fermeté à la tendresse seront marqués avec plus de force et deviendront plus théâtrales.

It remains now to examine the character of Van Derk and its relationship to the title and the history of the play. The opinions of Grimm, Sabatier, and Sedaine have already been cited. Jouffroy in his *Cours de littérature dramatique*[34] found the character of Van Derk most worthy of praise, but he refused to recognize in him a portrait of the Philosophe:

> Il n'y a rien qui ressemble moins à la philosophie du temps que la bonté et la complaisance avec laquelle M. Van Derk excuse la vanité et les dédains d'une soeur qui tient tout de lui: la douceur à supporter les faiblesses et les défauts d'autrui n'entrait point dans le caractère du philosophe, de celui du moins qu'on désignait par ce nom vers la fin du dix-huitième siècle. Il n'y avait pas de gens plus égoistes, plus irascibles, plus intolérans, moins endurans, plus vains et plus ombrageux que les soi-disants philosophes de cette époque: ce qui me porte à croire que, dans *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, Sedaine a voulu peindre tout simplement un homme sensé, honnête et vertueux sans prétention, mais point du tout un philosophe du jour.

Petitot likewise judged Van Derk a highly estimable man, but concluded that if such a character may be called a *Philosophe sans le savoir*, one must be convinced that innate philosophy is worth infinitely more than acquired philosophy.[35] Finally, Professor Oliver finds that the features which distinguish Van Derk as a Philosophe are (1) his control over the emotions, (2) his liberal-mindedness, (3) his realization that reason is not all powerful in its fight against prejudices, and (4) his consideration for others, especially for his wife.

A closer analysis, however, will disclose that a considerable part of Van Derk's philosophy consists in the expression of those commonplace apothegms which we are wont to consider platitudes when expressed by others and sublimated truths when expressed by ourselves. For instance, when Van Derk ponders over the intricacies of a marriage contract, he concludes that they are well justified, because lawyers look to future eventualities whereas ordinary human beings are aware only of the present. Or, again, just before the wedding, Van Derk impresses upon his daughter

[34] III, 325.

[35] Petitot, *op. cit.*, VII, 306

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that the irreproachable conduct of parents is a blessing for the children. When he describes his past life to his son, he drops the casual reflection that a man, entering upon life, is the inevitable plaything of chance. In the midst of happiness over his daughter's wedding, he suddenly learns of his son's duel, and he philosophizes: "Alas, how little faith can be put in present bliss"; or "Adversity ever pursues us, the greatest happiness is all too ready to change." And when he is overcome by the son's return, he remarks upon the impossibility of suddenly passing from great grief to great joy. The point of view embraced in the every-day expression, "Such is life," is a very potent factor in determining Van Derk's philosophy. It is precisely this middle-class philosophy of Van Derk that justifies the title and fulfills the object of the play.

Van Derk also has a distinct code of ethics. He insists upon irreproachable conduct in all of the members of his family; he instructs Antoine that there shall be neither debauch nor rowdiness at the wedding, that equality is to be observed among guests, family, employees and servants, and that there must be moderation in drinking. He is puritanically honest, prudent and considerate. For instance, he refuses to buy an army commission for his son and insists upon achievement by merit. He likewise has hidden his illustrious title from his son, because, he says: "J'ai craint que l'orgueil d'un grand nom ne devînt le germe de vos vertus; j'ai désiré que vous les tinssiez de vous-même." Patriotism and loyalty to king he has, for he regrets that his son is throwing away his life in a duel rather than giving it to his fatherland.

In addition to his commonplace philosophy and to his code of ethics, Van Derk has certain definite ideas in accord with the eighteenth-century Philosophe concerning honor, prejudice, reason, tolerance. Honor, that is, regard for the dignity of one's rank, is the greatest preoccupation of this merchant philosopher. "The strictest account a father owes his children is that of the honor he has received from his ancestors." And when he learns that his son is planning some unknown deed, he inquires very diligently if there is anything dishonorable in it. Elsewhere he cites honor as one of the elements essential to the character of a gentleman. Although the Philosophes were accused of making war upon all prejudices, *i.e.*, opinions formed without examination, Van Derk believes that it is better to observe a prejudice, and preserve honor, than to lose honor in disregarding a prejudice. Hence the father sends his son to the duelling-ground when he

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knows that the honor defended is but a false view of honor, illegal, abusive, unpatriotic. It is interesting to note that this exalted view of honor is perhaps justified in a portrayal of a Philosophe if we remember that Montesquieu chose honor as the principle of a monarchy in his *Esprit des lois*, that Voltaire gave it a place in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* and that *L'Encyclopédie* devoted to it a long article. Van Derk is only partially a Philosophe in his attack against prejudices. He informs his son that in an age of enlightenment a prejudice against a noble who has become a merchant can not endure; that "ce qui peut procurer la noblesse, n'est pas capable de l'ôter." He sees, of course, that the duel is based on a prejudice, but he is rendered powerless to oppose it on account of his regard for honor. He also regards reason as subservient to honor. Thus he exclaims: "Quand on a pris un engagement vis-à-vis du public, on doit le tenir, quoi qu'il en coûte à la raison." But he expresses sincere regret when he realizes that his son must "fouler aux pieds la raison, la nature et les lois." Finally, he practices tolerance. When M. Desparville asks him if he would show more favor to a blue ribbon or to a red one, he makes answer: "Monsieur, les honnêtes gens n'ont besoin que de la probité de leurs semblables, et non de leurs opinions."

Such is the philosophy of M. Van Derk: a moderate amount of generalizations and moralizations; a fixed ethical code of honesty, uprightness, and moderation; and a set of definite ideas about honor, prejudices, reason and tolerance. These ideas would certainly serve to identify him with the eighteenth-century Philosophe. But his failure to perceive that these views are likewise held by a group with which he has no connection makes him a "Philosophe sans le savoir."

The character of Van Derk is depicted in constant contrast with the portrayal of a Philosophe in Palissot's play, since Sedaine's purpose in writing his play was to furnish a reply to Palissot. Palissot had shown what evil effects followed the conversion of the head of the family to philosophy. Cydalise, having become a Philosophe, lost all maternal instinct, debased love, and wanted to marry her daughter to a Philosophe against the daughter's wishes. Moreover, she had neither regard for family nor for filial piety. She scorned prejudices, vaunted reason and treated honor lightly. In contrast to Cydalise, Van Derk is the head of a happy, contented family. He has encouraged filial piety, idealized love, and consulted the inclinations of his child before giving her in

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marriage. Nothing more clearly shows his respect for his family than the attitude of tolerance toward his aristocratic and rather eccentric sister. He regrets prejudices, uses reason with moderation, and has the highest regard for honor.

Van Derk is similarly contrasted with the Philosophes surrounding Cydalise. In Palissot's play, Frontin demanded equality for himself. Van Derk accords equality to others. Carondas criticized the law. Van Derk respects the laws even when they are wrong. Valère said that man finds the source of his happiness in the passions, that personal impetus gives impetus to human activity. Van Derk finds the source of his happiness in his moderation, and he is remarkable for his generosity and disinterestedness. Damis, the reasoner of Palissot's play, condemned the Philosophes because, as he said:

> J'ai peu vu de ces gens qui le prônent sans cesse [the word humanité]
> Pour les infortunés avoir plus de tendresse,
> Se montrer, au besoin, des amis plus fervens,
> Etre plus généreux, ou plus compatissans,
> Attacher aux bienfaits un peu moins d'importance,
> Pour les défauts d'autrui marquer plus d'indulgence,
> Consoler le mérite, en chercher les moyens,
> Devenir, en un mot, de meilleurs citoyens.

Van Derk has all these qualities. His attachment for Antoine proves that he is a fervent friend. His treatment of Victorine shows that he is generous to the unfortunate. His negotiations with the elder Desparville reveal his generosity. His toleration of his eccentric sister marks him as indulgent. He is patriotic, a good citizen, a good father, an honest man; in short, he has all the qualities which Palissot judged essential to a Philosophe but failed to recognize in the members of the philosophic party.

In sum, the title of the play is, as Sedaine always maintained, *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*. Sedaine's purpose in writing the play, its genre, its history, and the character of Van Derk all furnish evidence to corroborate the inferences deduced from the statements of the author that the title was never *Le Duel*. A close examination reveals, nevertheless, how confusion concerning the title could arise. The police censors first introduced the confusion in an effort to curtail the counter-offensive of the philosophic party. The public spread the confusion because it was unfamiliar with

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the working of the rules for Diderot's *drame*. Finally, there is no discrepancy between the title and the interpretation of the principal character. Sedaine confessed that he wished to reconcile the public to the term Philosophe. He had skillfully arranged the character of Van Derk so that it would appeal to several parties. The bourgeoisie would delight in the generalizations and moralizations, the church party could find no objections to Van Derk's moral code, and those of the Philosophes who were wearying of the struggle would take fresh courage in certain of Van Derk's views. Undoubtedly, the police censors weakened the effectiveness of Sedaine's *Athlete*; but a run of twenty-eight performances is sufficient to prove the popularity of this most effectual reply to the opponents of the philosophic party.

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LVII

A COMPARISON OF THE POETRY OF FRANCOIS COPPÉE AND EUGENE MANUEL

WE ARE accustomed to refer to François Coppée as "le poète des humbles," but it would be a mistake to suppose that he was the only poet of his time to whom this designation can be applied. Leaving out of account Sainte-Beuve and Hugo, who devoted occasional poems to the poor and the oppressed, Béranger, Maxime Du Camp, Pierre Dupont and numerous other minor poets, we must not overlook the work of another contemporary who began writing before Coppée was born. This poet is Eugène Manuel, whose life and work offer many striking resemblances with those of Coppée. It is the purpose of this study to compare the work of these two men with a view to determining whether or not Coppée was indebted to his less renowned confrere.

Neither Coppée nor Manuel was of purely French descent, Coppée's father having been of Walloon ancestry and Manuel being of Lorrainian Jewish origin. Both were of middle-class families, the elder Coppée having been a clerk in the Ministry of War, while the father of Manuel was a physician. Both were reared in Paris and spent the better part of their lives there. Both held appointments in Government bureaus, Coppée as successor to his father in the War Ministry, as assistant-librarian of the Senate, and as archivist of the Comédie-française successively, Manuel, after a brilliant career as student and as professor in *lycées* at Dijon, Grenoble, Tours, and Paris, entering the department of Public Instruction in 1870 and rising, eight years later, to the post of Inspector-General. Temperamentally, both men were conservative, patriotic, religious, and humanitarian, with a marked tendency towards sentimentality and didacticism. Finally, both were rendered vocal by the Franco-Prussian War to a pitch that often approached rasping shrillness, and both were keen observers of the life of their less fortunate brothers, whose lot they hoped by their poetry to ameliorate. That the two men were personally acquainted is attested by the dedication of one of Manuel's "poèmes populaires," entitled "Fleurs d'orange"[1] "à mon ami, François Coppée."

[1] *Poésies complètes*, pp. 80–82. The poem occurs between "la Prière," dated 1851, and "la Lie," dated 1868. It would seem to have been written about 1870, at the

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In comparing the verse of these two men, we must first view them in their relation to the Parnassians. Coppée, as is well-known, was introduced to the group by Catulle Mendès, who actually assumes the credit of having shaped the younger man's talents by a rigid course of instruction in the technique of poetry.[2] The three successive volumes of *le Parnasse contemporain* contain groups of poems from the pen of Coppée, whose first collection of verse, *le Reliquaire*, dedicated to Leconte de Lisle, was brought out in 1867 by Lemerre, the publisher of the Parnassians. This volume and its successor, *les Intimités* (1868), are definitely Parnassian in attitude and give only occasional glimpses of the Coppée that was to come. It was with the *Poèmes modernes* (1867–69) and *la Grève des forgerons* (1869) that Coppée struck out on the path which was to take him farther and farther from the Parnassians, so that, in the fervor of his religious conversion consequent upon a serious illness in 1897, he cut all the ties which bound him to his poetic past and outspokenly renounced the theory of art for art's sake in favor of the zeal of the preacher and the moralist.

Manuel's attitude towards the Parnassians is succinctly stated by the poet himself in the following sentence from the preface to the 1899 edition of his *Poésies complètes*:[3]

> Ni le vieux fonds d'éducation classique et universitaire, avec les impérissables modèles que j'ai si longtemps commentés; ni les théories du romantisme triomphant, dont mes vingt ans saluaient la victoire; ni les utiles retours de l'école du bon sens; ni les fières et rigides beautés du Parnasse, d'un éclat si décoratif; ni les nouvelles et dernières tentatives de réforme, bien propres à déconcerter l'oreille, et même un peu la raison; rien n'a compté pour moi, rien n'a pesé sur moi, au prix de la sincérité du sentiment, qui me dicta mes premiers vers et m'inspira tous les autres.

Thus, though some of the poems in his first collection, *Pages intimes* (1866), date from as early as 1848, and most of them were written during the formative years of the *Parnasse*, Manuel seems never to have been a member of any of the Parnassian cliques, despite the fact that he is represented by a group of four poems in both the second *Parnasse contemporain* (1869) and the third (1876), and that (as he tells us in *Mélanges en prose*, Paris, 1905, p. 43) he and his friend, Laurent-Pichat had been members of a group of

time when both poets were drawing much of their material from the life of "les humbles."

[2] Vide Mendès, *la Légende du Parnasse contemporain*, Brussels, 1884, pp. 205–17.

[3] 2 vols., Paris, p. x.

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young poets which met weekly at the home of the journalist-novelist, Louis Ulbach, thus forming a sort of preliminary to the *Parnasse*. Manuel undoubtedly fell under the sway of the Parnassians to a certain extent, for the technical skill and the smoothness of finish in his poetry testify to his having heeded the protests of Leconte de Lisle and his followers against the shoddiness which characterized much of the work of the Romanticists. Broadly, however, Manuel throughout his life may be said to have been merely a spectator of Parnassianism; whereas Coppée, beginning as a neophyte of the group, soon severed his connections with it and struck out for himself. Whether this act of liberation was in any way determined by the poetry of Manuel we shall be better able to judge after comparing the work of the two men. Certain it is that both men had a natural predilection for "l'art utile" which rendered it impossible for them to remain long under the spell of "l'art pour l'art."

For the purpose of our study, we may divide the poetry of Coppée and Manuel into four rubrics: "poésie intime," "poésie des humbles," poetry inspired by the Franco-Prussian War, and religious poetry. We may leave out of consideration, on the one hand, Manuel's travel poetry, comprising *En Voyage*,[4] and, on the other, Coppée's narrative and elegiac poetry, as exemplified by *Olivier* and the poems contained in *les Récits et les élégies* and *Arrière-saison*,[5] inasmuch as these represent individual interests not common to the two men. Numerous similarities between the two poets appear in all of the four categories mentioned, now more, now less accentuated, reaching their climax, however, in the "poésie humble," which will receive the major part of our attention.

The intimate poetry of Manuel is found in his *Pages intimes*, which contains a few poems written in 1848, when Coppée was but a child of six. These poems ring the changes on the beauties of domestic life; there is never, in Manuel, the remotest hint of promiscuous love. The volume also contains seven poems on proletarian subjects later transferred, in the edition of the *Poésies complètes*, to the *Poèmes populaires*. In a refreshing variety of metrical and stanzaic forms, the poet sings of the peaceful, rather

[4] Paris, 1890, contained in vol. I of the *Poésies complètes*.

[5] *Olivier* and *les Récits et les élégies* form vol. III of the Lemerre six-volume edition of Coppée's *Poésies*. They were written in 1875 and 1878, respectively. *Arrière-saison* was composed in 1887 and is part of vol. V of the *Poésies*.

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austere, home of his parents, now and then saddened by the death of a patriarchal relative, and of the calm joys springing from the affectionate companionship of a helpful and appreciative wife. In a word, Manuel rarely cultivated the purely pictorial Parnassian poetry of Coppée's first volume, and either he never knew, or kept discreetly hidden, the somewhat emasculated, palely Baudelairean bohemianism celebrated in his second. Manuel was, from the very first a poet of the vatic type, interested in ethical and social problems. "Le vrai fut mon souci, le beau fut mon idole,"[6] he exclaims in a line that might well serve as the device of his *Poésies complètes*. If God had granted to him, as to Solomon, the choice of a gift he would have asked, not for the knowledge of the sage or the genius of the artist, but for the gift of eloquence that would enable him to command the attention of the world, so that, as he puts it, "Je parlerais vertu, justice, et liberté."[7] This apostolic fervor came to Coppée much later in life, after he had outgrown the Parnassianism of his first productive years. Coppée early lost his father, and was thereafter the sole support of his mother with whom he lived until her death. As he never married, he was dependent upon the devoted care of his sister Annette so that he knew in scant measure the joys of the *foyer* which had been Manuel's lot. However, he gives us glimpses into his home life, such as it was, in stray poems of the *Promenades et intérieurs* (first printed in the second *Parnasse contemporain*) and of other volumes. And, constantly, the sight of the happiness of others always filled him with a nostalgia, a longing for fireside tranquillity in a "logis donnant sur la campagne"[8] in the *banlieue* just outside of Paris. Clearly, Manuel and Coppée were of a piece as home-loving, law-abiding citizens.

It is in the "poésie des humbles," however, that we find almost, if not quite, a complete identity in the work of Coppée and Manuel. The former, wearying of the remote concerns of Leconte de Lisle and his followers, began to emulate the novelists and the playwrights of the day by delving into the busy, often sordid, life about him for his themes. In one of the "Intimités," he calls himself a "pâle enfant du vieux Paris"[9]; and in the *Promenades et intérieurs*, he tells us:

[6] "Alma mater" (*Poésies complètes*, I, 66).

[7] "Logos" (*ibid.*, p. 112).

[8] *Promenades et intérieurs* (*Œuvres*, II, 106).

[9] *Œuvres*, I, p. 111.

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C'est vrai, j'aime Paris d'une amitié malsaine,

and:

J'adore la banlieue avec ses champs en friche[10];

and, in ever increasing measure, he finds himself observing the life of the capital, prying into the nooks and crannies of its slums, of its *faubourgs* where dwell the laborers of its vast industrial system. Henceforth, he was to be the recorder of the lives of the needy and the suffering; in his own words:

Mon goût est très vif pour les petites gens[11];

and:

Les humbles, les vaincus résignés de la vie
Restent mes préférés toujours.[12]

The very titles of his verse-collections of this period are significant; one is called *les Poèmes modernes*, another *les Humbles* (1872); a dramatic monologue which had the good fortune to be recited publicly by that master of French tragic actors, Mounet-Sully, is entitled *la Grève des forgerons*. And it is noticeable that, after 1872, Coppée's proletarian poetry, scattered through such volumes as *le Cahier rouge* (1874), *Contes en vers et poésies diverses* (1886), and *les Paroles sincères* (1890), becomes definitely sociological and melioristic rather than merely descriptive and dramatic.

Manuel made his *début* as a "poète des humbles" in the volume of *Poèmes populaires* (1872). In the *avertissement* to the first edition of this collection, written in October, 1871, he informs us that, though the book had been finished and almost entirely printed in July of the previous year, its publication had been delayed by the War—a delay which he regretted because—

il y avait peut-être, avant la crise que nous venons de traverser, plus de hardiesse et une sorte de prévision à poser même un doigt timide sur quelques-unes de nos plaies sociales, et à réclamer résolûment pour la poésie un rôle qui, du reste, ne lui est plus contesté désormais.[13]

He leaves to other poets that art which "demeure son unique fin"; poetry now, like the theatre, he declares, has a—

tâche à remplir; qu'elle doit de plus en plus être de son temps, s'associer à cette recherche ardente des problèmes de la vie moderne, et ne pas

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 103.
[11] *Contes en vers et poésies diverses* (*Œuvres*, IV, 5).
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[13] *Poésies complètes*, II, 4–6.

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craindre de se hasarder plus avant et plus bas dans l'expression des idées, des passions et des souffrances qui agitent la société démocratique. Oui, la pauvreté, l'ignorance, le travail pénible, le vice dégradant, l'héroïsme obscur, toutes les inégalités, toutes les détresses et toutes les résignations, voilà le thème de cette poésie nouvelle.

Other poets had cast occasional glimpses into the life of the masses from which he had "cherché à saisir la poésie cachée"; but—and this is an important assertion in our connection,—"nous nous sommes mis en route avant d'autres, comptant bien que nous serions rejoints par de plus jeunes qui déjà nous suivent."

In this document, which virtually amounts to a manifesto of "la poésie des humbles," Manuel is unquestionably thinking of Coppée, together, perhaps, with lesser poets such as Albert Mérat and Armand Renaud. Let us turn to the chronology of the poetry of Coppée and Manuel in an attempt to settle the question of priority. Coppée, we have already seen, had written *Promenades et intérieurs*, *les Poèmes modernes*, and *la Grève des forgerons* by 1869. The first is a series of verse-etchings of Paris and the *banlieue*, some of which are devoted to the life of the people, as, for example, one describing "les bals qu'en hiver les mères de famille Donnent à des bourgeois pour marier leur fille,"[14] or another depicting the existence of the "aiguilleur"[15]; the second contains a poem called "Enfants trouvés," another on a drunken father, still another on a mother and child watching a military parade; *la Grève des forgerons* is the recital, before a court of justice, of a blacksmith who has killed one of his fellow-workmen, during a strike, because the latter had refused him permission to return to work to save his family from starvation. Manuel's *Poèmes populaires*, on the other hand, ready for the press in July 1870 and published in the following year, contains several poems written as early as 1841 and 1846, while many of them were composed between 1860 and 1867, that is, while Coppée was still in the Parnassian stage. Moreover, the first edition of Manuel's *Pages intimes* includes a few actual "slum-poems," such as "l'Aveugle," "Le Soufflet," "le Modèle," and "la Rixe," decidedly proletarian in subject-matter and in treatment. A one-act play bearing the somewhat deceptive title of *les Ouvriers*, written in 1868 and performed in 1870, is significant only in that its four characters are drawn from the proletariat; its plot is highly romantic, with a generous season-

[14] *Œuvres*, II, 117.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

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ing of sentimentality, and is little more than the watery dramatization of an episode that might have come out of *les Misérables*. But in the *Poèmes populaires*, Manuel achieved, in a sustained manner, what Coppée up to that time had been doing only sporadically; and it was the success of Manuel's volume, one may surmise, which encouraged Coppée in 1872 to publish his own *les Humbles*—the first volume which he devoted entirely to this new type of poetry. This, however, must be regarded as a conjecture; all that we can state with certainty is that Manuel began writing "de la poésie humble" some fifteen or twenty years before Coppée; at least one specimen of this type, *l'Aveugle*, had been published, along with six other poems by Manuel, in the *Revue des deux mondes* for July 15, 1862. At all events we are justified in questioning the claim put forward by Coppée's biographer, M. de Lescure, with regard to *les Humbles*. "Il fonde un genre," he asserts, "il crée une manière.—Les poètes, avant François Coppée, avaient négligé ou dédaigné de s'occuper de si minces sujets."[16] Clearly, Lescure in this statement either knows nothing of or wilfully ignores the poetry of Manuel.

Before considering individual examples of the verse of the two men, it may be well to indicate in general the broad difference in the proletarian poetry of each. Coppée is avowedly the poet of Paris and its *banlieue*; but, although he is partial to the *faubourgs* and the quarters inhabited by the *petites gens*, he is also interested in the "boudoir meublé dans le goût de l'Empire,"[17] the "salon Louis Seize" which gives upon a "jardin correct" in a provincial town,[18] or a "trottoir désert du faubourg Saint-Germain."[19] Coppée's earlier pictures of the life of the *ouvrier* or of the *grisette*, as in "Dans la rue, le soir" or in "Noces et festins,"[20] are as a rule cheerful; later, however, they assumed a sombre and definitely moralistic tone. Manuel, on the other hand, seems never to have been able to discern any joy whatever in the life of the poor, or else to have deliberately refused to admit it into his picture, in order to add force to his plea for bettering their condition. He selects from the life of the slums the most sordid personages and episodes in order to emphasize the fact that society owes these

[16] *François Coppée, l'homme, la vie et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1889, pp. 152–53.

[17] *Promenades et intérieurs* (*Œuvres*, II, 108).

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[20] *Le Cahier rouge* (*Œuvres*, II, 226 and 227).

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people a debt which it should labor to the utmost to repay. In a poem entitled "Voyage," for example, he invites a friend to visit with him the *faubourgs*, as he is weary of the sight of the luxury, the cynicism, the idleness of the wealthy and of their parasites; he wishes to see with his own eyes the laborers in their wretched homes, their gloomy shops, their factories where they sweat night and day.

> Je veux enfin, pour tout savoir,
> M'enfoncer dans le gouffre noir,
> Plus bas encore,
> M'arrêtant quand j'aurai touché
> L'ulcère hideux et caché
> Qui nous dévore.[21]

In a word, whereas Coppée's attitude in treating "les humbles" underwent a change, Manuel's remained unaltered throughout life.

With this distinction in mind, we may proceed to examine side by side, a few of the representative poems of the two men in the *genre populaire*. *La Robe*, the first poem of *les Poèmes populaires* and perhaps Manuel's best-known single achievement in verse, tells the story of a bullying drunkard whose wife is about to leave him: in dividing their scanty belongings, they came upon the dress which had been worn by their infant child, now dead, and a reconciliation was effected.[22] Obviously similar in theme is Coppée's "le Père,"[23] in which a drunken father refrains from beating his wife for fear of awakening their child; but in this case direct influence cannot be established because, although both poems were written at about the same time, "le Père" was published before "la Robe." Coppée's "le Petit épicier,"[24] the first line of which, "C'était un tout petit épicier de Montrouge," is an example of Coppée's hyper-Wordsworthianism in simplicity of subject-matter and of style, has something of a counterpart in Manuel's "le Comptoir,"[25] which describes the pale, sickly woman who keeps a notions shop in one of the side-streets of Paris. The shabby, dilapidated missal lying in a book-stall on one of the Paris quais, reproduced by Manuel in "le Vieux paroissien,"[26] is paral-

[21] *Poèmes populaires* (*Poésies complètes*, II, 230–35). The poem is dated 1868.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–12. Dated 1869.
[23] *Poèmes modernes* (*Œuvres*, I, 192–93).
[24] *Les Humbles* (*Œuvres*, II, 15).
[25] *Poésies complètes*, II, 164. Dated 1862.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 61. Dated 1860.

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leled by Coppée's "le Vieux soulier," picture of a shoe abandoned in the fields by some beggar and now hideous to behold.[27] In "la Mort du saltimbanque,"[28] Manuel depicts the wretched death of an acrobat as the company of strolling players halts by the wayside ditch; Coppée gives us the brighter side of the picture in "Lutteurs forains," where we see two weight jugglers amusing the spectators with their feats of strength.[29] One of the humblest of Coppée's personages is "l'Homme-Affiche,"[30] the man who walks the streets carrying placards advertising establishments which have brought about the moral downfall of his own children; an individual from a similar *monde* is the blind flageolet-player pictured in Manuel's "l'Aveugle."[31] The harlot and the kept woman figure prominently in the poetry of both men; Manuel's "Fleurs d'orange," which describes the feelings of a prostitute as she longingly gazes at a bridal wreath in a florist's window, is matched by Coppée's "Fleurs impures,"[32] in which a woman of easy virtue is about to place a nosegay on the passing bier of a child but is restrained by her better judgment. In "Pâleur," Coppée pictures in three short stanzas the metamorphosis of a sixteen-year-old girl into a harlot lying dead in a hospital[33]; similarly, Manuel depicts this degradation in "le Lis blanc," "le Spectre," and "Villanelle,"[34] while the subject of "le Modèle" is a beautiful Jewess, worthy of the regal splendor of a Biblical queen, who exposes her charms to painter and sculptor.[35] Manuel shows us a mother who begs in the streets, carrying in her arms what is supposed to be her baby, but which turns out to be a bundle of rags, the real child having been left at home because of the bitter cold.[36] Coppée paints a mother who performs at a dingy *café-concert* and, between dances, rushes into a side-room to nurse her child;[37] or he reveals a harlot furtively giving alms to a wretched little flower-girl asleep in the cold.[38] Manuel, in "la Rixe," describes a drunken brawl in which

[27] *Le Cahier rouge* (*Œuvres*, II, 139).
[28] *Poésies complètes*, II, 42. Dated 1866.
[29] *Cahier rouge* (*Œuvres*, II, 212).
[30] *Les Paroles sincères* (*Œuvres*, V, 154).
[31] *Poésies*, II, 13. Dated 1852.
[32] *Paroles sincères*, p. 139.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[34] *Poésies*, II, 118, 160, and 168. Dated 1859, 1862, and 1856, respectively.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 94. Undated.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 38. Dated 1865.
[37] *Paroles sincères*, p. 143.
[38] *Contes en vers et poésies diverses* (*Œuvres*, IV, 95).

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one sailor kills another and then drowns himself[39]; Coppée, in "le Coup de tampon," tells the story of a communistic railway engineer who, contrary to his principles, gave his own life to save those of the capitalistic passengers.[40] Coppée's "Enfants trouvés," previously mentioned, is matched by Manuel's "l'Enfant martyr," maltreated and neglected by its poverty-stricken parents until it dies, much to their satisfaction, at the age of eight.[41] Whereas, in "Dans la rue, le soir," Coppée pictures a group of *grisettes*, their work-day over, hastening home to their families or to *rendez-vous* with their lovers, Manuel, in "la Rupture," paints the suffering of a *grisette* to whom her lover has just announced that they must separate as his parents wish him to marry and settle down.[42] Coppée's "Marchande de journaux" is a *conte parisien* showing the effect of current politics upon the income of the news-vendress[43]; his "l'Enfant de la balle" recounts the brief but brilliant stage-career of the child of the "souffleur" and "la concierge" of an unimportant theatre[44]; and his "Roman de Jeanne" relates the love of a poor but virtuous daughter of the people for a poet whose name she does not know and whom she only sees on his balcony as she returns from her daily work.[45] Manuel's "la Fille aux bobines" describes a factory girl who remains at her machine though she is far gone in illicit pregnancy.[46] In many of these poems, more especially in those from the pen of Manuel and of the Coppée of the later volumes, a very evident moral is attached to the fable: namely, that man abuses the virtues with which he is endowed by a just God, that society alone is to blame for the purulent sores with which it is infected. But in comparing these poems the important chronological fact to be observed is that in virtually every case the poem of Manuel was written before (frequently as much as thirty to forty years before) and in almost no case after, that of Coppée.

The problem of the existence of sin and evil in an ordered universe, which for centuries has vexed philosophers and theologians, caused both Manuel and Coppée occasional qualms of doubt and

[39] *Poésies*, II, 172. Dated 1869.
[40] *Cahier rouge*, p. 226
[41] *Poésies*, II, 219. Dated 1868.
[42] *Poésies*, II, 319. Dated 1868.
[43] *Contes en vers*, p. 3.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[46] *Poésies*, II, 111. Dated 1863.

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questioning. The last of the *Poèmes populaires*, "l'Ame immortelle," assembles in one poem the drunkard, the harlot, the thug, the madman, the imbecile, with the recurring refrain: "Car j'y crois—l'âme immortelle!"[47] Or the poet accosts a poor wretch whom he seeks to advise, but is rebuffed with the words: "Fort bien! Mais donne-moi d'abord de quoi manger."[48] In like manner, Coppée, before his return to Mother Church, had moments of perplexity in the face of the mystery of life. This perplexity finds succinct expression in "Pessimisme":

> Que faire ou ne pas faire? Hélas, nul n'en sait rien.
> . . . . . .
> Souvent le bien est mal, parfois le mal est bien.
> Oh! la vie! O mystère! Insoluble problème!
> Au caprice du sort souffre, lutte, pense, aime,
> Agite-toi. . . . . Dieu seul, s'il existe, comprend.[49]

Coppée describes at some length a "Mauvaise soirée"[50] he had once spent, in which he first listened to a socialist orator excoriating the injustices in the social system and advocating revolution as the only cure, and afterwards entered a church, where an aged preacher painted an equally gloomy picture of life, holding out, as the sole salvation, faith in God and in the hereafter. As a result, the poet wanders the streets in the greatest uncertainty.

> Où donc est la loi vraie? Où donc la foi certaine?
> Qu'espérer? Que penser? Que croire?
> . . . . . .
> L'esprit est un vaisseau, le doute est une mer,
> Mer sans borne et sans fond où se perdent les sondes.

Before discussing the religious poems, in which Manuel and Coppée found their solution for these problems, we may pause for a moment to consider another minor similarity in the poetry of the two men. An interesting coincidence is found in connection with the memory of the Breton poet, Brizeux, who died in 1858. In the course of a trip to Lorient twenty years later, Manuel visited the hitherto neglected tomb of Brizeux, and thereupon composed his poem, "la Tombe de Brizeux." When this poem was afterwards

[47] *Poésies*, p. 225. Dated 1866.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 162. Undated.
[49] *Paroles sincères*, p. 183.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

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published in the volume, *En Voyage*, the author added the following note:

> Pouvions-nous prévoir que dix ans après cette visite—on élèverait un monument—au poète breton—sur le port de Lorient, et que nous serions délégué pour représenter à la cérémonie d'inauguration, le 7 septembre 1888, le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-arts, prendre la parole, en son nom, à côté d'orateurs tels que M. J. Simon, Renan et Coppée, et glorifier enfin celui dont nous avions dû nettoyer pieusement la tombe délaissée.[51]

As a matter of fact, Coppée, on this occasion, recited a poem, "A Brizeux," which is now to be found in *les Paroles sincères*.[52]

We may next compare briefly the poetry of Manuel and Coppée inspired by the Franco-Prussian War. That of Manuel is contained in a slender collection, *Pendant la guerre* (1872), which was gradually enlarged and to which was added a group of poems assembled under the caption, *Après la guerre*[53]; that of Coppée is to be found in four poems united under the general title of *Ecrit pendant le siège*,[54] which is followed by *Plus de sang!* dealing with the episode of the Commune, and in poems scattered through *le Cahier rouge* and *les Paroles sincères*. The spirit animating these poems is intensified in the collections published after Coppée's return to the church, *Dans la prière et dans la lutte* (1900) and *des Vers français* (1905). The attitude of the two poets is essentially the same: there is, first of all, grief at the physical sufferings endured by the French, as well as profound humiliation at the inglorious conclusion of the war; and there is, also, an insistence upon retaliation at no distant date. In the case of Manuel, who had German-Jewish blood in his veins, this spirit of *revanche* seems at least a trifle suspicious. The poems of Coppée written during or just after the war are, indeed, somewhat milder in tone than Manuel's; it was not until after he gained the conviction of his own backsliding that Coppée became, not only an almost fanatically militant Catholic, but a militarist and a "revanchist" of the most chauvinistic nature. Manuel's *Pendant la guerre* opens with the poem "Alea," written in July 1870 just before the declaration of war, in which the poet pleads for an avoidance of armed hos-

[51] *Poésies*, II, 338–43.

[52] Pp. 168–71. The date of the unveiling of the statue of Brizeux is given by Coppée as September 9, 1888.

[53] The two collections are printed together in vol. II of the *Poésies*.

[54] *Œuvres*, II.

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tilities. These verses, a footnote tells us, were rejected by several journals, whose editors, though some of them were friends of Manuel, found themselves obliged to reply: "Nous ne pouvons pas."[55] War once declared, however, Manuel bent his energies towards encouraging his fellow-countrymen and exhorting them to hope for a revenge of the shame which they were enduring. Thus we read:

> Des empereurs! Quelle démence!
> Allemagne, ton tour commence:
> C'est la revanche de Sedan![56]

And again:

> Patience! Ton coeur, d'où déborde l'affront
> Prépare sa vengeance et médite un exemple.[57]

During this period Manuel's poetry was so closely in accord with the spirit prevailing in Paris that he was frequently called upon to act as the mouthpiece of the people; thus, many of the poems written during or just after the war were publicly recited at the Comédie-française and the Trocadéro by such actors and actresses as Coquelin, Mlle. Favart and Mlle. Delaporte. The Commune is indirectly upbraided in a poem entitled "l'Obus,"[58] written in May, 1871. Several poems are devoted to the heroic recovery of the country and the payment of the indemnity whereby the yoke of the enemy was finally shaken off. Still others, of which "Le Codicille de maître Mauser"[59] is probably the best example, celebrate the patriotism of those inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine who sided with France and voice the determination to regain the lost provinces.

Coppée in the four poems which make up *Ecrit pendant le siège*, emphasizes the pity and the sorrow of the situation. In *Plus de sang!* he pleads for a cessation of intestine strife in order that France may retrieve herself.

> Alors, ô jeunes fils de la vaillante Gaule,
> Nous jetterons encor le fusil sur l'épaule
> Et, le sac chargé d'un pain bis,
> Nous irons vers le Rhin pour laver notre honte,

[55] *Poésies*, II, 261.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 308.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

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Nous irons, furieux, comme le flot qui monte
Et nombreux comme les épis.[60]

And this spirit dominates the Coppée of the Affaire Dreyfus, clericalist, chauvinist, militarist, mediævalist of the most pronounced type.

We may conclude our comparison of Coppée and Manuel by glancing briefly at their religious poetry. Coppée's religious development is too well known to need more than passing mention: the son of devout parents, observant Catholics, he lost their piety through frequenting the Parnassian *salons* and did not find it again until his severe illness in 1897, which brought him to the very threshold of death. Nothing, however, which Coppée wrote previous to this time, either in his poems or in his stories, indicates that he ever became completely irreligious or anti-religious. Now and then, as we have seen, the note of philosophic doubt enters, but, in the main, Coppée either avoided religion and metaphysics or treated them with the greatest caution and in a tone of sympathy for orthodox belief. During the convalescence from his 1897 illness, however, he had a mystical experience similar to that of Verlaine in the prison at Mons, and of this we have the result in his volume, *Dans la prière et dans la lutte.* These poems, as well as those contained in *de Pièces et de morceaux* and *des Vers français*, show us Coppée the bitter anti-Dreyfusard, the ultramontane clerical, the violent advocate of *revanche* bowed in contrition at the foot of the cross.

Manuel was all his life a deeply religious man, like the later Coppée, though he never attained to the mystic fervor of his contemporary. His poetry is permeated with an unwavering belief in God—the Jewish God of justice rather than the Christian God of love, as we may see from the two concluding lines of "le Credo du pauvre homme":

O Dieu, je crois à ta justice
Encore plus qu'à ta bonté.[61]

Manuel's poetry bore an unmistakably Hebraic cast and had nothing of the sanguine militancy of the Coppée of the last years, except insofar as the regaining of the lost provinces was concerned; rather it looked forward with Isaiah to the day when swords would be beaten into ploughshares and man would live at unbroken peace

[60] *Œuvres*, II, 97.
[61] *Poésies*, II, 198. Dated 1848.

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with man. In poems scattered throughout the *Pages intimes* and the *Poèmes populaires*, Manuel describes now the family at prayer, now the death of an aged kinsman, now the feast of Passover, with the place left vacant at table for any poor man who might crave hospitality. In the following stanza, the poet sums up his indebtedness to the past:

> Trois peuples m'ont donné ce qu'il me faut pour vivre:
> Les Romains, et les Grecs, et mon vieux peuple hébreu.
> Rome m'apprit le droit dont son code est le livre;
> Athènes, la beauté; Jérusalem, son Dieu.[62]

We are now ready to sum up the results of this comparison of the lives and poetry of these two men. Coppée and Manuel, as we have seen, were both born into the respectable, self-respecting *bourgeoisie* of pious, rather strait-laced habits, both inherited the love of home, family, and fatherland, the respect for law and order, and the fear of God prevalent in this class of society. Coppée made his first public poetic flights under the ægis of the *Parnasse contemporain*, but soon exhausted his Parnassian vein; whereas Manuel, who began to versify long before the establishment of the "entresol du Parnasse" in the shop of Lemerre, contented himself with an amiable nod to the group and passed on to the fulfillment of what seemed to him a nobler poetic function. With the decline of the second Empire, Coppée and Manuel began to draw heavily for subject-matter upon the life of the lower classes, a field which for the most part had been left untilled by the poets of the first seven decades of the century.[63] Manuel wrote much of his "poésie populaire" between 1860 and 1870, in which latter year his volume was to have made its appearance, and published proletarian poems in 1862 and 1866; in 1870, his dramatic sketch, *les Ouvriers*, was performed. Coppée, on the other hand, published his *Poèmes modernes* and *la Grève des forgerons* in 1869; his most important volume, *les Humbles*, comprising, as Lescure tells us,[64] poems written between the years 1870 and 1872, was published in this latter year. We have quoted Manuel's claim to priority in the *genre populaire*, and, on the other hand, we have cited Lescure's statement that the type was invented by Coppée. How are we to

[62] "Les Trois peuples" (*Poésies*, I, 61). Dated 1849.

[63] For a study of French proletarian poetry from 1830 to 1870, *vide* E. M. Grant: *French Poetry and Modern Industry*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927.

[64] *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

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resolve this contradiction? One answer would be that both men, each completely ignorant of the work of the other, had independently begun to till the same soil, Manuel some two decades before Coppée. Another conjecture, and this is the one towards which our study has been pointing, is that Coppée was familiar with early specimens of Manuel's *poésie populaire* and may even have seen the manuscript of many of those later incorporated into the *Poèsie populaires* before they appeared in book-form (we have already seen that the two men knew one another, and their acquaintance may well date from the preparations for the 1869 *Parnasse contemporain*,[65] in which both poets are represented) and that he was inspired by these to write his *Poèmes modernes* and *la Grève des forgerons*. That Coppée was imitative is evident from his first two verse-collections which patently owe their inspiration to Baudelaire, Banville, Mendès, and Leconte de Lisle. But if the above assumption seems unwarranted, it would appear safe to surmise that Coppée's *les Humbles* owes something, in subject-matter if not in treatment, to the *poésie populaire* in the *Pages intimes* and to the *Poèmes populaires*, and that the proletarian poems of such of his later volumes as *le Cahier rouge*, *les Contes en vers*, and *les Paroles sincères* are deeply indebted to Manuel, both from the point of view of subject-matter and from that of treatment. And, in any case, Manuel may very justly claim the honor[66] of having helped to popularize in France the *genre populaire*. We should think of Coppée not as "le poète des humbles" but as, alongside of Manuel, "un des premiers poètes des humbles."

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[65] This second volume of *le Parnasse contemporain* bears the date of 1869 and it was evidently ready for publication by the end of this year. Its actual appearance, however, did not occur until 1871.

[66] As M. Lanson has it, "La voie [to naturalistic poetry] fut décidément ouverte par M. E. Manuel" (*Histoire de la littérature française*, 14th ed., Paris 1918, p. 1064).

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LVIII

BODMER AND MILTON ONCE MORE

BIBLICAL epics like Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Klopstock's *Messias*, and Bodmer's *Noah*, must necessarily give prominence to the hostile, destructive spirits of evil, and inasmuch as these poems are all based on Biblical tradition it is natural that there should be a general similarity in the treatment of them. Several European scholars have maintained that Bodmer's infernal characters were influenced solely by Klopstock.[1] The purpose of this paper, however, is to show that Bodmer borrowed repeatedly, at times almost literally, from Milton's descriptions in *Paradise Lost*. The evidence which I have presented elsewhere[2] as to Bodmer's indebtedness in other respects to *Paradise Lost*, would seem to make it probable on general grounds that he was also indebted to Milton for his descriptions of the spirits of evil.

In the first place, the general notion of a race of giants who planned to destroy the inhabitants of the Garden of God[3] seems to be intended as the counterpart of Milton's "Spirits reprobate," and the Satan in Milton's poem corresponds essentially to Dagon, the leader of the giants in *Noah*, who—like his prototype—formally harangues his host. Like the apostate angels

> o'erwhelmed
> With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,

Dagon and his fellow-giants are hurled in spectacular fashion to hell; but instead of falling headlong from Heaven, as in *Paradise Lost*, Bodmer pictures them as tumbling ingloriously down the marble steps of their lofty pyramid—though the very differences in detail, it will be noted, serve to emphasize the essential resemblances of the picture. This mighty structure, Bodmer tells us, had been erected at the spot

> wo Satan, der erste Rebelle,
> Als er gekommen im Garten die ersten Menschen zu suchen,
> Fern von dem rechten Eingang mit einem höhnischen Sprunge
> Über die Klippen und heckigten Walle des Berges hinaufsprang,
> Und sich innerhalb auf die Füsse herabliess (*N.* p. 125.).

[1] Cf. my papers, "Bodmer's Indebtedness to Klopstock," *PMLA*, XLI, 151–160, and "Bodmer and Klopstock Once More," *JEGPh.*, XXVI, 112–123.

[2] Cf. my paper, "Bodmer and Milton," *JEGPh.*, XVII, 589–601.

[3] Cf. *Noah*, p. 125; quotations from Bodmer's poem are from the edition of 1765.

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For this passage Bodmer obviously availed himself of the following lines from Milton:

> Which when the Arch-Felon saw,
> Due entrance he disdained, and, in contempt,
> At one slight bound high overleaped all bound
> Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
> Lights on his feet (*Paradise Lost* IV, 179 ff.).

The fall of the Giants is thus described by Bodmer:

> Also fielen vor Alters vorm Donner des ewigen Sohnes
> Seine Rebellen, zusammen in eine Herde gedränget,
> Von den Schrecknissen Gottes gejagt, von den hohen Zinnen
> Und den kristallenen Mauern des empyreischen Himmels (*N.* p. 127).

In these lines one may catch distinct echoes even of Milton's phrases. Compare, for example, the following widely separated passages in *Paradise Lost*:

> he fell
> From heaven, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
> Sheer o'er the crystal battlements (*P.L.* I, 740 f.).

and

> as a herd
> Of goats or timorous flock togéther thronged,
> Drove them before him thunderstruck (*P.L.* VI, 856 f.).

Bodmer's sadly scorched and much bruised Giants recover from their injuries in surprisingly short time, due, in part, to the fact that

> ihr Blut war mit Balsam durchflossen (*N.*, p. 127).

Here again Bodmer took a suggestion from the statement in *Paradise Lost* following the description of the conflict between Satan and the Angel Michael:

> But the ethereal substance closed,
> Not long divisible; and from the gash
> A stream of nectarous humor issuing flowed
> Sanguine, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
> And all his armor stained. . . . .
> Yet soon he healed (*P.L.* VI, 327 ff.).

The consolatory speech (*N.*, p. 128) which Bodmer's Dagon addresses to his fellow-Giants after the fall recalls in a general

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way the vaunting words of Milton's Satan, spoken while he is still "in pain" and "racked with deep despair" (*P.L.* I, 84 f.). And the address of Noah to the sinning and superstitious Giants reveals within the compass of only two pages (*N.*, p. 132–133) a number of reminiscences of Milton's account of the conflict in heaven. I content myself with citing a single passage:

es [*sc.* Noahs Brudergeschlecht] stiftet
Freundschaft mit ihnen, den Feinden des Himmels,
Gottes, der mit dem leichtesten Sieg sie danieder geschlagen,
Der sie so tief auf den Boden gestreckt hat, als Geister des Himmels
Liegen können, und nicht ihr geistliches Wesen verlieren (*N.*, p. 132).

With these lines compare the following from Milton:

Too well I [*sc.* Beelzebub] see and rue the dire event
That, with sad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath lost us Heaven, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as Gods and Heavenly Essences
Can perish (*P.L.* I, 134 ff.).

In *Paradise Lost* Belial considers the prospect of an alleviated suffering of the fallen Angels in Hell:

these raging fires
Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
Our purer essence then will overcome
Their noxious vapor; or, inured, not feel;
Or, changed at length, and to the place conformed
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar with the fierce heat; and, void of pain,
This horror will grow mild, this darkness light (*P.L.* II, 213 ff.).

These lines obviously contributed to the speech which Bodmer puts into the mouth of his Hierarch of the Giants, particularly the following passage:

Fremde zwar da bewohnten sie ihn mit einigem Abscheu,
Aber erbauten aus ihm bald einen vortrefflichen Weltkreis,
Als ihr ätherisches Wesen die schädlichen Dämpfe besiegte,
Oder das Klima gewohnt, und mit ihm harmonisch, das Feuer
Ohne Widrigkeit fühlt' und zuletzt sich darinnen ergötzte (*N.*, p. 135).

Bodmer's fallen Angels undertake their building operations in a remote corner of Chaos whither they have been driven by divine wrath:

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Also entstand ein wachsendes Reich mit hohen Gebäuden,
Wo im Königesstaate die Engel sitzen und herrschen,
Denn es fehlet da nicht an güldnem und silbernem Reichtum (*N.*, p. 135).

In *Paradise Lost* we find a corresponding passage dealing with the building of Satan's palace:

Soon had his crew
Opened into the hill a spacious wound,
And digged out ribs of gold (*P.L.* I, 688 ff.).

In the sixth canto of *Paradise Lost* Nisroch is represented as speaking in the assembly of the rebel Angels. His opening words,

Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our rights as Gods (*P.L.* VI, 451 f.).

are echoed by Bodmer in Dagon's reference to the birthright of the apostate Angels:

. . . . dieweil sie die Freiheit,
Ihr Geburtsrecht und Erbgut, die Gabe des Himmels, verfochten
(*N.*, p. 136).

The clamorous demonstration with which Dagon's speech was received—

Die Luft zerriss von dem jauchzenden Zuruf (*N.*, p. 138)—

was clearly suggested by Milton's phrase,

A shout that tore Hell's concave (*P.L.* I, 542),

in describing the enthusiasm of the Infernal Host when the imperial ensign was unfurled amid the strains of martial music.

The success of Milton's Michael, who struck Satan with his sword "deep entering" so that he "writhed him to and fro convolved" (*P.L.*, VI, 326), is duplicated by the feat of Bodmer's Gabriel who deals Moloch a terrific blow that causes him to flee "bis zur Brust gespalten mit brüllenden Schmerzen" (*N.*, p. 139). In Milton's scene in Hell Satan's "bold compeer," Beelzebub, as we learn, was

weltering by his side
One next himself in power (*P.L.* I, 78 f.),

and elsewhere we read

Beelzubub—than whom,
Satan except, none higher sat (*P. L.* II, 299 f.)—

passages which Bodmer evidently had in mind when he wrote

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Og stand nahe bei Dagon, der erste von seinen Vertrauten,
Sein Beisitzer auf seinem Stuhle (*N.*, p. 140).

Belial is represented by Bodmer as

einer der schönsten vom Himmel geworfen Geister,
Zahmern Gemüts (*N.*, p. 139).

This agrees with the statement in *Paradise Lost* that Belial, compared with frowning Moloch, was "more humane" and that

A fairer person lost not Heaven (*P.L.* II, 110).

Belial, as we read in the *Noah*,

Streifte durch alle Gürtel der Hölle mit ängstlichem Suchen,
Ob ein Klima nicht einen erträglichern Platz ihm vergönnte.
Aber er fand nur dunkle, nur traurige Täler, Gefilde
Voller Schmerzen, und Alpen von Eis, und Alpen von Feuer,
Klippen und Höhlen, und Flüsse, Gebüsch und Schatten des Todes;
Einen Weltball des Tods, wo das Übel die einzige Frucht ist,
Welche da keimt und lebet, der Sitz und die Werkstatt des Fluches
(*N.*, p. 139).

This passage proves to be almost a translation of Milton's account of the "adventurous bands" of Hell:

Through many a dark and dreary vale
They passed, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
Rocks, caves, lakes,—dens, and shades of death—
A universe of death, which God by curse
Created evil, for evil only good;
. . . . and Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things (*P.L.* II, 618 ff.).

At the time of the impending conflict between the "Angels of Hell" and the "Angels of Heaven," Bodmer represents the Almighty as addressing to the Angel Raphael the following words

Raphael! meine Verworfenen, die ich in den Orkus verdammte,
Haben daran nicht genug, dass sie durch die Riegel der Hölle
Durchgebrochen und mir den Menschen abtrünnig gemachet,
Sieh, dort flieget ein Schiff[4] mit Geistern des Abgrunds besetzet,
Und mit Hilfsvolk von Riesen verstärkt, sie haben den Vorsatz,
Meinen Garten, den ich vor jedem Verbrecher verschlossen,
Mit bewaffnetem Arm zu erobern (*N.*, p. 145).

[4] Concerning this airship see my article "Bodmer's Borrowings from an Italian Poet," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XL, 80–84.

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Whereupon he commands him to capture the "Gefangenen des Erebus" and to bury them in the South Sea. This passage parallels the speech of God to his Son in *Paradise Lost*, when Satan is seen flying toward the newly created world:

> Only-begotten Son, seest thou what rage
> Transports our Adversary? whom no bounds
> Prescribed, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
> Heaped on him there, nor yet the main Abyss
> Wide interrupt, can hold; so bent he seems
> On desperate revenge, that shall redound
> Upon his own rebellious head. And now
> Through all restraint broke loose, he wings his way
> Not far off Heaven, in the precincts of light,
> Directly towards the new-created World,
> And man there placed, with purpose to assay
> If him by force he can destroy, or, worse,
> By some false guile pervert (*P.L.* III, 80 ff.).

Bodmer's aviators come to grief in the following manner:

> Aber kaum hatte das Netze die höllischen Schiffer verschlungen,
> Als des Steuers beraubt das Schiff aus dem Gleichgewicht platzte,
> Und die Balken und Menschen, das Oberst unten gekehret,
> In die zerfliessende Luft ausschüttete; Balken und Menschen
> Regneten aus der Luft in die unten gelegnen Gefilde,
> Nicht in den heiligen Berg, ein Wirbelwind hatte sie ferne
> Von dem Gebirge gejagt, damit ihn unheilige Füsse
> Nicht entweihten (*N.*, p. 147).

This scene is obviously indebted to Milton's description of the false priests who, as they attempt to reach the gate of Heaven, are precipitated into the Paradise of Fools. I quote the English lines despite the fact that they deal more or less indirectly with the theme of the evil spirits:

> And now Saint Peter at Heaven's wicket seems
> To wait them with his keys and now at foot
> Of Heaven's ascent they lift their feet, when, lo!
> A violent cross wind from either coast
> Blows them transverse, ten thousand leagues awry,
> Into the devious air. Then might ye see
> Cowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost
> And fluttered into rags; then reliques, beads,
> Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
> The sport of winds: all these, upwhirled aloft,

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> Fly o'er the backside of the World far off
> Into a Limbo large and broad, since called
> The Paradise of Fools (*P.L.* III, 484 ff.).

This same description, it will be noted, influenced also the following reference to the fall of Bodmer's miraculous airship:

> Als er noch sprach, so fiel das bezauberte Schiff aus den Wolken.
> Sehet nur, rief Sem, der fliegende Drache zerplatzet;
> Seht aus dem berstenden Bauche die Krieger unter sich fallen;
> Glänzende Schild' und Speer', und die nacketen Flügel des Lindwurms
> Fliessen durch die verdünnete Luft auf die Erde gezogen
> (*N.*, p. 171)

The numerous parallel passages cited above in support of my present thesis, serve, at the same time, to throw further light upon the singular literary method which Bodmer felt free to pursue while writing his own ambitious epic *Noah*—a method whereof he made no secret; on the contrary it was, as I have elsewhere pointed out, one which he openly avowed and defended.

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LIX

DIE DOPPELDRUCKE DER WIELAND-AUSGABE LETZTER HAND

IN meiner Abhandlung, *Die Doppeldrucke in ihrer Bedeutung für die Textgeschichte von Wielands Werken*,[1] habe ich nachgewiesen, dasz von den verschiedenen Bänden der Wielandschen Oktav-Ausgabe letzter Hand, Leipzig 1794 ff., je drei bis sechs Drucke vorliegen, die zum Teil nicht im angeblichen Erscheinungsjahre, sondern erst später veranstaltet wurden. Diese dem Dichter gänzlich unbekannten Doppeldrucke legen nicht nur ein beredtes Zeugnis ab für Wielands Beliebtheit bei seinen Zeitgenossen—ihre Feststellung und Absonderung von dem echten Originaldrucke ist höchst wichtig für die Geschichte des Textes. Ich habe damals schon die Überzeugung ausgesprochen, dasz sich im Laufe der Zeit noch weitere Drucke entdecken würden: an dieser Stelle sollen nun die seither entdeckten Doppeldrucke beschrieben und eingereiht werden. Sämtliche Exemplare sind in meinem Besitz.

ERSTER BAND. Zu den drei früher beschriebenen Drucken (C^{lacf}) treten jetzt zwei neue: C^{lbe}. Der Druck C^{lb} gehört zu einem vollständigen Exemplare in altem, gleichmässigem Einband, welches folgende Zusammensetzung aufweist: Bd. 1–5, 7, 9 = neuer Satz; Bd. 6, 8, 10 = C^{lab} (gemischt); Bd. 11–17 = C^{lb}; Bd. 18–32, 35–39, Supplem. 1–6 = C^{la}; Bd. 33, 34 = C^{2}. Der Druck C^{le} entstammt einem unvollständigen Exemplare folgender Zusammentsetzung: Bd. 1, 2, 11–13, 15, 16, 18–21, 24–30, 34 = neuer Satz; Bd. 4, 6–8, 35–37, Supplem. 1–4, 6 = C^{lf}; Bd. 14, 17, 32 = C^{le}.

Lesarten: S. 35, 26 verloren hatte was C^{la} verlohren hatte, was C^{lbe} verloren hatte, was C^{lf} verloren, was C^{lc}. 48, 21 Dienste, C^{lacef} Dienste; C^{lb}. 49, 7 allmählich C^{lac} allmählig C^{lbef}. 51, 27 Schmerzens C^{lac} Schmerzes C^{lbef}. 54, 5 Ehrenbezeigungen C^{lac} Ehrenbezeugungen C^{lbef}. 63, 2 Zweytes C^{lacf} Zweites C^{lbe}. 63, 3 Sofisten C^{labef} Sophisten C^{le}. 63, 9 dem Nahmen C^{lac} den Nahmen C^{lbef}. 63, 10 Griechischen C^{labc} griechischen C^{lef}. 65, 19 verschaffte C^{lacf} verschafte C^{lbe}. 66, 2 angenehmstem C^{lac} angenehmsten C^{lbef}. 68, 22 in kurzem C^{lacf} in kurzen C^{lbe}. 69, 2 einem C^{labef} einen C^{le} *Drf.* 70, 24 erfodert C^{labef} erfordert C^{lc}. 74, 14 Lebhaftigkeit C^{labc} Leichtigkeit C^{lef}. 75, 16 Beschäftigung C^{lac} Beschäftigungen C^{lbef} *Drf.* 76, 6 Gelegenheiten C^{lac} Gelegenheit C^{lbef}. 78, 23 Sapfo's C^{labef} Saffo's C^{lc}. 79, 2 Nachahmnng C^{le} *Drf.* 79, 8 Symfonien C^{lacf} Sympfonien C^{lbe}. 83, 5 an deiner

[1] Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akad. der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1913, Phil. hist. Classe Nr. 7.

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C^{acef} an deine C ^{bc} *Drf.* 84, 16 selbst C^{abef} selber C^{c}. 91, 10 in dem C^{af} in den C^{bce} *Drf.* 95, 19 Vetstandes C^{c} *Drf.* 100, 5.8 Nachtigall C^{aef} Nachtigal C^{bc}. 100, 1o Nachtigall C^{abef} Nachtigal C^{c}. 101, 25 Karakteren C^{abe} Karaktern C^{cf}. 113, 28 gerade und C^{a} gerade uns C^{bcef} *Drf.* 114, 25 gefunden; C^{abc} gefunden, C^{ef}. 121, 1 werden. C^{aef} werden, C^{bc} *Drf.* 126, 23 ehemahligen C^{acef} ehemaligen C^{b}. 128, 22 Tritonen C^{af} Tritoden C^{bce} *Drf.* 277, 1o foderte C^{acf} forderte C^{be}. 283, 18 voll Liebhaber C^{acf} von Liebhaber C^{be} *Drf.* 288, 4 während dasz C^{acef} während das C^{b} *Drf.* 289, 18 Tiefseufzend C^{abe} Tief seufzend C^{cf}. 291, 24 bedünkt C^{acf} gedünkt C^{be}. 293, 2o fodern C^{abef} fordern C^{c}. 295, 23 Forderung C^{acf} Foderung C^{be}. 296, 24 unangenehmers C^{abe} unangenehmer C^{cf} . 302, 26 Ihn däuchte C^{acf} Ihm däuchte C^{be}. 303, 12 eimahl C^{b} *Drf.* 312, 14 beleidiget C^{abe} beleidigt C^{ef}. 316, 21 aufzuschlieszen C^{acf} auszuschlieszen C^{be}. Anstatt 59 hat C^{b} die Seitenzahl 5; anstatt 50 hat C^{e} 5q.

Das Verhältnis der Drucke zu einander ist kompliziert: anfangs geht C^{c} anscheinend direkt auf C^{a} zurück (vgl. 49, 7; 51, 27; 54, 5); später findet man Übereinstimmungen mit C^{b} (vgl. 121, 1; 128, 22), und gegen Schluss gehen C^{cf} zusammen (vgl. 289, 18; 296, 24; 312, 14). Höchstwahrscheinlich wird sich noch ein weiterer, hinter C^{a} einzureihender Druck auffinden. Der Druck C^{b} scheint als Vorlage für C^{e} gedient zu haben, und von diesem stammt C^{f} ab.

Zweiter Band. Auch hier kommen die zwei neuen Drucke C^{be} hinzu. Lesarten: 66, 1 Ton C^{a} Tone C^{bcef}. 67, 12 Ort C^{a} Orte C^{bcef}. 70, 26 Zutrauen C^{a} Zutraun C^{bcef}. 71, 24 zugeführet habe C^{a}, zugeführt kabe C^{b} *Drf.* zugeführt habe C^{cef}. 82, 26 Vorsatz C^{acef} Vorsatzt C^{b} *Drf.* 83, 5 genöthigt, meine Abhohlung C^{acef} genöthiget, meine Abholung C^{b}. 86, 29 stark, dasz C^{aef} stark dasz C^{bc}. 88, 12 erfoderten C^{a} erforderten C^{bcef}. 91, 27 Vaterlandes C^{aef} Vaterlands C^{bc}. 94, 16 sie C^{a} sich C^{bcef} *Drf.* 94, 17 einigem Grade C^{ac} einigen Grade C^{b} *Drf.* einigen Graden C^{ef}. 100, 18 zu Athen C^{a} von Athen C^{bcef}. 104, 1 weitläufige C^{abc} weitläuftige C^{ef}. 105, 17 fodre C^{abce} fordre C^{f}. 107, 25 Aufstiftungen C^{ab} Anstiftungen C^{cef}. 108, 6 einer C^{abc} seiner C^{ef}. 109, 3 Kolonien C^{abcf} Colonien C^{e}. 111, 4 Ehrenbezeigungen C^{a} Ehrenbezeugungen C^{bcef}. 116, 12 fiebrische C^{a} fibrische C^{bcef}. 123, 3o Feinde, C^{ac} Feinde C^{bef}. 127, 27 Verlust C^{abcf} Herlust C^{e} *Drf.* 131, 17 dasz C^{abcf} gasz C^{e} *Drf.* 133, 13 rechtschaffnen C^{ac} rechtschaffenen C^{bef}. 133, 19 dem allgemeinen C^{ac} den allgemeinen C^{bef}. 137, 9 Entwickelung C^{ac} Entwicklung C^{bef}. 142, 3 Ort C^{abcf} Ors C^{e} *Drf.* 166, 12 erfodern C^{abc} erfordern C^{ef}. 166, 14 Forderungen C^{a} Foderungen C^{bcef}. 168, 2 Gunstbezeigungen C^{abc} Gunstbezeugungen C^{ef} 168, 12 konnte C^{ac} könnte C^{bef}. 171, 18 ging C^{acf} gieng C^{be}. 172, 15 Triebfedern C^{ac} Triebfeder C^{bef}. 174, 14 verzärteltste C^{ac} verzärzelste C^{bef}. 175, 7 erfordre C^{a} erfodre C^{bcef}. 178, 20 Bilsäule C^{b} *Drf.*

Die Lesarten von C^{c} deuten darauf hin, dass wenigstens noch ein

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unbekannter Druck existiere: stellenweise scheint C^{1c} direkt auf C^{1a} zurück zu gehen (vgl. 94, 17; 133, 13; 137, 9; 168, 12; 172, 15), an andern Stellen ist anscheinlich C^{1b} als Vorlage benutzt worden (vgl. 94, 16; 100, 18; 175, 7). Ein direkt hinter C^{1a} stehender Doppeldruck, der als Vorlage für C^{1b} und C^{1c} diente, würde diese Übereinstimmung erklären. Von C^{1b} scheint C^{1e} absustammen, und von diesem, C^{1f}.

Dritter Band. Hier kommen wieder die Drucke C^{1be} neu hinzu: C^{1e} entstammt jedoch nicht dem für Band 1. und 2. benutzten Exemplare. Ferner weisen einige Exemplare von C^{1a} abweichende Lesarten auf, die als Presskorrekturen zu bezeichnen sind, da es sich durchaus um denselben Satz handelt. Die bis jetzt entdeckten Korrekturen finden sich sämtlich auf Bogen G: die ursprüngliche Lesart bezeichne ich durch C^{1a}, die revidierte, die auf sämmtliche Doppeldrucke, sowie auf C^{2-4} übergegangen ist, durch $C^{1\alpha}$. S. 98, 12 unterbrechen C^{1a} stören $C^{1\alpha}$. 98, 25 jemahls gewesen ist C^{1a} jemahls war $C^{1\alpha}$. 107, 18 dem Kabinet C^{1a} dem Kabinette $C^{1\alpha}$. 107, 22 Dieser Minister fand vermuthlich die C^{1a} Der schlaue Höfling fand die $C^{1\alpha}$. 110, 12 Ansehen und Einflusz nahm zusehens ab C^{1a} Ansehen und Einflusz nahmen zusehens ab $C^{1\alpha}$. Dass es sich hier um Änderungen handelt, die vom Faktor angeordnet worden waren, braucht wohl keinen besonderen Beweis. Dagegen handelt es sich bei den Lesarten der Doppeldrucke C^{1bcef} fast durchweg um reine Druckfehler: S. 5, 19 ehmahls C^{1abc} ehemahls C^{1ef}. 41, 3 Palast C^{1ac} Pallast C^{1bef}. 46, 22 nicht mehr lange C^{1ac} nicht lange mehr C^{1bef}. 54, 28 als es C^{1abef} oder es C^{1c}. 64, 24 dabey C^{1abef} daher C^{1c}. 71, 4 Vorurtheile C^{1abef} Vortheile C^{1c}. 77, 13 von dem ganzen Sicilien C^{1a} von ganz Sicilien C^{1bcef}. 78, 25 beschäftigt C^{1acef} beschäftiget C^{1b}. 112, 17 diese C^{1ac} die C^{1bef}. 116, 18 Endzweck C^{1ac} Entzweck C^{1bef}. 122, 12 has höchste C^{1acef} dasz höchste C^{1b} *Drf.* 125, 17 im Kabinet C^{1ac} im Kabinette C^{1bef}. 134, 5 übel launigen C^{1a} übellaunigen C^{1bef} übel-launigen C^{1c}. Z. 6 meine-Vergnügungen C^{1a}: *der Bindestrich gehört zu* übel launigen. 140, 8 binnen einiger Tage C^{1ac} C^{2} binnen einigen Tagen C^{1bef} $C^{3.4}$ 142, 14 hoffte C^{1ac} hoffe C^{1bef}. 146, 6 ist, C^{1abcf} ist; C^{1e}. 149, 7 Erfordernisse C^{1abc} Fordernisse C^{1ef}. 149, 9 dem weisen C^{1abcf} den weisen C^{1e} *Drf.* 157, 5 Vortheils C^{1abcf} Vortheile C^{1e}. 157, 14 gefodert C^{1ac} gefordert C^{1bef}. 160, 13 Foderungen C^{1abc} Forderungen C^{1ef}. 174, 4 Günstling C^{1abcf} Günsting C^{1e} *Drf.* 174, 20 von Tarent C^{1abcf} vom Tarent C^{1e}. 174, 27 Dionysius sich C^{1ac} sich Dionysius C^{1bef}. 182, 13 Freundschafsterweisungen C^{1e} *Drf.* 184, 19 aus Korinthischem Erz C^{1ac} aus Korinthischen Erz C^{1bef}. 186, 5 in freundschaftlichem Triumf C^{1abc} in freundschaftlichen Triumf C^{1ef}.

Bogen B des Druckes C^{1b} ist falsch in die Form gebracht, indem die Seiten 17, 22, 23, 20, 21, 18, 19, 24, 25, 30, 31, 28, 29, 26, 27, 32 auf einander folgen. Anstatt 273 hat C^{1b} die Seitenzahl 213; in der Zahl 242 ist die erste 2 verkehrt. Die Bogen L—S scheinen von einem anderen Setzer her zu rühren, die Bogennorm ist in

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etwas grösserer Schrift, und auch in der Form der Seitenzahlen, besonders der 6, sind Unterschiede bemerkbar.

VIERTER BAND. Auch hier kommen zwei neue Drucke hinzu: C^{1b} gehört zu dem früher beschriebenen Exemplare, C^{1e} dagegen entstammt einem neuen, welches folgende Zusammensetzung aufweist: Bd. 1, 2, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24–30, 32, 37 = C^{1f}; Bd. 4, 5, und teilweise Bd. 17 = C^{1e}; Bd. 6–8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 31, 33–36, Supplem. 1–6 = C^{1c}; Bd. 9, und teilweise Bd. 17 = C^{1b}; Bd. 17 (teilweise), 18, 23, 38, 39 = C^{1a}. Lesarten: S. 101, 17 beginnen? C^{1aef} beginnen! C^{1bc}. 103, 19 seinem Schlaf C^{1abef} seinen Schlaf C^{1e}. 106, 11 spitz' C^{1acef} spitz, C^{1b} *Drf.* 106, 34 ehmaligen C^{1ac} ehmahligen C^{1b} ehemaligen C^{1e} ehemahligen C^{1f} 107, 4 uszbeckischen C^{1aef} Uszbeckischen C^{1bc}. 107, 37 französischen C^{1acef} Französischen C^{1b}. 109, 19 den Ritter C^{1abcf} den Uitter C^{1e} *Drf.* 110, 15 manchem C^{1abcf} manchen C^{1e}. 114, 1 ältste C^{1abf} älteste C^{1ce}. 116, 9 ein Pfersich C^{1ab} ein Pfersich C^{1c} eine Pfersich C^{1ef}. 118, 13 ward C^{1ab} war C^{1cef}. 123, 24 goldene C^{1acef} goldne C^{1b}. 124, 8 Sich C^{1acef} sich C^{1b}. 129, 1 honnetter C^{1abf} honetter C^{1ce}. 130, 1 ändern, C^{1acef} ändern C^{1b}. 130, 11 Soffa C^{1af} Sofa C^{1bce}; in vertraulichem C^{1acef} im vertraulichen C^{1b}. 131, 1 Ihr C^{1abf} ihr C^{1ce}. 131, 15 Eine C^{1abf} eine C^{1ce}. 135, 26 Dasz C^{1abf} Das C^{1ce} *Drf.* 137, 12 Dunst C^{1abf} Duns C^{1ce} *Drf.* 138, 23 Indessen C^{1abcf} hndessen C^{1e} *Drf.* 140, 9 Wie C^{1acef} wie C^{1b}. 140, 13 hohlen Backen C^{1ab} holden Backen C^{1cef}. 142, 15 Stücken C^{1acef} Stücken, C^{1b}. 143, 7 Ihren C^{1abcf} ihren C^{1e}. 143, 18 Mohreu C^{1e} *Drf.* 143, 25 Die Blonde C^{1ab} Die blonde C^{1cef}. 147, 3 Schattulliösen C^{1acef} Schatulliösen C^{1b} 149, 15 Ich C^{1acef} ich C^{1b}. 150, 26 meinesgleichen C^{1b} meines gleichen C^{1cef}. 153, 22 der C^{1abcf} dar C^{1e} *Drf.* 157, 17 hatt' C^{1acef} hat C^{1b}. 159, 14 dem tollem C^{1acef} *Drf.* dem tollen C^{1b} C^{2}. 160, 15 Kehle C^{1abcf} Rehle C^{1e} *Drf.* 162, 1 Lerm C^{1ab} Lärm C^{1cef}. 162, 16 Gobbo C^{1acef} Gobo C^{1b}. 163, 8 Höle C^{1abf} Höhle C^{1ce}. 164, 4 nnd C^{1e} *Drf.* Im Kolumnentitel S. 140, 178, 215 hat C^{1b} den Druckfehler: DFR NEUE AMADIS; S. 235 steht ähnlich: EILFTEE GSANG. Im Kolumnentitel hat C^{1e} folgende Druckfehler: S. 72, 84, 116, 142, DEr anstatt DER; S. 112, 120, 140 DRE anstatt DER; S. 35, 123 GESVNG, S. 25 GBSANG; S. 67 DER NEUE AMADIS anstatt DRITTER GESANG. S. 19 haben C^{1ef} DRITTER anstatt ERSTER, ein deutliches Anzeichen, dass der eine Druck seitengleich (und zwar blindlings!) von dem andern abgesetzt wurde. S. 31 hat C^{1f} ZWEITER anstatt ZWEYTER; S. 76 DFR anstatt DER; ferner hat C^{1f} die Seitenzahl 614 anstatt 146. Anstatt 25 hat C^{1c} die Seitenzahl 52.

Das Verhältnis der Drucke zu einander ist so verwickelt, dass die Annahme mindestens eines noch unbekannten Zwischengliedes berechtigt scheint.

FÜNFTER BAND. Die hier hinzukommenden Drucke C^{1be} gehören zu den bei dem vierten Bande beschriebenen Exemplaren. Schon äusserlich lassen sich die nun vorhandenen Drucke in zwei

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Gruppen einteilen: C^{labc} haben 215 Seiten, C^{lef} nur 214. Ferner finden sich folgende Unterschiede in der Bogennorm: Wielands W. V. B. C^{laf}, Wielands Schriften, V. B. C^{lbe}, Wielands sämmtl. W. V. B. C^{lc}. Lesarten: 29, 1 Galuppi C^{labc} Galluppi C^{lef}. 38, 24 Schattulliösen C^{la} schatulliösen C^{lb} Schatulliösen C^{lcef}. 52, 26 Ritter Pflicht C^{laf} Ritter-Pflicht C^{lbc} Ritter-pflicht C^{le}: *Ein Exemplar von* C^{la}*, in welchem derselbe Satz vorliegt, hat den Druckfehler:* Ritter Flicht. 62, 7 ein ekler C^{labef} ein edler C^{lc}. 134, 21 Töchtern C^{lacef} Töchter C^{lb} *Drf.* 135, 3 kleinem C^{lab} kleinen C^{lcef}. 136, 10 Allmählich C^{labcf} Allmählig C^{le}. 138, 30 rief: Und C^{lacef} rief: und C^{lb}. 140, 35 Er war C^{labcf} Es war C^{le}. 141, 3 dächte C^{lab} dachte C^{lcef}. 141, 16 Just nicht C^{labc} Jetzt nicht C^{lef}. 141, 27 alle Fälle C^{labc} die Fälle C^{lef}. 144, 24 Indesz C^{laef} Indeszen C^{lbc}. 152, 2 von Mars C^{labcf} vom Mars C^{le}. 152, 3 in luftigem C^{lab} im luftigen C^{lce} im luftigem C^{lf}. 152, 23 Cato oder Catinat C^{lacef} Kato oder Katinat C^{lb}. 154, 18 *probatum* C^{labcf} *prabatum*, C^{le} *Drf.* 156, 6 mir, Kauz C^{lab} mir Kauz C^{lcef}. 158, 13 Keile C^{labcf} Keule C^{le}. 160, 15 jeder C^{lacef} jeder, C^{lb}. 162, 5 klug C^{labcf} klug, C^{le}. 163, 6 So hört er auf sich selbst und alle Wesen zu plagen C^{labcf}: *der ganze Vers fehlt* C^{le}. Im Kolumnentitel C^{le} finden sich folgende Versehen: S. 97, 121 SIEBZEHNSTER; S. 99 SIEBZEHNTER (anstatt SECHZEHNTER).

SECHSTER BAND. Hier habe ich keine neuen Drucke entdeckt. Zwar schien das Exemplar, welches in den Bänden 1–5 als C^{lb} angeführt wurde, hier einen neuen Text aufzuweisen, bei näherer Untersuchung stellte sich jedoch heraus, dass es sich um ein Mischexemplar handelte, dessen Bogen A–K zur Gattung C^{lb}, Bogen L–X dagegen zur Gattung C^{la} gehören. Dabei bemerke ich, dass der Druck C^{lb} auf Bogen B–E die Bogennorm: WIELANDS sämmtl. W. VI. B., aufweist, auf Bogen F–X dagegen: WIELANDS sämmtl. W. VI. B.

SIEBENTER BAND. Das oben als C^{lb} angeführte Exemplar enthält im 7.Bande einen Mischtext: Bogen A–E = C^{la}; Bogen F = C^{lb}; Bogen G–Aa = neuer Satz, den ich hier mit C^{le} bezeichne. In den hier gebotenen Lesarten sind sämmtliche Bogen (G–Aa) vertreten, da nur so die Entdeckung ähnlicher Mischexemplare möglich wird: S. 97, 4 ihre eignen Personen C^{labcf} $C^{2.3}$ ihre eigene Person C^{le}. 97, 17 Unrecht hat, von den Werkzeugen . . . . Tugend zu erwarten C^{lacf} unrecht thut, wenn er von den Werkzeugen . . . . Tugend erwartet C^{lbe} $C^{2.3}$: *vgl. Doppeldrucke*, S. 26 f. 97, 24 Anmerkung C^{lacf} Bemerkung C^{lbe} $C^{2.3}$. 98, 24 sterben; C^{labcf}, sterben: C^{le}. 103, 16 Wahrheit C^{labcf} Wahrheit, C^{le}. 103, 25 anzuhören? C^{lacf} anzuhören! C^{lbe} C^{2}: *in demselben Sinne werden geändert:* 104, 1 bestärken? 104, 4 widersprechen? 104, 6 zuzuklatschen?. 106, 12 Asiatischen C^{lacef} Aisatischen C^{lb} *Drf.* 113, 26 seine eigene C^{lacf} seine eigenen C^{lbe}. 115, 28 nicht anders C^{labcf} nichts anders C^{le}. 117, 22 Ruhe C^{labcf} Ruhe, C^{le}. 133, 5 seinem Verlangen C^{lacf} diesem Verlangen C^{lbe} C^{2}. 133, 28 Mahl

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C^{lacf} Mahle C^{lbe}. 140, 5 Hirngespenst C^{lacf} C^{2} Hirngespinst C^{lbe}. 140, 17 Niesewurz C^{labe} Nisewurz C^{lcf}. 141, 13 zweyjährigen C^{lacf} C^{2} dreyjährigen C^{lbe}. 144, 5 sahen C^{labe} sehen C^{lcf}. 146, 9 Interesse C^{lacef} Interresse C^{lb}. 147, 3 stoszen; je C^{lacf} stoszen; desto C^{le} C^{2} stoszen: desto C^{lb}. 149, 14 wie Scheschian z. B. können C^{lacf} wie Scheschian z. B. ist, können, C^{lbe} C^{2}. 152, 14 Gesckmack C^{lf} *Drf.* 153, 9 diese C^{lacf} C^{2} die C^{lbe}. 156, 23 Aber] *kein Absatz* C^{lacf} *Absatz* C^{lbe} C^{2}: *ähnlich* 161, 22; 162, 24. 178, 2 aufzudringen: C^{lacf} aufzudringen; C^{lbe}. 179, 6 erwähnte: C^{labcf} erwähnte; C^{le}. 207, 11 Dehly C^{lacf} Dehly C^{lbe}. 210, 13 sey? C^{labcf} sey. C^{le}. 210, 16 zerfallnes C^{la} zerfallenes C^{lbe} verfallnes C^{lcf}. 238, 3 Wirthschaft! C^{labcf} Wirthschaft? C^{le}. 238, 27 wann C^{labcf} wenn C^{le}. 242, 2 besetzt C^{lacf} bevölkert C^{lbe} C^{2}. 242, 6 worden, C^{lacf} worden; C^{lbe} C^{2}. 270, 16 wenn C^{lacf} Wenn C^{lbe}. 270, 17 Antoninus C^{labf} Antonius C^{lce}. 272, 5 Unrecht: C^{labcf} Unrecht; C^{le}. 272, 20 er, durch Vermittelung der schönen Nurmahal, mit C^{lacf} er mit C^{lbe} C^{2} 275, 8.9 Gott-|tesdienst C^{le} *Drf.* 303, 17 bilden. Aus C^{lacf} bilden".—Aus C^{lbe}. 317, 15 wie die C^{lacf} wie alle die C^{lbe} C^{2}. 321, 29 ehmahligen C^{lab} ehemahligen C^{le} ehemaligen C^{lcf}. 350, 28 ehmahligen C^{labe} ehemaligen C^{lcf}. 353, 5 Naturgeschichte; C^{labcf} Naturgeschichte: C^{le}. 353, 27 ja zuletzt C^{lacf} und zuletzt C^{lbe} C^{2}. 354, 27 schlecht C^{labcf} schlech C^{le} *Drf.* 372, 22 Oberhand: C^{lacf} Oberhand; C^{lbe}. Anstatt 195, 256 hat C^{le} die Seitenzahl 193, 266; ferner ist Bogen T dieses Druckes falsch in die Form gebracht, indem die Seiten 289, 294, 295, 292, 293, 290, 291, 296, 297, 302, 303, 300, 301, 298, 299, 304 auf einander folgen.

Achter Band. Das früher beschriebene Exemplar C^{lb} enthält hier wieder einen Mischtext: Bogen A–E, P, T–Ff = C^{la}; Bogen F–O, QRS = C^{lb}.

Neunter Band. Zu den vier früher beschriebenen Drucken C^{labcf} treten jetzt noch zwei andere, C^{lde}. Der Druck C^{le} gehört zu dem bei dem 7. Bande benutzten Exemplare; C^{ld} entstammt einem neuen Exemplare, welches wie folgt zusammengestellt ist: Bd. 1–8, 10, 15–30, 32, 37 = C^{lc}; Bd. 11–14, 31, 33, 34, Supplem. 1, 3 = C^{ld}; die Bände 9, 35, 36, Supplem. 2, 4–6 stellen einen bisher unbekannten Druck dar, der als C^{ld} bezeichnet werden soll. Dieser unterscheidet sich äusserlich von den übrigen Drucken, da er nur 239 Seiten aufweist, während C^{labcef} 312 Seiten haben. In den beiden neuen Drucken C^{lde} findet sich als Titelvignette der lesende Knabe. Bei den folgenden Stellenangaben bezieht sich die eingeklammerte Zahl auf C^{ld}. Lesarten: S. 5, 23 (5, 14) schwer: C^{lab} schwer! C^{lcef} schwer, C^{ld}. 17, 8 (13, 29) fodertest C^{lab} fordertest C^{lcdef}. 19, 8 (15, 13) dazu ganz eigentlich C^{labe} ganz eigentlich dazu C^{lcdf}. 21, 1 (16, 24) Musarion: C^{la} Musarion! C^{lb} Musarion; C^{lcdef}. 24, 25 (19, 22) in eignem C^{labe} im eignen C^{lcdf}. 26, 24 (21, 6) Blut. C^{labef} Blut, C^{lcd} *Drf.* 37, 26 (29, 17) weil von C^{labef} weit von C^{lcd} *Drf.* 38, 20 (30, 8) voll geschenkten C^{lab} voll-|geschenkten C^{lcef} vollgeschenkten C^{ld}. 40, 12 (31, 19) Ninias

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C^{labcef} Ninias. C^{ld}. 41, 4 (32,5) ihn jagte C^{la} ihm jagte C^{lb-f}. 45, 10 fei'rlichsn C^{le} *Drf.* 45, 18 (33, 17) unter ihn C^{la} unter ihm C^{lb-f}. 46, 3 (33, 21) keine fremde C^{labef} keine fremden C^{lcd} 48, 17 (35, 25) schreyt C^{labcef} schreit C^{ld}. 49, 16 (36, 17) vergiszt! C^{labcef} vergiszt. C^{ld}. 50, 7 (36, 28) gleich: C^{labef} gleich; C^{lcd}. 52, 12 (38, 15) entschuldigt; C^{labcef} entschuldigt: C^{ld}. 53, 10 (39, 5) vor ihn C^{labcef} vor ihm C^{ld}. 58, 5 (42, 23) von unsichtbarem C^{lab} vom unsichtbaren C^{lc-f}. 59, 14 (43, 25) stufenweis C^{labcdf} Stufenweis C^{le}. 61, 16 (45, 5) reinern C^{labef} reinen C^{lcd}. 67, 17 (49, 21) Sinnenlust C^{labdef} Sinenlust C^{lc}. 68, 13 Agypter C^{le} *Drf.* 73, 7 (53, 23) den Prodikus C^{labe} des Prodikus C^{lcdf}. 75, 4 sterblicheu C^{le} *Drf.* 75, 25 (56, 5) bedeckten Säulengänge C^{labe} bedeckten Säulengange C^{lcf} bedecktem Säulengange C^{ld}. 290, 11 bezaubernden C^{le}. 292, 9 (223, 24) hieher C^{labe} hierher C^{lcdf}. (224, 21) pruppiert C^{ld} *Drf.* 294, 3 (225, 8) Galerie C^{la} Gallerie C^{lb-f}. 294, 14 (225, 17) darf, und C^{labcef} darf, uun C^{ld} *Drf.* 295, 2 (225, 27) Pasitheens C^{labcef} Pasitheent C^{ld} *Drf.* Die in C^{labcef} vorhandenen Halbtitel S. 42: Musarion Zweytes Buch. und S. 79: Musarion Drittes Buch. fehlen C^{ld}; anstatt dessen trägt jedesmal die folgende Seite (33), (58) die Überschrift: Zweytes Buch. Drittes Buch. Die Reihenfolge der Drucke ist vermutlich folgende: $C^{labefcd}$. Der Druck C^{ld} ist sicher der jüngste von allen und stammt von C^{lc} als Vorlage ab (vgl. 26, 24; 37, 26).

Elfter Band. Der hier und bei den folgenden Bänden hinzukommende Druck C^{le} entstammt dem bei dem ersten Bande beschriebenen Exemplare. Die Drucke C^{lab} haben 377 Seiten, C^{lcdef} dagegen nur 329 Seiten Text. Dazu hat jeder Druck 2 Blatt Titel und Spezialtitel, nebst 8 Seiten Inhalt. Lesarten: S. 29, 14 (26, 15) *Printanniere* C^{labe} *Printannière* C^{lcf} *Pritannière* C^{ld}. 34, 23 (30, 14) Dornblüthe C^{labe} Dornenblüthe C^{lcdf}. 35, 17 (30, 28) Dornblüthe C^{labe} Dornenblüthen C^{lcdf}. 76, 3 (65, 30) du | (*Zeilenschluss*) C^{lab} du || (*Seitenschluss*) C^{lef} die || C^{lc} die-|| C^{ld}. 77, 15 (67, 10) flatterten .... eine Menge C^{la} flatterte .... eine Menge C^{lb-f}. 80, 24 (70, 14) ihrer Freyheit C^{la} der Freyheit C^{lb-f}. 84, 5 (73, 10) dem grünen C^{lab} den grünen C^{lc-f}. 85, 1 (74, 2) Schlaf C^{labcdf} Schalaf C^{le} *Drf.* 88, 5 (76, 10) ein Paar C^{labe} ein paar C^{lcdf}. 89, 18 (77, 22) Kränke C^{la} Pest C^{lb-f}. 91, 9 (79, 9) aufschnabelieren C^{la} aufschnabeln C^{lb-f}. 91, 24 (79, 24) itzt gleich C^{la} jetzt gleich C^{lb} gleich jetzt C^{lc-f}. 94, 9 (82, 2) Gegenfüszlern C^{lacdf} Gegenfüszern C^{lbe}. 98, 14 (85, 20) oder Zauberpalast C^{la} oder welcher Zauberpalast C^{lb-f}. 98, 15 (85, 21) welchem C^{la} dem C^{lb-f}.

Zwölfter Band. Zu den früher bekannten Drucken kommt wieder C^{le}. Die Drucke C^{lab} haben 366, C^{lcdef} dagegen nur 342 Seiten Text. Lesarten:[2] S. 77, 15 (70, 13) Plotinischen C^{la} Platon-

[2] Es ist mir z.Z. nicht möglich, die betreffenden Lesarten des Druckes C^{lc} anzugeben, da das Exemplar dieses, wie auch des folgenden Bandes, meinem verstorbenen Kollegen Henry Wood gehörte, dessen Bibliothek nicht mehr am Orte ist.

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ischen C^{1bdef}. 77, 16 (70, 14) kabbalistischen C^{1ab} Kabbalistischen C^{1def}. 88, 8 (80, 2) Haufen von Zuschauern C^{1a} Haufen Zuschauer C^{1bdef}. 95, 2 (86, 17) Gunstbezeigungen C^{1ab} Gunstbezeugungen C^{1def}. 97, 1 (88, 11) Gunstbezeigungen C^{1abe} Gunstbezeugungen C^{1df}. 99, 1 (90, 5) ängstigten C^{1abdf} änstigten C^{1e} *Drf.* 100, 3 (90, 13) ehmahligen C^{1abe} ehemahligen C^{1df}. 114, 7 (103, 27) ungestümem C^{1ab} ungestümen C^{1def}. 114, 8 (103, 28) befreyete C^{1abde} befreyte C^{1f}. 126, 11 (115, 6) vergeblich C^{1a} vergebens C^{1bdef}. 131, 1 (119, 21) ist noch nie . . . . erhalten worden C^{1a} wurde noch nie . . . . erhalten C^{1bdef}. 131, 14 (120, 5) liebt, sich durch . . . . für entschädiget halten würde, C^{1a} liebt, durch . . . . sich reichlich entschädiget glaubt. C^{1bdef}. 133, 19 (122, 9) Verehrern C^{1a} Liebhabern C^{1bdef}. 137, 19 (126, 8) eigenen C^{1ad} eignen C^{1bef}. 137, 21 (126, 11) Geburt oder C^{1ab} Geburt und C^{1def}. 140, 15 (129, 4) andere C^{1adf} andre C^{1be}. 143, 9 (131, 18) unmittelbaren C^{1abdf} unmittelbarern C^{1e}. 143, 19 (132, 6) Augenblicke C^{1ab} Augenblick C^{1def}. 146, 28 (135, 4) ihre C^{1ab} *Drf.* Ihre C^{1def}. 147, 4 (135, 8) setzten C^{1a} setzte C^{1bdef}. 154, 9 (141, 30) Zigeunerin; C^{1ad} Zigeunerin: C^{1def}. 158, 10 (145, 27) ihn C^{1abdf} ihm C^{1e} *Drf.* 158, 11 (145, 28) eine geraume Weile C^{1a} seit einer geraumen Weile C^{1bdef}. 160, 8 (148, 7) sein Wanst C^{1a} ein Wanst C^{1bdef}. S. (137) hat C^{1e} den Kolumnentitel: FÜNNTES BUCH.

DREIZEHNTER BAND. Zu den vorher bekannten Drucken C^{1abcdf} tritt wieder C^{1e}. Die Drucke C^{1ab} haben 291 Seiten, C^{1odef} dagegen nur 243 Seiten Text. Auch hier weisen die Drucke C^{1bcdef} viele Lesarten auf, die mit C^{2-4} übereinstimmen, und nicht als willkührliche Änderungen des betreffenden Setzers, sondern als Verbesserungen des Dichters, oder wenigstens des Faktors, zu gelten haben. Lesarten: S. 167, 10 (137, 7) jener; C^{1ab} jener, C^{1def}. 176, 7 (145, 1) vordemonstriert hätte C^{1a} vorzudemonstrieren C^{1bdef}. 188, 15 (154, 26) eigenen C^{1ab} eignen C^{1def}. 198, 25 (164, 5) Ganymede C^{1a} Ganymeden C^{1bdef}. 202, 20 (166, 27) zwanzig Jahre zu thun hätte C^{1a} in seinem ganzen Leben nicht fertig würde C^{1bdef}. 203, 14 (167, 19) nicht der Mühe werth C^{1ab} der Mühe nicht werth C^{1def}. 212, 9 (174, 28) müsse. C^{1a} musz. [*Absatz*] Hab' ich mir nicht gerade solcher Fälle wegen eine Zauberruthe ausbedungen? C^{1bdef}. 218, 20 (179, 30) viel C^{1abdf} vie C^{1e}: *Drf. in 3 Exx.* 224, 9 (184, 5) wdrde C^{1a} *Drf.* würde C^{1bdef}. 228, 5 (187, 1) welche . . . . mehr sind C^{1ab} welcher . . . . mehr sind C^{1def}. 236, 20 (194, 14) Laune, sich C^{1abd} Laune sich C^{1ef}. 249, 6 (205, 6) das, was C^{1abd} das was C^{1ef}. 251, 15 Uuterschiedes C^{1b} *Drf.* 251, 16 (207, 9) Ehrfurchtsbezeigungen C^{1abde} Ehrfurchtsbezeugungen C^{1f}. 257, 4 (212, 11) einiger C^{1ab} eigner C^{1d} eigener C^{1ef}. Seite (202) ist in C^{1ef} leer, hat dagegen in C^{1d} 12 Zeilen Text.

FÜNFZEHNTER BAND. Der auch hier mit C^{1e} zu bezeichnende neue Druck hat wie C^{1ef} nur 362 Seiten, während C^{1ab} 387 Seiten aufweisen. Wie bei den früheren Bänden stimmen auch hier viele von C^{1b} eingeführte Lesarten mit C^{2-4} überein. S. (43, 29) viellelcht

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C^{1e} *Drf.* 49, 17 (45, 1) Düsterkeit C^{1abef} Düsterheit C^{1c}. 49, 24 (45, 8) jeder Mensch hat seine C^{1a} jede Person hat ihre C^{1bcef}. 78, 24 (70, 27) Antoninus C^{1abe} Antonius C^{1cef}. 110, 13 (101, 3) entfernt, C^{1ac} entfernt; C^{1bef}. 112, 28 (103, 17) kann C^{1abcf} kan C^{1e}. 116, 6 (106, 19) schwer werden C^{1ab} schwer fallen C^{1cef}. 133, 20 (123, 10) Vollmondsgesicht C^{1abef} Vollmondgesicht C^{1c}. 135, 9 (124, 25) jener, C^{1abe} jener: C^{1cf}. 135, 13 (124, 29) wenn C^{1abce} wen C^{1f} *Drf.* 146, 3 (134, 26) mit unterliefe C^{1abe} mitunter liefe C^{1c} mit unter liefe C^{1f}. 146, 15 (135, 12) mitzutheilen: C^{1ab} mitzutheilen, C^{1c} mitzutheilen; C^{1ef}. 147/148 Deutsch-| schen C^{1b}. (142, 22) worüher C^{1f} *Drf.* (153, 18) Predigtams C^{1f} *Drf.* 165, 15 (153, 22) Disputierer C^{1abef} Disputirer C^{1c}. 166, 5, (154, 11) Lästerzungen C^{1ab} Lästerungen C^{1cef}. 166, 14 (154, 19) Gegenfüszer C^{1ab} Gegenfüszler C^{1cef}. 170, 10 (158, 12) zugeschnitten C^{1abe} ausgeschnitten C^{1cf}. 177, 1 (165, 1) könnten C^{1acef} könnte C^{1b} *Drf.* 184, 22 (172, 16) Freuden, C^{1acef} Freuden; C^{1b}. 186, 9 (173, 28) mit Frucht C^{1abef} mit Furcht C^{1c}. 189, 3 (176, 16) Zaubrerin C^{1ab} Zauberin C^{1cef}. 200, 4 (186, 18) Hinzudenkung C^{1abe} Hinzudenken C^{1cf}. (191, 23) diessr C^{1f} *Drf.* 220, 12 (205, 6) ist, C^{1ac} ist C^{1bef}. 223, 15 (208, 3) Ihre C^{1abc} ihre C^{1ef}. 226, 24 (211, 5) herzlich; C^{1acf} herzlich: C^{1be}. 233, 27 (217, 22) dem Leiden C^{1abef} den Leiden C^{1c}. 243, 24 (226, 21) des menschlichen C^{1ab} des moralischen C^{1cef}. 257, 22 (239, 24) *longtems* C^{1abe} *long-tems* C^{1f} *long-temps* C^{1c}. 260, 2 eiue C^{1b} *Drf.* 286, 8 (267, 8) wollten: C^{1a} wollten; C^{1be} wollen; C^{1cf}. (272, 8) Aher C^{1e} *Drf.* 307, 18 (287, 8) die Wahl C^{1abe} die Welt C^{1cf}. 314, 18 Lernäishen C^{1b} *Drf.* 319, 12 (298, 2) sie C^{1abc} Sie C^{1ef}. 325, 1 Götttern C^{1a} *Drf.* 332, 16 Saatsweisheit C^{1a} *Drf.* 348, 8 (324, 19) Staates C^{1acef} Sklaven C^{1b}. 358, 26 (334, 24) *eat . . . . hold* C^{1abe} *ead . . . . hald* c^{1cf}. 366, 10 (342, 1) ists C^{1a} istt C^{1b} ist C^{1cef}. (350, 10) zwaazig C^{1c} *Drf.* 378, 9 vos-| aussetzt C^{1b} *Drf.* Anstatt 184 hat C^{1e} die Seitenzahl 224. Die Reihenfolge der Drucke ist C^{1abefc}.

Von C^{1e} besitze ich zwei Exemplare, die sich durch folgende Presskorrekturen unterscheiden: S. 70, 15 Ich wil = Ich will. 70, 27 Antonius = Antoninus. 85, 23 ihm ihre = ihn ihre.

Sechzehnter Band. Hier kommt wieder der Druck C^{1e} neu hinzu. Sämmtliche Drucke zählen 398 Seiten. Lesarten: S. 25, 24 kleinern C^{1a} kleinen C^{1bcef}. 26, 3 ihr Führer C^{1abce} ihre Führer C^{1f}. 32, 1 zu trotzen C^{1abce} zu trösten C^{1f}. 34, 19 Sklaveu C^{1a} *Drf.* 35, 20 nicht länger, C^{1a} nicht, C^{1bcef}. 47, 13 ferne C^{1a} fernere C^{1bcef}. 61, 24 Jubelgesänge C^{1a} Jubelsänge C^{1bcef}. 61, 25 verwandeln, C^{1a} verwandeln. C^{1bc} verwandeln C^{1ef}. 190, 4 ich; C^{1ac} ich: C^{1bef}. 191, 2 Warum C^{1abc} warum C^{1ef}. 193, 10 Leib; C^{1a} Leib, C^{1bcef}. 194, 1 andre C^{1abc} andere C^{1ef}. 196, 22 Zaubrerin C^{1abc} Zauberin C^{1ef}. 197, 10 erhabne C^{1ac} erhabene C^{1bef}. 198, 12 nicht; C^{1ac} nicht: C^{1bef}. 199, 14 Reihe C^{1abc} Reihen C^{1ef}. 199, 24 Bewundrung C^{1abc} Bewunderung C^{1ef}. 200, 8 Vorurtheile C^{1abc} Vortheile C^{1ef}. 201, 26 und ihren C^{1ac} und ihrem C^{1bef} *Drf.* 209, 1 Panthea; C^{1ab} Panthea. C^{1cef}. 216, 27 einfarbige C^{1ac}

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einförmige C^{1bef}. Anstatt 244 hat C^{1e} die Seitenzahl 344; anstatt 290 hat C^{1f} 286. Anfangs scheint C^{1c} von C^{1b} abgesetzt zu sein (vgl. 35, 20; 47, 13; 61, 24), später geht jedoch C^{1c} mit C^{1a}, gegen C^{1b} (vgl. 216, 27): mutmasslich existiert noch ein weiterer, bis jetzt unbekannter Druck.

Achtzehnter Band. Der neue Druck C^{1e} steht dem Originaldruck C^{1a} am nächsten; vielfach stimmen C^{1cf} mit neuer Lesart überein, an andern Stellen steht jedoch jeder dieser Drucke mit neuer Lesart allein: es ist also anzunehmen, dass noch mindestens Ein weiterer Druck zum Vorschein kommen wird. Lesarten: S. 19, 5 im gleichen C^{1ae} in gleichem C^{1cf}. 50, 14 wird. C^{1ac} wird C^{1ef}. 52, 23 ihr; C^{1ac} ihr, C^{1ef}. 54, 12 versezt C^{1a} versetzt C^{1cef}. 56, 11 ihr, dasz C^{1ac} ihr dasz C^{1ef}. 59, 2 wakern C^{1a} wackern C^{1cef}. 65, 7 war, C^{1aef} war. C^{1c}. 67, 8 *treizieme Siecle* C^{1acf} *treizième Siecle* C^{1c}. 85, 14 kehrt; C^{1acf} kehrt, C^{1c}. 86, 3 Segen, C^{1aef} Segen. C^{1c}. 87, 13 Stümpfe C^{1c} (*das r verkehrt*). 90, 20 er's selbst C^{1aef} er selbst C^{1c}. 99, 3 Noch C^{1acf} Nach C^{1e} *Drf.* 100, 1 Paaren C^{1ae} Paren C^{1cf}. 105, 14 dürfe C^{1ae} dürfte C^{1cf}. 108, 21 zu recht C^{1ae} zurecht C^{1cf}. 109, 2 verhieszest; C^{1ae} verhieszest: C^{1cf}. 113, 9 schmiegen. C^{1aef} schmiegen, C^{1c}. 171, 14 aufgefüttert; C^{1a} aufgefüttert: C^{1cef}. 178, 12 Zaubrerin C^{1aef} Zauberin C^{1c}. 188, 13 Kus C^{1a} *Drf.* 189, 5 ihn C^{1a} ihm C^{1cef} *Drf.* 191, 11 stiller Musen C^{1ace} aller Musen C^{1f}. 191, 16 Rosenbüsche, C^{1ace} Rosenbüsche C^{1f}. 193, 11 du das C^{1ae} du, das C^{1cf}. 196, 14 Abendlunft C^{1f} *Drf.* 197, 16 Trotz C^{1ae} Trutz C^{1cf}. 201, 7 unter Einem C^{1ae} unter einem C^{1cf}. 204, 7 noch Einen C^{1ae} noch einen C^{1cf}. 204, 20 wir C^{1ace} mir C^{1f} *Drf.* 208, 1 I h m C^{1a} Ihm C^{1cef}. 215, 6 nns C^{1f} *Drf.* 229, 4 Wiewohl C^{1ae} (Wiewohl C^{1cf} *Drf.* 231, 4 Fische, schwiegen C^{1ae} Fische schwiegen C^{1cf}. 235, 8 spricht: C^{1ae} spricht; C^{1cf}.

Neunzehnter Band. Auch hier kommt wieder der Druck C^{1e} hinzu, der hinter C^{1a} und vor C^{1ef} eingereiht werden muss. Der Druck C^{1b} steht am weitesten vom Originaltext entfernt. Dabei geht er manchmal mit C^{1c}, dann wieder mit C^{1e}; ähnlich stimmt C^{1e} manchmal mit C^{1a}, dann wieder mit C^{1e} überein: die Annahme eines weiteren, bis jetzt unbekannten Druckes ist also auch hier gerechtfertigt. Lesarten: S. 13, 17 Kranichen C^{1ac} Krannichen C^{1ef}. 22, 23 und oft abwechselnden C^{1ac} und abwechselnden C^{1ef}. 30, 8 Sie C^{1ace} Tie C^{1f} *Drf.* 31, 23 des . . . . . Äthiopien C^{1ae} des . . . Äthiopiens C^{1cf}. 63, 20 ohne Falsch C^{1ac} ohne falsch C^{1ef}. 66, 15 Falle; C^{1a} Falle: C^{1cef}. 71, 2 Faszade C^{1aef} Fassade C^{1c}. 78, 26 f o r d e r t C^{1a} fordert C^{1cef}. 83, 18 beleidiget C^{1ac} beleidigt C^{1ef} 89, 27 willen? C^{1ac} willen! C^{1ef}. 103, 17 Volks C^{1a} Volkes C^{1cef}. 121, 22 soll Er C^{1a} soll er C^{1cef}. 126, 13 alle übrige C^{1ae} alle übrigen C^{1cf}. 130, 18 eigene C^{1a} eigne C^{1cef}. 133, 21 scheuslichsten C^{1ae} scheuszlichsten C^{1cf}. 133, 25 bliesen C^{1a} blieszen C^{1cef}. 137, 11 Abderitinnen· C^{1e}: *in 3 Exx. steht der Punkt über der Zeile.* 138, 7 vorgebliches Geheimnisz C^{1a} vortreffliches Geheimnisz C^{1cef}. 143, 25 wünschte C^{1a} wünsche C^{1cef}. 154, 3 Ägyptischen C^{1acf} Ägyptische

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C^{1e}. 154, 8 eiuen C^{1f} *Drf.* 154, 19 aufmunterndem C^{1ae} aufmunternden C^{1ef}. 155, 18 des Demokrit C^{1ace} des Demokrits C^{1f}. 156, 22 Democritus C^{1ace} Demokritus C^{1f}. 162, 8 Zeiten C^{1ace} Zeit C^{1f}. 166, 11 Heraklit C^{1ace} Haraklit C^{1f}. 167, 9 gleichmüthig C^{1ace} gleichgültig C^{1f}. 168, 11 unserm C^{1ace} unsern C^{1f}. 174, 11 wohl auch C^{1ace} auch wohl C^{1f}. 177, 22 Gedanken, C^{1ae} Gedanken C^{1cf}. 178, 2 einer aus C^{1ae} einer von C^{1cf}. Seite 217, 237, 249, 263 (Bogen OPQR) hat C^{1e} im Kolumnentitel den Druckfehler: Kaptiel.

Zwanzigster Band. Das für den 19. Band gesagte gilt im allgemeinen auch hier, der neue Druck C^{1e} steht dem Originaldruck C^{1a} am nächsten. Lesarten: S. 31, 29 Eselsschattens C^{1ae} Eselschattens C^{1c} Eeseschattens C^{1f}. 46, 4 Feösche C^{1f} *Drf.* 47, 5 voraussetzen C^{1ae} voraussetzten C^{1cf}. 48, 22 von Abdera C^{1aef} in Abdera C^{1c}. 49, 27 Dauie C^{1c} (*das* m *verkehrt*). 56, 9 unglücklichen C^{1e} *Drf.* 56, 28 ominosen C^{1ace} ominösen C^{1f}. 58, 10 wilkührlichen C^{1c} *Drf.* 60, 12 Urthel C^{1ac} Urtheil C^{1ef}. 61, 19 Eifall C^{1c} *Drf.* 64, 28 denselben, C^{1ac} denselben C^{1ef}. 65, 21 schmäler C^{1ac} schmähler C^{1ef}. 68, 2 Ockupazion C^{1ace} Ockupation C^{1f}. 68, 19 Herrn C^{1ac} Herren C^{1ef}. 72, 1 trieb sie C^{1ac} trieben sie C^{1ef}. 72, 8 so gestalten C^{1ac} so gestalteten C^{1ef}. 72, 9 andres C^{1ac} anders C^{1ef}. 82, 28 Jasonstempels C^{1ace} Jasontempels C^{1f}. 91, 15 zusammen C^{1ac} zu sammen C^{1ef}. 92, 2 voraus sehen C^{1ac} voraussehen C^{1ef}. 92, 22 zweifelten dasz C^{1aef} zweifelten, dasz C^{1c}. 94, 16 wnrden C^{1e} *Drf.* 97, 4 angeerbten C^{1ac} geerbten C^{1ef}. 97, 23 Ists C^{1ac} Ist C^{1ef}. 98, 2 ich Sie C^{1ac} ich sie C^{1ef} *Drf.* 101, 15 und sie C^{1ac} und Sie C^{1ef} *Drf.* 101, 26 des Jasontempels C^{1ace} des Jasontempel C^{1f}. 101/102 vorzuladen C^{1acf} vorzu laden C^{1e}. 102, 18 anznsehen C^{1c} *Drf.* Anstatt 56, 133, 136, 138, 151 hat C^{1f} die Seitenzahlen 14, 153, 139, 106, 131.

Einundzwanzigster Band. Wie bei den vorhergehenden Bänden steht auch hier der neue Druck C^{1e} zwischen C^{1a} und C^{1cf}. Diese gehen an einigen bezeichnenden Stellen zusammen (vgl. 38, 14) andererseits finden sich auch in C^{1ef} gemeinsame Druckfehler (vgl. 70, 19): das Vorhandensein eines weiteren, bis jetzt unbekannten Druckes ist deshalb auch hier anzunehmen. Lesarten: S. 12, 22 reichem buntem Kleide C^{1ae} reichem bunten Kleide, C^{1cf}. 14, 23 Haselwürmen C^{1a} Haselwürmern C^{1cef}. 28, 22 nach C^{1ae} *Drf.* noch C^{1cf}. 38, 14 Erhellt durch matten Lampenschimmer; C^{1ae}: *der Vers fehlt* C^{1cf}. 43, 2 und nun wie C^{1aef} und wie C^{1c}. 44, 19 dasz C^{1a} *Drf.* das C^{1cef}. 45, 4 fängt C^{1aef} fängst C^{1c} *Drf.* 46, 10 zuwider C^{1ac} zuwieder C^{1ef}. 46, 19 Schemel C^{1a} Schemmel C^{1cef}. 47, 1 trüber C^{1aef} drüber C^{1c} *Drf.* 52, 11 Feier, C^{1a} Feier. C^{1e} Feyer, C^{1c} Feier (*ohne Interp.*) C^{1f}. 55, 20 alle dem C^{1aef} allem dem C^{1c}. 56, 6 seinen C^{1aef} seinem C^{1c}. 57, 6 geschienen." C^{1acf} geschienen" C^{1e}. 57, 20 Ihm binde C^{1aef} *Drf.*, Ihn binde C^{1c}. 57, 22 lang' und C^{1aef} lang und C^{1c}. 62, 4 stehen; C^{1aef} stehen, C^{1c}. 64, 12 gelegt C^{1ac} Gelegt C^{1ef}. 65, 7 Nacken; C^{1aef} Nacken: C^{1c}.

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65, 18 zu Gefallen C^{lae} zu gefallen C^{lcf}. 70, 19 das C^{lac} dasz C^{lef} *Drf.* 81, 22 Zun Häupten C^{lae} Zum Häupten C^{lcf}. 83, 2 fehlen; C^{laef} fehlen: C^{lc}. 90, 4 Gründen C^{lac} Gründen C^{lef}. 90, 6 Gränen C^{laef} Granen C^{lc}. 90, 14 gesehehen C^{lc} *Drf.*

VIERUNDZWANZIGSTER BAND. Der für den 22. und 23. Band noch fehlende Druck C^{le} kommt hier wieder vor. Sein Verhältnis zu den übrigen Drucken ist genau so wie bei dem 21. Bande. Lesarten: S. 5, 5 gefüllosen C^{la} *Drf.* 18, 4 Talisman C^{lacf} Talismann C^{le}. 53, 16 heiszt C^{lacf} heist C^{le}. 64, 28 andres C^{laef} anders C^{lc}. 70, 5 Abtrag C^{lace} Antrag C^{lf}. 82, 22 geahneter C^{la} geahndeter C^{lcef}. 83, 2.3 Möglichen Unmöglichen C^{la} Möglichen und Unmöglichen C^{lcef} C^{2-4}. 90, 26 deutlichern C^{la} deutlichen C^{lcef}. 92, 16 Betrügern C^{la} Betriegern C^{lcef}. 92, 23 untrüglichen C^{laf} untrieglichen C^{lce}. 95, 3 unserm C^{lac} unsern C^{lef} *Drf.* 98, 16 von den C^{laef} von dem C^{lc}. 100, 6 Ithaka C^{lace} Ithika C^{lf}. 105, 9 desen C^{lf} *Drf.* 110, 8 *Zadrikion* C^{la} *Zatrikion* C^{lcef}. 110, 21 seltsame C^{la} seltsamste C^{lcef}. 119, 8 Kopf zu Fusz C^{la} Kopf bis zum Fusz C^{lcef}. 119, 17 oder C^{laef} eder C^{lc} *Drf.* 121, 6 Augenblicke C^{lace} Augenblick C^{lf}. 125, 3 Geschichtschreiber C^{laef} Geschichtsschreiber C^{lc}. 131, 17 genannt C^{lac} gensnnt C^{le} *Drf.* genennt C^{lf}. 131, 24 militarisches C^{lae} militairisches C^{lc} militärisches C^{lf}. 149, 13 unter der C^{lace} unter die C^{lf}. 154, 26 Zeitgenosssen C^{la} *Drf.* 163, 14 nur C^{lace} nun C^{lf}. 174, 1 ingeheim C^{la} ingemein C^{lcef}. 176, 14 nahmahls C^{la} *Drf.* 183, 19 in seinen C^{laef} *Drf.* in seinem C^{lc}. 191, 10 *autoritatem* C^{laef} *auctoritatem* C^{lc}. 203, 22 *nobilitatura* C^{la} *nobilitatum* C^{lcef}. 242, 3 (241, 18) in einen C^{laef} in einem C^{lc}. 242, 14 sie nie nach C^{la} sie nach C^{lcef}. 274, 25 wiederkehrendenden C^{la} *Drf.* 295, 7 gewissere C^{la} gewisser C^{lcef}. 313, 6 Böhmen C^{la} Böhme C^{lcef}. 313, 27 Nächst dem C^{laef} Nächst der C^{lc} *Drf.* 319, 3 getrautest C^{la} getrauest C^{lcef}. 350, 11 unumschränkteste C^{la} unumschränkte C^{lcef}. 363, 21 zu wenig C^{lae} so wenig C^{lcf}. 371, 24 *ex adultera* C^{la} *ex adulteris* C^{lcef}. 382, 13 Antoninus C^{laef} Antonius C^{lc}. 382, 18 Antonins C^{laef} Antonius C^{lc}. 384, 28 seinen C^{lace} seinem C^{lf} *Drf.* Anstatt 191, 235 hat C^{le} die Seitenzahlen 291, 135; anstatt 188 hat C^{lf} 90.

FÜNFUNDZWANZIGSTER BAND. Der neu hinzukommende Druck C^{le} steht zu den andern in ähnlichem Verhältnisse wie bei dem 24. Bande. Lesarten: S. 52, 13 exorcisieren C^{laef} exorcieren C^{lc}. 57, 29 gefnnden C^{le} *Drf.* 60, 3 vollkommne C^{lac} vollkommene C^{lef}. 61, 6 vor mir C^{lac} von mir C^{lef}. 62, 16 auszerordetnlich C^{la} *Drf.* 63, 4 hatte C^{lac} hat C^{lef}. 67, 11 kamet? C^{lac} kamet. C^{lef}. 70, 28 ist; C^{lac} ist, C^{lef}. 72, 3 du, siehest C^{lae} *Drf.* du siehest C^{lcf}. 92, 10 Statts C^{la} *Drf.* Staats C^{lcef}. 97, 26 aufschlieſsen C^{laf} ausschlieſsen C^{le} auſſchlieſsen C^{lc}. 99, 7 Einwendung C^{lacf} Einwendungen C^{le} *Drf.* 102, 9 kennst C^{lacf} kennts C^{le} *Drf.* 103, 1 köönen C^{la} *Drf.* 107, 23 sagtest, C^{laef} sagtest C^{lc}. 127, 21 euere Weisen C^{lac} euere Weise C^{lef}. 134, 23 ist: C^{lac} ist; C^{lef}. 282, 10 mir dir C^{la} *Drf.* mit dir C^{lcef}. 296, 6 darstelltest. C^{lacf} darstelltest, C^{le}.

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303, 22 spüken C^{1aef} spuken C^{1c}. 304, 11 Augenbrauen C^{1a} Augenbraunen C^{1cef}. 307/308 die uns || uns berauscht C^{1acef} *Drf.* 318, 14 erkene C^{1a} *Drf.* 279, 5 Blumen C^{1ace} Bäume C^{1f}. 281, 8 zusammen fahrend C^{1aef} zusammenfahrend C^{1c}. 284, 4 ändern C^{1ace} hindern C^{1f}. 291, 20 vergiszt C^{1aef} vergiszt, C^{1c}. 295, 16 Mägden oder C^{1ace} Mägden und C^{1f}. 301,20 sein C^{1ace} ein C^{1f}. 309,17 iniziiert C^{1ac} iniziirt C^{1ef}. 315, 12 ungestalter C^{1aef} ungestaltet C^{1c} *Drf.* 318, 22 Ich C^{1aef} Ich C^{1c}. 319, 19 musz C^{1ace} soll C^{1f}. 320, 2 glatzköpfigen C^{1aef} glattköpfigen C^{1f}. 321, 15 ungestalter C^{1aef} ungestaltet C^{1c}. 323, 21 Hand C^{1acf} Haud C^{1e} *Drf.* 328, 1 mir C^{1aef} mir C^{1c}. Seitenzahl 209 fehlt C^{1a}; anstatt 187 hat C^{1c} 178; anstatt 143 hat C^{1e} 134; anstatt 104, 153, 228 hat C^{1f} 204, 127, 002. Im Kolumnentitel GÖTTERGESPRÄCH S. 36, 74, 90, 108, 126, 142, 161, 207, 229 hat C^{1f} das zweite R verkehrt: S. 264 steht GÖTTERGESPÄRCH. S. 3 hat C^{1c} den Kolumnentitel GÖTTERGESPÄCH, S. 118 GÖTTERGESRÄCH.

Sechsundzwanzigster Band. Das bei dem 25. Bande über den neuen Druck C^{1e} Gesagte gilt auch hier. Lesarten: S. 18, 1 Alceste. C^{1a} *fehlt* C^{1cef}. 235, 27 Kantaten C^{1a} Kantitaten C^{1e} Kandidaten C^{1cf}. 236, 28 uud C^{1e} *Drf.* 240, 7 Nasenrümpfen C^{1ae} Naserümpfen C^{1cf}. 244, 4 ungleich C^{1ae} zugleich C^{1cf}. 246, 27 sämmtlichen C^{1a} sämmtliche C^{1cef}. 253, 16 durch Vergleichung C^{1ae} mit Vergleichung C^{1cf}. 256, 22 aber C^{1a} oder C^{1cef}. 258, 28 sind! C^{1aef} sind? C^{1c}. 260, 2 Hülsfqullen C^{1f} *Drf.* 261, 10 beypflichten C^{1ae} beyflichten C^{1cf}. 262, 23 Erfordernisse C^{1ace} Erfordernissen C^{1f} *Drf.* 265, 27 einerley C^{1ae} eine C^{1cf}. 272, 2 allmählichen C^{1aef} allmähligen C^{1c}. 274, 11 Wiederbelebung C^{1aef} Widerlegung C^{1c}. 286, 3 schädlichen C^{1ae} schändlichen C^{1cf}. 294, 5 Lillo und C^{1aef} Lillo oder C^{1c}. 301, 21 Franken C^{1ae} Eranken C^{1cf} *Drf.* 302, 22 getrachtet C^{1aef} geachtet C^{1c}. 306, 8 Morhofs C^{1a} Marhofs C^{1cef} *Drf.* 308, 6 deux ans C^{1ae} deux an C^{1cf} *Drf.* 309, 2 obenhin, C^{1ac} obenhin. C^{1ef} *Drf.* 307, 23 qui C^{1acf} quï C^{1e}. 309, 14 Freyen C^{1aef} Ereyen C^{1c} *Drf.* 310 11 man C^{1ace} wan C^{1f} *Drf.* 333, 26 Stimmenge wirkt C^{1a} *Drf.* 335, 10 andern C^{1ac} ander C^{1ef} *Drf.* 351, 5 habe C^{1a} *Drf.* haben C^{1cef}. 351 8 hauen C^{1aef} bauen C^{1c} *Drf.* 361, 21 tummelte C^{1ae} taumelte C^{1cf}. 365, 9 militarischen C^{1a} militärischen C^{1cef}. Anstatt 360 hat C^{1c} die Seitenzahl 560.

Siebenundzwanzigster Band. Der neue Druck C^{1e} nimmt hier eine ähnliche Stellung ein wie bei den vorhergehenden Bänden: er steht im allgemeinen dem Originaldruck C^{1a} am nächsten, während C^{1f} von C^{1e} abstammt. C^{1c} hat gleichfalls viele Lesarten mit C^{1a} gemein, gegen C^{1ef}, so dass man annehmen möchte, C^{1a} habe als Vorlage für C^{1c} gedient: dabei kommen jedoch andere Lesarten vor (vgl. 247, 8) die auf einen noch unbekannten Druck als gemeinsame Vorlage von C^{1ce} deuten. Lesarten: S. 70, 14 ehemahls C^{1ac} niemahls C^{1ef}. 71, 14 abzuthuu C^{1f} *Drf.* 104, 1 berüchtigte C^{1ace} begünstigte C^{1f}. 165, 7 Jahre, C^{1acf} Jahre C^{1e}. 168, 21 ätherischer C^{1ac} ätherische C^{1ef} *Drf.* 169, 15 mit dem C^{1acf} mit den C^{1e}

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Drf. 176, 9 unmittelbarerer, C^{lacf} unmittelbarerer C^{le}. 182, 21 Ehenmasze C^{la} *Drf.* 192, 1 shönste C^{le} *Drf.* 193, 24 vergebens. C^{lacf} vergebens C^{le}. 195, 9 buschigen C^{lacf} buschigten C^{le}. 208, 24 Gunstbezeigungen C^{lac} Gunstbezeugungen C^{lef}. 210, 23 kommen C^{lacf} hommen C^{le} *Drf.* 212, 11 entferntern C^{lac} entfernten C^{lef}. 216, 25 Anfangs C^{lac} anfangs C^{lef}. 217, 4 so C^{lacf} eo C^{le} *Drf.* 219, 19 Aufschlüsse C^{laef} Aufschlüsse, C^{lc}. 224, 2 deszwegen C^{lacf} deswegeu C^{le} *Drf.* 227, 13 Einsmahls C^{lac} Einsmahl C^{lef}. 229, 14 aufkeimen C^{lacf} aufkäumen C^{le}. 230, 24 goetischen C^{laef} poetischen C^{lc}. 233, 3; 236, 21; 238, 26 Zaubrerin C^{lac} Zauberin C^{lef}: *ähnlich* 238, 29. 233, 22 womit C^{laef} worin C^{lc}. 235, 22 ihr Lust C^{laef} ihre Lust C^{lc} *Drf.* 241, 2 erwachende C^{laef} erwache de C^{lc}: *das* n *ausgefallen.* 247, 8 Dankes werth C^{la} Dankens werth C^{lcef}.

Achtundzwanzigster Band. Das oben Gesagte gilt auch hier für das Verhältnis des neu hinzukommenden Druckes C^{le} zu den früher bekannten Drucken C^{lacf}. Lesarten: S. 8, 11 gewöhnliche C^{lace} gwöhnliche C^{lf}. 229, 13 lengsam C^{lf} *Drf.* 229, 25 einem C^{laef} einen C^{lc}. 230, 8 unserm C^{laf} unsern C^{lce}. 233, 8 besonderes C^{lacf} besonders C^{le}. 234, 21 ihren C^{lac} ihrem C^{lf} *Drf.* 236, 24 billige C^{laef} heilige C^{lc}. 238, 25 Irrthume C^{lace} Irrthum C^{lf}. 238, 28 veranlassen C^{lac} verlassen C^{lef}. 240, 17 Felle C^{la} *Drf.* Falle C^{lcef}. 247, 2 ehrenhaft C^{lace} ernsthaft C^{lf}. 250, 13 durch ihre Grösze, und von der guten nicht C^{lace}: *die ganze Zeile fehlt* C^{lf}. 261, 9 dasz er C^{laef} dasz es C^{lc} *Drf.* 265, 1 künstliches Räderwerk C^{la} förmliches Räderwerk C^{lcef}. 267, 22 geweinen C^{la} *Drf.* gemeinen C^{lcef}. 281, 8 miszbrauche C^{lac} miszbrauchte C^{lef}. 281, 20 Gewalthaher C^{lf} *Drf.* 283, 9 Endzweck C^{lac} Entzweck C^{lef}. 285, 25 ahzuschütteln C^{lc} *Drf.* 286, 28 Entwiklung C^{lae} Entwicklung C^{lcf}. 287, 24 Feuerlande C^{laef} Peuerlande C^{lc} *Drf.* 287, 28 noch unentschieden C^{laef} und unentschieden C^{lc}. 288, 1 arbeiteten C^{lac} arbeiten C^{lef}. 292, 27 hundertfältig C^{lae} hundertfähig C^{lcf} *Drf.* 293, 22 Bewandtnisz C^{lacf} Bewandnisz C^{le}. 297, 1 uns nun nach C^{la} uns nach C^{lcef}. 300, 9 bestehen; C^{lacf} bestehen: C^{le}. 303, 24 nichts C^{lae} nicht C^{lcf}. 304, 8 zn C^{le} *Drf.* 309, 3 heiligem C^{lacf} heiligen C^{le}. 310, 4 Wirkungen C^{lae} Wirkung C^{lcf}. 313, 8 Zuchthaus C^{lace} Zuchtbau C^{lf}. 314, 21 einem C^{lacf} einen C^{le} *Drf.* 322, 12 Selbsts C^{laef} Selbst C^{lc}. 323, 24 Glauben C^{lae} Glaube C^{lcf}. 324, 1 wollte C^{lae} wollten C^{lcf} *Drf.* 328, 7 Statt C^{laef} Staat C^{lc} *Drf.* 331, 7 geheilet C^{laef} geheilt C^{lc}. 335, 22 schädlichen C^{laef} schändlichen C^{lc}. 337, 2 deiner C^{la} der C^{lcef}. 339, 6 *truth* C^{la} *thruth* C^{lcef} *Drf.* Anstatt 190 hat C^{la} die Seitenzahl 90; anstatt 198 hat C^{lc} 298: anstatt 259 hat C^{lf} 256.

Neunundzwanzigster Band. Auch hier tritt der Druck C^{le} neu hinzu. Lesarten: S. 23, 1 müssen C^{lacf} müssen C^{le}. 30, 3 wüszten C^{laef} müszten C^{lc}. 73, 14 Räsonement C^{laf} Räsonnement C^{lce}. 74, 21 *reputabitnr* C^{le} *Drf.* 88, 16 sey; C^{lacf} sey! C^{le}. 93, 23 herrschon C^{le} *Drf.* 96, 8 swischen C^{le} *Drf.* 96, 26 oder keine C^{lcfa}

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Drf. aber keine C^{1e} C^{2-4}. 103, 4 Elendes C^{1acf} Elends C^{1e}. 110, 23 handgreiflicher C^{1aef} handgreifliche C^{1c} *Drf.* 120, 17 Ahnung C^{1aef} Ahndung C^{1c}. 125, 20 unmaszgelblicher C^{1c} *Drf.* 127, 18 Wohlanstädigkeit C^{1c} *Drf.* 134, 10 Kajus C^{1aef} Lajus C^{1c} *Drf.* 136, 13 finden: C^{1acf} finden; C^{1e}. 151, 4 bestehenden C^{1ace} bestehen C^{1f} *Drf.* 157, 2 kann C^{1ace} hann C^{1f} *Drf.* 158, 19 innerlichem C^{1aef} innerlichen C^{1c}. 171, 6 hemächtigen C^{1f} *Drf.* 177, 14 keine C^{1acf} heine C^{1e} *Drf.* 178, 5 lauter Göttern C^{1ace} lautern Göttern C^{1f}. 180, 4 wirkeu C^{1c} *Drf.* 181, 6 aufrührische C^{1a} aufrührerische C^{1cef}. 182, 23 erweisliich C^{1f} *Drf.* 184, 15 Marquis C^{1a} Markis C^{1cef}. 187, 2 Dämonen C^{1aef} Damonen C^{1c}. 190, 14 Ahnung C^{1ae} Ahndung C^{1cf}. 191, 12 *sont* C^{1ae} *son* C^{1cf} *Drf.* 208, 4 sollten C^{1a} sollen C^{1cef}. 217/218 den || Kopf C^{1ae} das || Kopf C^{1c} das || Haupt C^{1f}. 220, 23 eigenen Worte C^{1aef} letzten Worte C^{1c}. 221, 20 eigentiich C^{1f} *Drf.* 230, 24 vernuntmäszigen C^{1a} *Drf.* 237, 20 wir C^{1aef} wie C^{1c} *Drf.* 240, 17 Characteristiks C^{1af} Characteristik C^{1e} Charakteristiks C^{1c}. 249, 13 Glaube C^{1ae} Gedanke C^{1cf}. 258, 29 Vicomte C^{1ae} Ticomte C^{1cf} *Drf.* 278, 10 durch C^{1ae} doch C^{1ef}. 282, 14 als sie C^{1aef} als die C^{1c}. 285, 20 Distriktsdirektorien C^{1ae} Distriksdirektoren C^{1ef}. 286, 3 vierzig C^{1ace} zwanzig C^{1f}. 289, 2 Operazionen C^{1a} Operazion C^{1cef}. 289, 3 trieben C^{1ae} treiben C^{1cf}. 289, 6 Oposizionspartey C^{1aef} Opposizionspartey C^{1c}. 294, 4 Optimaten C^{1ae} Oprimaten C^{1cf} *Drf.* 294, 7 Koblenz C^{1a} Koblens C^{1cef}. 299, 15 einen Werke C^{1a} *Drf.* 300, 10 der einzeln C^{1acef} C^{2} *Drf.* 309, 22 wurde C^{1a} wurden C^{1cef}. 317, 25 *Characteristiks* C^{1aef} *Characteristics* C^{1c}. 328, 7 Nabukodonosor C^{1ae} Näbukodonosor C^{1cf}. 334, 4 selbständige C^{1ace} selbsständige C^{1f}. 354, 24 Benennung C^{1a} Bedingung C^{1cef} *Drf.* 357, 21 Dekret C^{1ac} Decret C^{1ef}. 364, 27 hast! C^{1a} hast: C^{1c} hast; C^{1ef}. 398, 7 Jahrhunderten C^{1ae} Jahrtausenden C^{1cf}. 482, 15 gewirkt C^{1a} bewirkt C^{1cef}. 500, 17 Sahamlosigkeit C^{1c} *Drf.* 502, 10 Heilsausschusses C^{1ace} Heilausschusses C^{1f}. 507, 15 Millonen C^{1e} *Drf.* 510, 4 erklärt: C^{1ac} erklärt; C^{1ef}. 511, 28 *partage* C^{1ac} *portage* C^{1ef} *Drf.* Anstatt 329, 470, 512 hat C^{1f} die Seitenzahlen 319, 370, 492.

Das Verhältnis der Drucke zu einander ist nicht leight zu bestimmen: im allgemeinen steht C^{1e} dem Originaldruck am nächsten (vgl. 190, 14; 191, 12; 217/218; 249, 13; 258, 29; 289, 3; 294, 4; 398, 7); vereinzelt geht jedoch auch C^{1c} mit C^{1a}, gegen C^{1cf} (vgl. 278, 10; 285, 20; 357, 21; 510, 4; 511, 28); meistens gehen C^{1cf} zusammen und zwar häufig im Anschluss an C^{1e} (vgl. 181, 6; 184, 15; 208, 4; 289, 2; 309, 22; 482, 15); trotzdem können C^{1cf} nicht direkt von C^{1e} abstammen, der Stelle 96, 26 wegen, wo C^{1e} allein die richtige Lesart hat, während C^{1cf} den Druckfehler von C^{1a} fortpflanzen. Es muss also noch mindestens Ein weiterer Druck existieren.

Dreissigster Band. Der Druck C^{1e} kommt auch hier neu hinzu. Wie bei dem vorhergehenden Bande lässt sich das Verhältnis der Drucke zu einander noch nicht sicher bestimmen.

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Lesarten: S. 4, 7 wäre, C^{lacf} wäre; C^{le}. 4, 8 würde; C^{lacf} würde, C^{le}. 4, 28 geu Himmel C^{le} *Drf.* 11, 20 anmaszte, C^{lacf} anmaszte. C^{le} *Drf.* 12, 23 Einlaszbilliets C^{laef} Einlaszbillets C^{lc}. 28, 26 *Phisicien* C^{lac} *Physiciens* C^{le} *Physicien* C^{lf}. 38, 7 dem alten C^{lac} C^{4} *Drf.* den alten C^{lef} $C^{2.3}$. 40, 8 binnen, wenigen C^{la} *Drf.* binnen wenigen C^{lcef}. 47, 2 von C^{lacf} ven C^{le} *Drf.* 60, 17 diesem allen C^{laef} diesem allem C^{lc}. 66, 10 ihre Säbel C^{laef} *fehlt* C^{lc}. 67, 17 auf 26 C^{lae} auf 20 C^{lef}. 70, 19 seinen C^{lace} deinen C^{lf}. 73, 18 anländete C^{la} anlandete C^{lcef}. 74, 22 Balast C^{lac} Ballast C^{lef}. 75, 28 binaus C^{lf} *Drf.* 77, 18 in dem C^{laef} in den C^{lc}. 83, 4 behalten C^{lace} behaupten C^{lf}. 88, 7 warten müssen C^{lac} warten lassen C^{lef}. 94, 5 aszubessern C^{la} *Drf.* 96, 8 illüstern C^{lac} illüstren C^{lef}. 97, 20 *gardée* C^{laef} *gardèe* C^{lc}. 105, 2 Montgolfiere C^{lae} Montgolfier C^{lcf} *Drf.* 110, 1 hatte C^{la} hat C^{lcef} *Drf.* 110, 29 Versailes C^{lae} *Drf.* Versailles C^{lef}. 113, 21 ertsattete C^{la} *Drf.* 119, 3 Romain C^{laef} Romains C^{lc}. 128, 25 seinen C^{laef} *Drf.* seinem C^{lc}. 143, 11; 150, 3 militarischen C^{laef} militärischen C^{lc}. 181, 15 Spitze der C^{lace} Spitze ihrer C^{lf}. 191, 26 ihren C^{laef} ihrem C^{lc} *Drf.* 231, 13 Cheistenheit C^{lf} *Drf.* 235, 22 sollen C^{laef} wollen C^{lc}. 238, 2 Fortunatushütchen C^{lace} Fortunashütchen C^{lf}. 241, 7 fabelhaft und unglaublich C^{lac} fabelhaft unglaublich C^{lef}. 244, 3 ward C^{lac} wurde C^{lef}. 254, 12.13 noch | noch C^{la} *Drf.* 258, 29 Gotmenschen C^{lf} *Drf.* 260, 8 auszerordenslich C^{lc} *Drf.* 428, 7 Schreibtische C^{laef} Schreibetische C^{lc}. 431, 14 vermuthe C^{lae} vermuthete C^{lcf}. 447, 1 glaube C^{lae} glaub' C^{lc} glaub C^{lf}. 448, 25 Ihnen C^{lae} ihnen C^{lef} *Drf.* 464, 24 dieser Kapitel C^{laef} dieses Kapitel C^{lc}. 479, 3 Existzenz C^{lf} *Drf.* 497, 23, 27 Antoninus C^{lac} Antonius C^{lef}. 504, 15 Selbstgenugsamkeit C^{lac} Selbstgenügsamkeit C^{lef}. 506, 3 demüthigeu C^{la} *Drf.* 517, 7 verzärteltste C^{lac} verzärtelste C^{lef}. 525, 23 Erfüllung gegangen ist C^{laef} Erfüllung ist C^{lc}. Anstatt 90 hat C^{le} die Seitenzahl 60; anstatt 256, 283, 335 hat C^{lf} 246, 315, 355.

Dreiunddreissigster Band. Ein neuer Doppeldruck ist hier nicht zu verzeichnen: S. 105, 15 stimmen jedoch die Exemplare von C^{la} nicht überein, da einige den Druckfehler *Wic*, andere richtig *Wie* haben.

Vierunddreissigster Band. Zu den vier schon bekannten Drucken kommt hier zum letzten Male der Druck C^{le}. Die Reihenfolge ist ziemlich sicher C^{laefcd}, obschon das genaue Verhältnis der Drucke zu einander nicht immer mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen ist. Lesarten: S. 38, 2 des Sofroniskus C^{lad} eines Sofroniskus C^{lcef}. 41, 10 stemme C^{la} stemmte C^{lcef} stemmt C^{ld}. 44, 23 sie C^{lacef} ise C^{ld} *Drf.* 46, 20 Gewalthätigkeit C^{lad} Gewaltthätigkeit C^{lcf} Gewahlttthätigkeit C^{le}. 51, 27 mit mir spielen C^{lae} mir mit spielen C^{lcdf}. 53, 29 würde ihn, C^{laef} würde, ihn C^{lc} würde, ihn, C^{ld}. 58, 7 auszeichnende C^{lae} ausgezeichnete C^{lcef}. 62, 25 und, ohne C^{ladef} und ohne C^{lc}. 71, 3 ausgebreitete Arme C^{lad} ausgebreiteten Arme C^{lcef}. 72, 10 wir, wurden C^{laef} wir wurden C^{lcd}. 73, 29 benahe

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C^{1a} *Drf.* 75, 14 ersucht, C^{1acdf} ersucht; C^{1e}. 76, 1 früh C^{1ade} frühe C^{1cf}. 79, 3 ehmaliger C^{1ae} ehemaliger C^{1d} ehemahliger C^{1cf}. 83, 6 Einer C^{1ae} einer C^{1cdf}. 84, 1; 91, 1 Athenäoon C^{1a} Athenäon C^{1cdef}. 85, 3 elfenbeinerne C^{1acef} elfenbeinernen C^{1d}. 101, 24 unglücliche C^{1e} *Drf.* 104, 1 wirst C^{1ae} wirrt C^{1cdf} *Drf.* 104, 23 nicht C^{1adef} uicht C^{1c} *Drf.* 105, 17 oder eine Veranstaltung C^{1ae} oder Veranstaltung C^{1cdf}. 105, 29 ob C^{1ae} da C^{1cdf}. 106, 3.4 Seelen .... werden C^{1a} Seele .... werden C^{1cf} Seele .... werde C^{1cd}. 106, 11 ihren Zustand C^{1a} ihren Zustande C^{1e} ihrem Zustande C^{1cdf}. 107, 6 fortdauren C^{1ad} fortdauern C^{1cef}. 111, 19 ziemlicher C^{1acdf} zimlicher C^{1e}. 111, 28 mannigfaltigen C^{1ae} mannichfaltigen C^{1cdf}. 112, 5 einwenden, „der C^{1ae} einwenden: „der C^{1df} einwenden: der C^{1e}. 114, 1 gröbern C^{1a} *Drf.* gröbere C^{1cdef}. 118, 6 Existens C^{1e} *Drf.* 120, 2 gewänne C^{1aef} gewönne C^{1d} gewinne C^{1c}. 121, 22 zutrauen C^{1acdf} zu trauen C^{1e}. 122, 7 Künstlern C^{1a} Künstler C^{1cdef} *Drf.* 123, 8 Entkleidung C^{1ae} Entscheidung C^{1cdf}. 123, 11 Harmonie und Einheit C^{1a} Harmonie der Einheit C^{1cdef}.

Fünfunddreissigster Band. Der hier und bei den folgenden Bänden hinzukommende Druck C^{1d} entstammt dem bei dem 9. Bande beschriebenen Exemplare, welches, nebenbei bemerkt, in verschiedenen Bänden den Namenszug des Dichters Immermann trägt. Die späteren Drucke C^{1cdf} weisen viele gemeinsame Lesarten auf, das genauere Verhältnis derselben zu einander ist jedoch nicht sicher zu bestimmen. Lesarten: S. 15, 18 eselhaftes C^{1a} ekelhaftes C^{1cdf}. 36, 13 Galerie C^{1ad} Gallerie C^{1cf}: vgl. 43, 4; 49, 12. 39, 17 Tüchtigkeit C^{1ad} Thätigkeit C^{1cf}. 43, 4 Galerie C^{1af} Gallerie C^{1cd}. 49, 12 Galerie C^{1adf} Gallerie C^{1c}. 50, 24 feierlich C^{1adf} feyerlich C^{1e}. 60, 17 Vorurtheil, C^{1adf} Vorurtheil; C^{1c}. 70, 19 ihn C^{1a} ihm C^{1cdf}. 78, 19 Spinnenfäden C^{1a} Spinnenweben C^{1cdf}. 85, 10 Parasangen C^{1a} Parangen C^{1cdf}. 94, 27 tadle C^{1af} tadle, C^{1cd}. 97, 8 einigen C^{1a} *Drf.* einigem C^{1cdf}. 98, 12 schonen; C^{1acf} schonen, C^{1d}. 105, 3 war C^{1acf} ward C^{1d} *Drf.* 107, 7 verschmelzen C^{1acf} verschmerzen C^{1d} *Drf.* 117, 9; 125, 20 Einen C^{1acf} einen C^{1d}. 124, 4 nach C^{1acf} naah C^{1d} *Drf.* 124, 11 liebgewinnen C^{1acf} lieb gewinnen C^{1d}. Seitenzahl 310 fehlt C^{1c}; anstatt 77, 95, 132 hat C^{1d} 57, 55, 312; die Zahl 265 steht auf dem Kopfe.

Sechsunddreissigster Band. Der neue Druck C^{1d}, der manchmal die alte Lesart von C^{1a} beibehält, macht andererseits viele Änderungen, die nicht auf C^{1cf} übergegangen sind. Die genaue Reihenfolge ist also nicht sicher zu bestimmen. Lesarten: S. 92, 29 Mühe in einem groszen Theile dieses Werkes aufgestellt C^{1ad} Mühe aufgestellt C^{1cf}: *im Druckfehlerverzeichnis* C^{1a} *wird die Lesart* C^{1cf} *angeordnet.* 93, 13 selbst C^{1ad} selber C^{1cf}. 125, 17 dem Allem C^{1ad} dem Allen C^{1f} dem allen C^{1c}. 161, 4 vertsärkend C^{1a} *Drf.* 163, 10 unser Ich C^{1ad} und Ich C^{1cf}. 183, 21 in vollestem C^{1a} im vollesten C^{1cd} in vollesten C^{1f}. 202, 28 und durch C^{1ad} und nur durch C^{1cf}: *im Druckfehlerverzeichnis* C^{1a} *angeordnet.* 218, 6 Sonnenglanze C^{1a} Sonnenglanz C^{1cdf}. 223, 6 gezwungner C^{1a}

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gezwungener C^{lcdf}. 225, 21 andern C^{la} anders C^{lcdf}. 231, 4 ausgeweideter C^{ladf} ausgeweiteter C^{lc}. 239, 6 Denn C^{ladf} Deun C^{lc} *Drf.* 242, 2 räsonnieren C^{ladf} räsonniren C^{lc}. 248, 2 ausgetreten C^{ladf} angetreten C^{lc}. 268, 1 häufigen C^{lacf} häufige C^{ld}. 268, 5 könne C^{lacf} könnte C^{ld}. 268, 9 annimt C^{ld} *Drf.* 270, 12 dir nächstens C^{lacf} die nächsten C^{ld} *Drf.* 276, 8 sage C^{lacf} sagte C^{ld}. 277, 19 reell C^{lacf} reel C^{ld} *Drf.* 304, 3 fleissiger C^{lacf} fleisiger C^{ld}. 338, 9 ehmaligen C^{lac} ehmahligen C^{lf} ehemaligen C^{ld}. 342, 4 Filistus C^{lacf} Pilistus C^{ld} *Drf.* 368, 23 derselben C^{lacf} desselben C^{ld}. 387, 6 entgegen gesetztes C^{lacf} entgegengesetztes C^{ld}. 387, 13 einmahl C^{lac} einmal C^{ldf}.

Die Drucke gehen meistens seiten- und zeilengleich miteinander, nur auf Bogen X (S. 321–336) bringt der Setzer C^{ld} immer etwas mehr auf die Seite, so dass schliesslich S. 336 nur 17 Zeilen enthält, gegen 26 Zeilen C^{lacf}. In C^{lac} fängt Bogen Bb auf S. 381 an, in C^{ldf} auf S. 385.

Supplemente Zweiter Band. Die Drucke C^{lacf} haben übereinstimmend 471 Seiten, der neu hinzukommende Druck C^{ld} nur 386 Seiten und 1 Blatt. Lesarten: S. 32, 18 (28, 11) singt er C^{la} ging er C^{lcdf}. 36, 8 (31, 11) Des Lebens C^{laf} Der Lebens C^{lcd} *Drf.* 41, 22 (35, 12) läutern C^{la} ändern C^{lcdf}. 52, 16 (44, 16) Bocaccio C^{la} Boccacio C^{lcdf}. 55, 10 (47, 10) spielen C^{la} spielten C^{lcdf}. 66, 19 (56, 15) Bothschaft C^{laf} Botschaft C^{lcd}. 67, 22 (57, 14) Reihn C^{lacf} Reih'n C^{ld}. 70, 8 (59, 14) Stammen C^{la} Staunen C^{lcdf}. 70, 9 (59, 15) Seiten C^{lacf} Seite C^{ld}. 73, 5 (61, 24) Gegend ein. C^{lacf} Gegend. C^{ld}. 73, 15 (62, 5) straks C^{la} stracks C^{lcdf}. 77, 8 (65, 8) Freyheit C^{laf} Freiheit C^{lcd}. 78, 5 (66, 1) würden C^{lacf} wirden C^{ld} *Drf.* 79, 4 (67, 4) trefliches C^{laf} treffliches C^{lcd}. 79, 11 (67, 11) wollen; C^{lacf} wollen, C^{ld}. 81, 20 (69, 14) an; C^{lacf} an: C^{ld}. 82, 2 (69, 17) Kindern C^{la} Kinder C^{lcdf}. 82, 4 (69, 19) schwebten, C^{lacf} schwebten C^{ld}. 86, 19 (73, 16) Palast C^{la} Pallast C^{lcdf}. 91, 20 (77, 21) wollt ich C^{laf} wollt' ich C^{lcd}. 94, 15 (80, 3) zerwehet C^{lacf} verwehet C^{ld}. 95, 23 (81, 5) sanfterröthend C^{lacf} sanft erröthend C^{ld}. 100, 20 (85, 7) verloren C^{lacf} verlohren C^{ld}. 101, 12 (85, 23) Entzückungen C^{lacf} Entzükungen C^{ld}. 104, 13 (88, 13) Der besten Mutter C^{laf} Der Mutter C^{lcd}. 105, 3 (88, 18) ahnungslos C^{la} ahnunglos C^{lcdf}. 116, 15 (98, 13) ihn beklagte C^{lacf} ihm beklagte C^{ld}. (99, 19) gaausamer C^{ld} *Drf.* 119, 8 künf'gen C^{la} *Drf.* (104, 1) nächtlichshwarzer C^{ld} *Drf.* 123, 17 (104, 4) Engelsharfen C^{laf} Engelharfen C^{lcd}. 124, 2 (104, 10) mit festlichen Triumf C^{lacf} mit festlichem Triumf C^{ld}.

Nichts in diesen Lesarten widerspricht der Annahme dass die vier Drucke in der Reihenfolge C^{lafcd} erschienen sind, und dass jeder den Vorhergehenden als Vorlage benutzt habe. Mischexemplare kommen vor: in einem als C^{lc} zu bezeichnenden Exemplare gehört z. B. Bogen E zum Druck C^{la}.

Supplemente Vierter Band. Äusserlich unterscheidet sich der neue Druck C^{ld} nicht von den früher bekannten. Die Reihen-

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folge ist wieder C^{1afcd}, jeder benutzt den Vorgänger als Vorlage. Lesarten: S. 27, 19 ihrem Lieblingen C^{1af} *Drf.* ihren Lieblingen C^{1cd}. 40, 2 Blüthe C^{1acd} Blühte C^{1f}. 53, 20 sagt, Parhasius C^{1af} ssgt, Parhasius C^{1e} sagt, Parrhasius C^{1d}. 57, 1 manchmahl C^{1acf} manchmal C^{1d}. 57, 19 die letzte C^{1af} das letzte C^{1cd}. 60, 29 unzähligen C^{1acf} unzählichen C^{1d}. 67, 17 ahmet .... nach C^{1af} athmet .... nach C^{1cd} *Drf.* 67, 20 hohlet C^{1acf} holet C^{1d}. 71, 10 geriebne C^{1acf} geriebene C^{1d}. 73, 27 bestimmet C^{1acf} bestimmt C^{1d}. 95, 28 das C^{1acf} dasz C^{1d} *Drf.* 106, 4 vervielfacht C^{1acf} verfielfacht C^{1d}. 106, 9 Schar C^{1a} Schaar C^{1cdf}: vgl. 109, 3; 110, 2; 120, 11. 108, 7 konnte C^{1af} konnten C^{1cd} *Drf.* 109, 3 Scharen C^{1af} Schaaren C^{1cd}. 110, 2 Schar C^{1af} Schaar C^{1cd}. 110, 8 umarmete C^{1a} umarmte C^{1cdf}. 110, 19 Knie C^{1acf} Kniee C^{1d}. 111, 17 irdische Hütte C^{1acf} irdische Hülle C^{1d}. 111, 24 Triumfsgesänge C^{1a} Triumpfgesänge C^{1cdf}. 115, 10 Voreltern C^{1af} Vorältern C^{1cd}. 119, 16 sie zu segnen C^{1af} die sie segnen C^{1cd}. 120, 11 Schar C^{1acf} Schaar C^{1d}. Seite 55 hat C^{1a} im Kol.-Titel den Druckfehler TBHEINB.

Supplemente Fünfter Band. Auch hier kommt C^{1d} als neuer Druck hinzu. Lesarten: 1. Teil, S. 5, 20 wider C^{1acd} wieder C^{1f}. 68, 12.13 Was ist Adel der Geburt? Was ist hoher Stand? C^{1adf} *fehlt* C^{1e}. 78, 24 ihrem Gesichts C^{1a} *Drf.* ihrem Gesichte C^{1d} ihrem Gesicht C^{1ef}. 83, 9 retten! C^{1ad} retten? C^{1cf}. 94, 22 Verändernng C^{1c} *Drf.* 100, 13 selbst C^{1ad} selber C^{1cf}. 116, 4 ihrer C^{1ad} Ihrer C^{1cf}. 2. Teil, S. 7, 12 meine guten C^{1af} meine gute C^{1cd}. 9, 8 Händewerck C^{1a} Händewerk C^{1cdf}. 22, 16.18 glaub er C^{1acf} glaub' er C^{1d}. 31, 3 widerstehen C^{1acf} wiederstehen C^{1d}. 32, 7 Werkstztt C^{1a} *Drf.* 34, 9 Es soll C^{1a} Er soll C^{1cdf}. 34, 20 zum Geschenk C^{1af} zum Gebrauch C^{1cd}. 35, 20 verschlieszen C^{1acf} verschliesen C^{1d}. 37, 11 kommts du C^{1cd} *Drf.* 41, 24 Hylas C^{1acf} HyIas C^{1d} *Drf.* 45, 10 Narrr C^{1d} *Drf.* 47, 7 bleiben und C^{1a} bleiben will und C^{1cdf}. 80, 6 Werthe C^{1af} Werth C^{1cd}. 80, 24.25 angenehmst-seltsamste C^{1acf} angenehmste seltsamste C^{1d}. 81, 28 konten C^{1a} konnten C^{1cdf}. 83, 1 angebornem C^{1af} angebornen C^{1cd}. 85, 13.14 Johann C^{1acf} Iohann C^{1d}. 90, 24 Frauenzimmer-Republik C^{1a} Frauenzimmerrepublik C^{1cdf}. 97, 9 affentheurliche C^{1adf} affentheuerliche C^{1e}. 99, 20 dopelten C^{1a} doppelten C^{1cdf}. 102, 22 wäre: C^{1acf} wäre; C^{1d}. 106, 3 Fuchsjägerin C^{1a} Fuszjägerin C^{1cdf}. 108, 1 Herr Johann C^{1a} Hr. Johann C^{1cf} Hr. Iohann C^{1d}. 111, 29 Trotz C^{1acf} Trots C^{1d} *Drf.* 112, 6 herkommen C^{1ac} Herkommen C^{1df}. 113, 1 scheuslichsten C^{1acf} scheuszlichsten C^{1d} (*ähnlich* Z. 9, 18). 113, 17 Nachtbecken C^{1a} Nachdenken C^{1cdf}. 119, 9 belustigten C^{1af} belustigen C^{1cd} Im 1. Teil hat C^{1d} anstatt 104 die Seitenzahl 124; im 2. Teil hat C^{1d} auf Bogen KMNO die Norm: Wielands W. Suppl. B. V. anstatt: Wielands W. Suppl. V. B.

Das Verhältnis der Drucke zu einander lässt sich nicht genau bestimmen: stellenweise haben C^{1cdf} übereinstimmende Lesarten (z. B. 2. Tl. S. 34, 9; 47, 7; 90, 24; 106, 3; 113, 17); weder C^{1d} noch C^{1f} kann jedoch als Vorlage für die andern beiden gedient

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haben, denn an den wichtigen Stellen 1. Tl. 83, 9; 100, 13; 116, 4 stimmt C^{1d} mit C^{1a} überein, während dagegen im 2. Tl. S. 7, 12; 34, 20; 80, 6; 83, 1 C^{1f} mit C^{1a} geht. Man muss also einen unbekannten Druck als Quelle der den Drucken C^{1df} gemeinsamen Lesarten ansehen.

SUPPLEMENTE SECHSTER BAND. Zu den früher verzeichneten Drucken C^{1acf} tritt wieder der neue Druck C^{1d}. Lesarten: S. 17, 12 öfnen C^{1a} öffnen C^{1cdf}. 30, 13 schwärmerischem C^{1ad} schwärmerischen C^{1cf}. 51, 23 Derjenigen C^{1ad} Diejenigen C^{1cf}. 61, 12 ikren C^{1a} *Drf*. 62, 26 aber, C^{1adf} aber; C^{1c}. 82, 1 wem C^{1ad} wenn C^{1cf} *Drf*. 88, 12 Todenopfer C^{1ad} Todtenopfer C^{1cf}. 94, 26 Perspeksiv C^{1a} *Drf*. 97, 27 vollendende C^{1adf} vollendete C^{1c}. 99, 23 Sollt C^{1af} Sollt' C^{1d} Sollte C^{1c}. 234, 27 Eedelsten C^{1a} *Drf*. 235, 15 Mit-Erben C^{1acf} Mit Erben C^{1d}. 238, 27 richtig-zartem C^{1af} richtig-zarterm C^{1c} richtig zartem C^{1d}. 241, 4 betrift C^{1adf} betrifft C^{1c}. 246, 3 grünlich-dunkle C^{1acf} gründlich-dunkle C^{1d}. 246, 10 weisen Glut C^{1acf} weiszen Glut C^{1d}. 247, 3 anerkannt C^{1acf} erkannt C^{1d}. 247, 23 Brocksische C^{1adf} Brockische C^{1c}. 250, 9 allein C^{1acf} alleir C^{1d} *Drf*. 253, 26 ausgedruckt C^{1acf} ausgedrückt C^{1d}. 260, 20 der in C^{1acf} die in C^{1d} *Drf*. 263, 24 wir C^{1acf} mir C^{1d} *Drf*. 267, 7; 284, 1 drammatischen C^{1af} dramatischen C^{1cd}. 267, 15 hatte C^{1acf} natte C^{1d} *Drf*. 268, 19 des C^{1acf} dhs C^{1d} *Drf*. 269, 3 Colloredoischen C^{1acf} Colloredischen C^{1d}. 276, 6 ausgesteurt C^{1af} ausgesteuert C^{1cd}. 276, 18 was C^{1acf} wss C^{1d} *Drf*. 284 19 sehr angenehm C^{1acf} mehr angenehm C^{1d}. 285, 18 Gallotti C^{1ad} Galloti C^{1cf}. 287, 25 Ayrenenhof C^{1af} *Drf*. Ayrenhof C^{1cd}. 290, 10 haben C^{1acf} hahen C^{1d} *Drf*. 291, 11 vsrliesz C^{1a} *Drf*. 292, 27 deren C^{1acf} derer C^{1d}. 294, 5 Voltäre C^{1adf} Voltaire C^{1c}.

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LX

CERVANTES AND TIECK'S IDEALISM

IN the development of Ludwig Tieck 1795 and 1796 were decisive years. For several years previous to 1795 Tieck had been given to a pessimistic and rather negative view of life, according to which human existence seemed to have but little meaning, and poetry, art, and idealism appeared to him to be delusions. While this nihilistic tendency held sway over Tieck's mind not even the works of Goethe, Shakespeare, or Cervantes, which he had read eagerly ever since early boyhood, or his friendship with Wackenroder represented saving forces in his life. *William Lovell*, Tieck's novel of almost seven hundred pages, adequately reflects the distressed state of his mind during this early period of his life, although the work was written for the most part after the worst throes of his pessimism and despair had spent their force.

In the fall of the year 1794 Tieck returned at the age of twenty-one from the University of Göttingen to his home in Berlin. Being solely dependent upon his pen for a livelihood, he was glad to enter the employ of the well-known Berlin publisher, Christoph Friedrich Nicolai, and to continue for him the light, satirical stories begun by Musäus and Johannes Müller in the series called *Straussfedern*. Thus it came about that for several years the man who was later proclaimed as the leading literary genius of the Romantic School in Germany served his apprenticeship in the workshop of one of the chief forces of the Enlightenment.

But in 1796 we find Tieck inaugurating his series of *Volksmärchen* with the drama *Blaubart*. In the preface to the second installment of his works Tieck says that when he produced the *Volksmärchen* he was in a veritable glow of enthusiasm for the great masters of literature: Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Goethe. He writes,

> Alles dasjenige, was ich zu besitzen glaubte, verwandelte sich fast plötzlich in einen anderen, höheren Reichtum, der alles Dürftige, Alltägliche und Unbedeutende, das Leben selbst durch Glanz und Freude erhöhte. Dies war das innigere Gefühl der Poesie, ein Entzücken, das unmittelbar aus den Werken der Kunst die Seele durchdrang und durch ein geistigeres Auffassen, als auf dem Wege der Beobachtung und des Verstandes, dem begeisterten Sinne das Wesen der Poesie aufschlosz. Wie anders stellte sich mir jetzt das Prachtgebäude der groszen Er-

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findungen Shakespeares dar!—die tiefe Weisheit des Britten und Cervantes—die geistige Schönheit Goethes—Das Drama *Blaubart* war die erste Frucht jener trunken poetischen Stimmung gewesen.

Blaubart and the other *Volksmärchen* contain indeed a spirit quite different from that of *William Lovell* and reflect much of the poetic enthusiasm of Tieck's newly-acquired outlook upon life.

The question presents itself: just what leaven was at work in Tieck in 1795–96 to restore his faith in art, poetry, and the things of the imagination? Surely, there must have been something leading him on from the rather negative and pessimistic *William Lovell* to the more optimistic *Blaubart*, in which, according to Tieck's own statement, his idealism first fully revealed itself. Köpke's list of the works composed by Tieck during this transitional period contains the following: *Das Schicksal*; *Die männliche Mutter*; *Die Rechtsgelehrten*; *Die Brüder*; *Die Versöhnung*; *Peter Lebrecht*, published in two parts; a revision of *Karl von Berneck*; *Hanswurst als Emigrant*; a fragment of a commentary on Shakespeare's *Richard II*; the first draft of *Der junge Tischlermeister*; *William Lovell*, books 5 to 10; the lyric poems: *Trauer*, *Sicherheit*, *Leben*, *Rausch und Wahn*, *Geistergespräch*, and *Ariel*; *Der Fremde*; *Die beiden merkwürdigsten Tage aus Siegmunds Leben*; *Ulrich der Empfindsame*; *Fermer der Geniale*; *Der Naturfreund*; *Die gelehrte Gesellschaft*; *Der Psycholog*; and *Die Teegesellschaft*. The attempt of the present investigation is, then, to point out the idealism manifested in such of Tieck's works as really belong to this transitional period of his life and are truly representative of it and further to show the source from which that faith derives.[1]

The prime moving factor in establishing Tieck's faith in idealism as revealed in *Blaubart* and the other *Volksmärchen*, was, it seems to me, his discovery in 1795–96 of a deeper meaning contained in the novel *Don Quixote*.

Tieck had indeed known and admired Cervantes' masterpiece very early in life and he continued to read it throughout his entire boyhood and youth. Köpke narrates the powerful emotions which the book aroused in Tieck when as a mere lad he first made its acquaintance:

[1] Neither *Karl von Berneck* nor *William Lovell* should be counted among the works of this transitional period. The conception of both belongs to a previous era; both represent, in the main, the artistic reproduction of earlier moods, more rarely the actual recurrence of such moods.

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Er griff nach dem Buche, ohne von dem Titel und dem Namen des Verfassers je gehört zu haben.—Stehenden Fuszes begann er zu blättern, zu lesen.—Er konnte das Buch nicht wieder aus der Hand legen.—Die Freundschaft mit Cervantes war fürs Leben geschlossen.

At the University of Göttingen in 1792 Tieck embraced with true ardor the opportunity afforded him by the instruction of his able teacher Tychsen and learned enough Spanish to read *Don Quixote* in the original. "Sobald es seine Kräfte irgend erlaubten, machte er sich an diesen, und lange Zeit war er sein täglicher Begleiter," says Köpke. Tieck's devotion to *Don Quixote*—if one may anticipate—finally culminated in 1798–99 in his translation of the whole work, the first really satisfactory rendering of the production into German. We know, too, that in 1798 and again in 1818 Tieck was seriously at work upon a comprehensive critical study of *Don Quixote* and Cervantes. It may confidently be asserted, however—and this is the important point—that up to the time when Tieck accepted employment with Nicolai, he had read the novel merely as an entertaining tale, being amused by the strange exploits of the knight and his odd squire, but without more than the faintest inkling of a higher significance in the work.

But in 1795–96 Tieck suddenly became conscious of the fact that the novel contained a deeper meaning.[2] The circumstance

[2] The interpretation of *Don Quixote* at which Tieck arrived in 1795–96 later became the current romantic attitude toward Cervantes' novel. This attitude, which differed radically from the previous rationalistic understanding of that work, regarded with extravagant and uncritical approval every manifestation of Don Quixote's idealism. Chamisso, for example, in his poem, "Don Quixote," voices in unmistakable terms this overwrought romantic view (*D.N.L.*, CXLVIII, 120). It was only later, probably under the influence of Goethe's deep insight into the true significance of Cervantes' immortal creation (*D.N.L.*, CXIII, 69), that Tieck recognized fully the foolhardiness of Don Quixote's impetuous attempts to realize his ideals in life immediately and by the employment of quite impractical means. Tieck writes in 1833: "Das, was noch in ihnen [the romances of chivalry] poetisch war, oder jenes Phantastische, was das Unmögliche erstrebte, sowie die schönen Sitten der Ritterzeit, alles Dies durfte der ehrsame Herr Quixada wohl in einem feinen Sinne bewahren, ja sich zu jener adligen Tugend seines eingebildeten Ritters hinan erziehn;—wenn er nicht darauf ausgegangen wäre, diese Fabelwelt in der wirklichen aufzusuchen und in diesem von Sonne und Mond zugleich beschienenen Gemälde den Mittelpunkt und die Hauptfigur selbst zu formiren. . . . . Nun aber zog er aus, alles Das, was ihm begeisternd vorschwebte, selbst zu erleben; jenes unsichtbare Wunder, welches ihn reizte, wollte er mit seinen körperlichen Händen erfassen und als einen Besitz sich aneignen" ("Eine Sommerreise," *Schriften*, XXIII, 47). Walzel gives only qualified approval to the first of these two interpretations of *Don Quixote* by Tieck, i.e., the current romantic conception, when

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which led Tieck just at this time to perceive in *Don Quixote* a meaning far more subtle and profound than had ever been apparent to him before was his sudden awareness of the wide difference of spirit between himself and his employer, Nicolai, and his almost simultaneous interpretation of this antithesis in terms of Cervantes' novel.

Tieck, one is almost constrained to believe, would not have entered the employ of Nicolai if he had realized what the latter really stood for. But Nicolai's bizarre improvisation of *Don Carlos* during his very first meeting with Tieck, his bland commission to Tieck to work over in the prevailing taste of the Berlin public the old novels which he sent him by the basketload, his ridiculously patronizing admonitions to the gifted young writer in his service, and his obviously flat and insipid outlook upon life—all these things must have made Tieck see almost at once that a vast gulf lay between himself and Nicolai. In the midst of Tieck's dark gropings at the time, this conviction at least must have stood out clearly in his mind.

It was natural and psychological, therefore, especially in view of his constant preoccupation with *Don Quixote* during this very time, for Tieck to regard this contrast between himself and Nicolai in terms of that great work. In other words, Tieck's own peculiar relationship with Nicolai must now have called powerfully to his attention the very similar relationship which existed between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

Of this relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza the philosopher Schelling says:

> Das Thema im Ganzen ist das Reale im Kampfe mit dem Idealen.—Für den Geist ist die notwendige Begleitung des Helden, Sancho Panza, gleichsam ein unaufhörlicher Festtag; eine unversiegbare Quelle der Ironie ist geöffnet und ergieszt sich in kühnen Spielen.—Das Ideale in der Person des Helden—die ausgesuchte Gemeinheit des Entgegengesetzten.[3]

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he refers to it as "die allmählich aufdämmernde Erkenntnis, dasz *Don Quixote* mehr sei als eine Satire gegen Überschwenglichkeit, die Vorbereitung einer minder engherzigen Auffassung, als es die der Aufklärung gewesen war." (*JBL*, XXV, 1914, II, 749.) Of the second interpretation Walzel says, apparently with more marked concurrence of opinion, "Aber wie Goethe erhebt der alternde Tieck jetzt bei aller Fortdauer der Verehrung von einst im Namen des Realismus Einwände gegen den irrigen und eingeschränkten Idealismus des Ritters von der traurigen Gestalt. Er selbst lernt jetzt aus dem Roman den künstlerischen Realismus, den er für seine Novellen benötigt" (*op. cit.*, p. 750).

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Similarly A. W. Schlegel, Charles Lamb, Heinrich Heine, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Professor Schevill, and many others extol the idealism of Don Quixote and deprecate the prosaic vulgarity of Sancho Panza. Traill in his *Laurence Sterne* drastically refers to Sancho Panza as "this creature with no more tincture of romantic idealism than a wine-skin."

Tieck, who had never before understood the wider import of his favorite novel, began in 1795–96 to recognize its great value, particularly for the development of his own spiritual life. Tieck began to sense the grand idealism pervading *Don Quixote*. "L'esprit du poète espagnol commence à y souffler doucement," says Bertrand, speaking precisely of this period of Tieck's life.[4] What had been to Tieck heretofore merely an entrancing narrative now began to assume the aspect of a saving gospel.

The first effect of this discovery of a deeper meaning contained in the novel was that Tieck began to identify Nicolai with Sancho Panza and to make him stand in his own mind for all that was unpoetic, banal, and trivial in art and life. To be sure, the romanticists went too far, perhaps, in depreciating the work of Nicolai. Yet, on the whole, the dictum of Muncker may be said to characterize Nicolai fairly—"für seinen literarischen Ruhm war er mindestens um zwei Jahrzehnte zu spät gestorben."[5]

At first one might perhaps be inclined to doubt whether Tieck actually recognized any great similarity between Nicolai and Sancho Panza. Surely, one might think, there can be no real point of comparison between the wealthy, respected publisher in the capital of Prussia, living at the height of the reigning culture of his day, and Cervantes' creation—the poor, benighted, obscure peasant in a remote province of Spain, without education or cultural background of any kind? "But those who do not allow accidental and external dissimilarities to obscure for them the inward and essential resemblances of things" (to quote the words of Traill about Laurence Sterne) will be astonished at the likenesses really existing between the two. There are actually no less than eight cardinal points in which the Weltanschauungen and personal characteristics of Nicolai and Sancho Panza coincide.

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[3] Schelling, *Sämtliche Werke*, Stuttgart und Augsburg, Cotta, V, Abteilung I, 679.

[4] Bertrand, *Cervantes et le Romantisme Allemand*, Paris, 1914, p. 217.

[5] *Allg. deut. Biogr.*, XXIII, 589.

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First, both utterly reject the imagination as a source of truth and rely upon prosaic common sense for their interpretation of life.

Second, both are incurably utilitarian.

Third, both lack breadth of vision and variety of interests, since the whole subconscious world has been purposely excluded from their scheme of things.

Fourth, both demand in art, poetry, and life little more than the moralizing and didactic.

Fifth, both are amazingly superficial and lack all real depth of culture and of the emotions in the wider sense.

Sixth, both are essentially unrefined of spirit.

Seventh, both make a great pretence to extreme sophistication and yet both are ready victims of deceit.

Eighth, both are extremely self-complacent and completely and wholly satisfied with their own little narrow outlook upon life.

The more Tieck saw of Nicolai and the more he regarded him from this new point of view, the more, we can imagine, he came to detest the outlook on the world which Nicolai seemed so completely to represent. The tales in the *Straussfedern* thenceforth began to aim much of their satire at Nicolai and the whole world of rationalism for which he stood, and soon the break between Tieck and Nicolai became inevitable.

But there was another, more positive, and far more important effect of Tieck's discovery of a deeper meaning in *Don Quixote*. Tieck began to identify himself with the hero of Cervantes' novel and thus became aware of his own hitherto slumbering idealism. For there was one bit of inchoate idealism which Tieck had cherished from his earliest boyhood, and that was a faith in his own ability to clothe his thoughts in literary form. Tieck early knew that he could write, entertainingly at least; he fostered this talent, and even during the gloomy days of his pessimism his faith in his art never wholly deserted him. It was the force in his early life which sporadically came closest to restoring his lost mental equilibrium. As Köpke states, "Nicht anders, wenn er Selbstbeherrschung genug gewann, um sich dichterisch auszusprechen. Dann war er wieder mit sich eins. Hier war es, wo die Wurzeln seines Lebens lagen."

It is especially to be noted, further, that Tieck had always had a sort of subconscious faith in the idealism of Cervantes, Goethe, and Shakespeare. He had read the productions of these masterminds eagerly since boyhood and the embryonic faith in idealism

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which this reading must have conjured up in his boyish soul certainly was present, although latent, even during the *Lovell* period of his life. Until 1795–96, however, Tieck had not ardently embraced any theory of life and art. Nothing had as yet compelled him to do so. "In dem Zweifel, jemals zu einer Erkenntnis der Wahrheit zu gelangen, erschien es ihm wohl gleichgültig, welchem Herrn er diente."[6] But there was unquestionably present within him from early youth a latent spark of faith in the idealism of Cervantes, Goethe, and Shakespeare, and his discovery of the deeper meaning in *Don Quixote* suddenly fanned this spark into flame.[7]

The romantic idealism which affected Tieck so strongly in *Don Quixote* may be conveniently summarized under the following four heads: love for the absolute and divine, love for woman, love for great achievements in art, and transcendent love for ideal art and for the freedom of the poetic imagination as shown by an abundant use of romantic irony.[8]

Through all the satire and harlequinade in *Don Quixote* there is plainly evident a true appreciation of the infinitely complex mystery of life, a genuine love and enthusiasm for understanding and knowledge, and an attempt to draw near to the eternal source of all being, in short a love for the absolute and divine. Don Quixote believes unswervingly in the freedom of the human will and in its power to subdue evil and to triumph over it. He has faith in virtue and its ability to ennoble the human spirit; indeed, he considers it able to beautify even the body as well. A life of virtue is in fullest harmony with the world order and he is convinced that in the long run ideals must be realized. A kind fate leads the virtuous on through life and finally gives them an eternal reward in a spiritual life beyond the grave.

Don Quixote plainly shows furthermore Cervantes' romantic faith in the harmonizing effects of man's love for woman. There is clearly visible in Don Quixote a simple, genuine respect for womanhood and a wholesome faith in the purifying and exalting character of man's relations to woman. The power of love of man for woman is emphasized by Cervantes and its spiritual quality is tersely expressed. Married people are enjoined to believe firmly

[6] Görte, *Der junge Tieck und die Aufklärung*, p. 96.

[7] Tieck was undoubtedly also influenced at this time by the *Novelas ejemplares* of Cervantes. Cf. *Schriften*, XXVIII, 5.

[8] Walzel, *Deutsche Romantik*, I, 23.

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in the unique character of their union; devotion to his loved one in the face of death is placed even before commending one's soul to one's Maker. But it is particularly in the tenderness and sweetness with which Don Quixote regards his ideal, the beloved Dulcinea, that we find true romantic love for woman. Dulcinea is indeed no real personage; she is actually nothing more than a figment of the knight's poetic fancy, but it is only Don Quixote's ideal that matters here, his romantic belief in the unifying effect of man's love for woman.

The third romantic element in *Don Quixote* appears in the many evidences of Cervantes' love for great art and even for his own artistic efforts, despite the apparently frivolous attitude he assumes toward artistic works and the products of his own pen. Cervantes believes first of all in the supremacy of poetry over all other fields of human endeavor. This is brought out strikingly in Don Quixote's great discourse on poetry with the Knight of the Green Mantle. "Poetry, gentle sir," he says, "is, as I take it, like a tender young maiden of supreme beauty, to array, bedeck, and adorn whom is the task of several other maidens, who are all the rest of the sciences; and she must avail herself of the help of all, and all derive their lustre from her."[9]

Regarding the sacred character of the poetic mission, Cervantes remarks, "History [i.e., poetry] is a sacred kind of writing, because truth is essential to it; and where truth is, there God himself is, so far as truth is concerned, notwithstanding which, there are those who compose books and toss them out into the world like fritters." The art of poetry, Cervantes believes, should never be pressed into the service of shameful satires or lascivious sonnets; it is not venal; it is made of such fine metal that it may be readily transmuted under the deft touch of a skilled artist into vessels of purest gold. The higher truth of poetry must be vindicated by the poet, even at the peril of his own life. "Poetry is the light of truth to the myriads that walk in the dark." "In the last analysis," says Cervantes, "there are no books so bad that they do not contain some good." The mission of poetry is fulfilled even in humorous form as in Don Quixote, although mere sport should not be its prime motive. Poets, untrue to their real mission, Cervantes suggests, should be banished to "the isle of the lizards."

[9] All citations from *Don Quixote* are from the translation by Charles Jarvis, Crissy and Markley, Philadelphia, 1848.

[10] Kummer, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, I, 49.

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The true poet has in him the quality of divinity, he is not made but born:

for it is a true opinion, that the poet is a born one; the meaning of which is, that a natural poet comes forth a poet from his mother's womb, and with this talent given him by Heaven, and without further study or art, composes things, which verify the saying, Est deus in nobis, etc.

The profession of poetry may not indeed be a practical one, but it is at least honorable, and he who exercises it in a high spirit deserves to attain great renown and an imperishable wreath of laurel.

Cervantes doubtless had great faith in his own poetic powers, for, with the pardonable pride of one who has successfully carried out a difficult task, he exults in *Don Quixote* over the numerous editions of the first part of his book:

And thus . . . . I have merited the honor of being in print, in all or most of the nations in the world. Thirty thousand copies are already published of my history, and it is in the way of coming to thirty thousand thousands more, if Heaven prevent it not.

The light and careless tone of the narrative in *Don Quixote* may suggest to the casual reader a lack of seriousness of intention on the part of the author and a deficiency of interest in the highest problems of life. But that this impression is untrue is shown by the abundant use that Cervantes makes of romantic irony in this novel. Romantic irony may briefly be defined here as an author's intentional destruction of the illusion in his literary production in order, "sich und den Kunstgenieszenden auf die höchste Stufe der Freiheit [zu] erheben, die Meisterschaft über den Stoff auf das Äuszerste [zu] treiben und damit alles Stoffliche im Kunstwerk [zu] verzehren."[10] Romantic irony is thus to show forth, among other things, the infinite superiority of the author's ideal over his actual creation. Of the romantic irony in *Don Quixote* Ricarda Huch says:

Als das grosze Muster des Romans betrachteten die Romantiker den *Don Quixote*. Hier fanden sie die Mischung aller Formen, in den Gang des Ganzen eingestreute Novellen und Lieder, sie fanden jeden Ton des Ernstes und Scherzes angeschlagen und alle die Teile des mannigfaltigen Chaos verbunden durch den Geist des Dichters, der darüber schwebt, leicht und mächtig, frei, herrschend, ein Lichtäther, der alles durchdringt und es hell und kenntlich macht: die romantische Ironie.

Cervantes aims his irony largely at the reader, whom he con-

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siders in large measure responsible for the low aims of many artists; at the inferior type of literary productions of his day, which serve to crowd out the better productions; and at himself, for he wishes constantly to serve notice upon the world that if he, the author, were a greater personality his creations would come nearer to the realization of the ideal than is actually the case.

Only a few instances will be cited here of Cervantes' use of romantic irony directed at the reader. In relating the adventure of Don Quixote with the fulling-mill, Cervantes, suddenly turning to his reader, remarks: "and it was (if, reader, thou art not disgusted and disappointed) six fulling hammers which by their alternate strokes made all the din." In another place the author jocularly observes, "and finally encountered them in the grove, where all that the sagacious reader has been reading about took place."

The highest idealism is expressed by Cervantes also in his romantic irony directed against what he considers the greatest evil in his generation: the lack of faith in the things of the spirit displayed in the insipid romances of chivalry. With reference to these books Cervantes says:

> And I shall remain satisfied and proud to have been the first who has enjoyed the fruit of his writings as fully as he could desire; for my desire has been no other than to deliver over to the detestation of mankind the false and foolish tales of the books of chivalry, which, thanks to that of my true *Don Quixote*, are even now tottering and doubtless doomed to fall forever.

There are also many instances in *Don Quixote* of romantic irony directed against the author and his work. In comparing himself with the ideal poet, Cervantes is convinced of his own shortcomings. He knows that he is careless and slovenly in his work and does not hesitate to charge himself with these faults. Near the beginning of the story, for instance, the barber exclaims, "That Cervantes has been a great friend of mine these many years and I know that he is better acquainted with misfortune than with poetry. His book has somewhat of invention in it; he proposes something, but concludes nothing." Sancho says of Cervantes, "Does the author aim at money and profit? It will be a wonder, then, if he succeeds—for works that are done hastily are never finished with that perfection they require." Carrasco says, "Some have taxed the author's memory as faulty or treacherous, in

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forgetting to tell us who the thief was that stole Sancho's Dapple.—It was also objected that he has omitted to mention what Sancho did with the hundred crowns he found."

This spontaneous romantic idealism expressed in *Don Quixote* fired Tieck's imagination and practically determined the spirit and tone of most of his works written in 1795–96. In these works, just as in *Don Quixote*, we find, amidst much satire and lack of faith in things as they are, noble striving after spiritual values, supreme love for woman, and exalted enthusiasm for genuine art, together with a profuse display of romantic irony, testifying to the author's belief in the sublimity of the ideal in art and in the ultimate inadequacy of all actual attempts at its concrete expression.

Notwithstanding Tieck's scepticism and despair up to the year 1795 and the echoes of these melancholy moods still to be found in his literary productions of the years 1795–96, there is noticeable in his works of this later period a growing faith in things of the spirit and love for them. Life is to him no longer an inexplicable charade, but he begins to have more than vague intimations of a larger truth that give him real satisfaction. Tieck had suddenly come to recognize the deep faith in ideals embodied in *Don Quixote*, and this faith had stimulated his own. Evidences of this new faith are easily found in the works written in this period of his life. Tieck says of Cervantes:

> So ist sein *Don Quixote* wohl das einzige Buch, in welchem Laune, Lust, Scherz, Ernst und Parodie, Poesie und Witz, das Abenteuerlichste der Phantasie und das Herbste des wirklichen Lebens zum echten Kunstwerk ist erhoben worden.[11]

In the first place, like *Don Quixote*, these works display a love for the absolute and divine. Every noble mind, exclaims Peter Lebrecht, strives to awaken from the lethargy which binds it to the merely physical. Omar, in *Die Brüder*, experiences the keenest spiritual raptures as he gazes up into the starlit sky and adores the majesty of God. Enthusiasm for spiritual love engenders in man a true understanding of and sympathy for humanity. It is the greatest treasure in life and opens our eyes to the hidden mysteries of existence. In *Peter Lebrecht* Tieck exclaims:

> Staaten und Familien werden durch diesen groszen Magnet [cosmic love] in ihrem Gange erhalten, und die Schwärmerei einiger Philosophen

[11] Ludwig Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*, II, 256.

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ist eben so natürlich als verzeihlich, wenn sie den Zusammenhang des ganzen Weltgebäudes durch eine grosze allgemeine Liebe erklären wollten.[12]

Also to be found in Tieck's works of this period, as in *Don Quixote*, are instances of a high faith in the elevating influence of man's love for woman. "Ach Freund," says Löwenstein in the story *Der Fremde*, "die Liebe stärkt unser Auge, auch in der trübsten Verworrenheit ein reizendes harmonisches Ganze zu finden." This is exactly what Walzel means when he says that man reestablishes his pristine inner harmony through love for woman.[13] Such moments of harmony ensue when man is in the transports of intoxication, be it of love for woman, of music, or even of wine.[14] On the day of his wedding, we are told, "Löwenstein war auf dem höchsten Gipfel seiner Wonne, Musik und Wein begeisterten ihn so sehr, dasz er beinahe in eine frohe Laune verfiel, die an den Wahnsinn grenzte." These ecstasies of love are also called "Enthusiasmus" by Tieck.[15] The lot of the person who has never been swayed by an overpowering love, says Tieck in *Peter Lebrecht*, is sad indeed:

> O wer nie geliebt hat, gleicht dem Wurm, der in seinem eignen engen Gespinnste stirbt: er lebt in einem trüben, beschränkten Eigennutz, er kennt nur den schlechtern Teil seines Wesens.

Tieck's works of 1795–96 also afford abundant evidence of his growing faith, stimulated no doubt by *Don Quixote*, in great art and also in his own literary compositions. He was gradually coming to realize the validity of art and its power to exalt the human emotions and to see in the productions of all true poets suggestions of the highest truth that might guide him through life. In these works poetry appears to Tieck to be something basic in the lives of men; he is convinced that even the most "enlightened" believe in premonitions, for the reason that such belief is a sort of natural poetry implanted in their souls. Peter Lebrecht habitually has recourse to this poetic mood for spiritual support in times of stress and of great emotional fervor. "Ich überliesz mich meiner

[12] All citations from Tieck's works are from *Ludwig Tiecks Schriften*, Reimer, 1828–46.

[13] Walzel, *Deutsche Romantik*, I, 23.

[14] Huch, *Blütezeit der Romantik*, p. 125.

[15] Walzel, too (*Deutsche Romantik*, I, 25), calls this manifestation "Enthusiasmus."

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poetischen Stimmung," he says, "Mein Herz war warm geworden und es wäre mir etwas Leichtes gewesen, in Versen zu sprechen."

For the achievements of great artists Tieck shows great admiration. His enthusiasm for Shakespeare, for instance, is prodigious. Peter Lebrecht experiences nowhere on any of his other journeys such a genuinely spiritual thrill as on his pilgrimage to the house in Stratford-on-Avon:

> Ich sah im Geiste den groszen Sterblichen dort durch die Zimmer gehen, ich belauschte ihn bei seinen Arbeiten, die seiner Feder entfloszen zu sein scheinen, ohne dasz er selbst ihr hohes Gepräge, ihre Göttlichkeit geahndet hat.

Goethe's writings similarly are extolled by Tieck as being representative of the newer, finer ideal in poetry. In *Ulrich der Empfindsame* we are told,

> denn es waren damals manche von den modernen Stücken [particularly the works of Goethe are meant here] noch nicht geschrieben, die die Vorurteile so gewaltig bekämpfen, und gegen die unsre Ältern [Nicolai and the rationalists] daher so heftig eifern.

Later in the same story we read:

> Es taten sich daher langweilige Schriftsteller zusammen, die die bessern Stücke [those of Goethe and Schiller], die gar zu leicht einen Respekt vor der Kunst einflöszen könnten, verdrängten.

Clavigo, which in another place Tieck calls "in seiner Weise vollendet," is mentioned several times in *Fermer der Geniale*, as is also Goethe's *Stella*. The English novel, *Tristram Shandy*, is praised by Tieck in *Ulrich der Empfindsame*, and it is evident that from Sterne he derived at least some of his romantic irony.[16]

Tieck, too, like Cervantes, shows signs of growing faith in the intrinsic worth of his own art productions. To be sure, Tieck expresses this faith in a purposely careless and humorous manner, but behind the jest and the satirical thrusts the careful reader may discern the author's almost wistful, childlike belief in the permanent value of his literary work. Thus in *Peter Lebrecht*:

> Wenn also zuweilen jemand von den—Geister- und Rittergeschichten müde und betäubt weggeht, um sich zu erholen, und ich habe ihm nicht ganz miszfallen, so kann er mich am kleinen See vor meiner Tür sitzend antreffen und ich will ihm dann auf meine Art meine Geschichte weiter

[16] Sterne, in turn, owes much of his romantic irony to Cervantes. Cf. Cross *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, I, 128.

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vorschwatzen, die freilich kein Grausen, kein Zähnklappen erregt; aber desto besser, so kommen meine Zuhörer wenigstens ohne Fieber davon.

But it is in his use of romantic irony that Tieck betrays most plainly the influence of *Don Quixote* upon his own work, for thereby he proves his inherent seriousness of purpose and his possession of a powerful and abiding love for the ideal in all art. In the case of Tieck, as of Cervantes, the romantic irony concerns itself first with the reader, then with the environment of the author and the contemptible literature of the day, and finally with the author himself and his art.

Tieck aims many of the shafts of his ridicule at the reader, for he doubtless feels that the vulgar, inferior type of reader is the greatest foe of the ideal in art. Tieck continually patronizes the reader and laughs at him up his sleeve. Such expressions as the following abound in Tieck's works of the period under discussion:

> Der geneigte aufmerksame Leser mag entscheiden; . . . . ob sie sich irrten oder nicht, wird der Leser aus dem Verfolge dieser Erzählung erfahren; . . . . Da mir aber Deine [the reader's] Bekanntschaft gar zu teuer ist, so will ich wenigstens vorher alles mögliche versuchen um dich festzuhalten; lies daher wenigstens das erste Kapitel, und wenn wir uns nachher nicht wiedersehen sollten, so lebe tausendmal wohl.

Sometimes Tieck addresses his public with mock solicitude for satisfying the taste of his reader: "Um deine Gunst zu gewinnen, müszte ich meine Erzählung ungefähr folgendermaszen anfangen." Or again he directly upbraids the reader for his stupidity:

> Ich kann Dir [the reader] nicht das Vergnügen machen, Sachen zu erzählen, von denen Du nicht eine Sylbe verstehst; . . . . Auch das schlechte und unrichtige Deutsch [in mother Marthe's story in *Peter Lebrecht*] würde mich nicht abhalten, ihre Erzählung wörtlich nachzuschreiben, denn viele Leser würden die Unrichtigkeiten gar nicht bemerken; . . . . Ich schreibe diese Geschichte also nicht aus einem Gefängnisse, noch weniger den Tag vor meiner Hinrichtung, ob es Ihnen [the reader] gleich vielleicht auszerordentlich vielen Spasz machen würde.

High idealism is reflected in Tieck's irony toward what he considers one of the greatest limitations of his age: the unbelieving rationalistic attitude manifested in the literary output of the writers of the "Enlightenment," and especially of Nicolai. Tieck takes a very positive stand against the current reading matter of his age. He says in the story, *Die Teegesellschaft*, "Ich versichre Dich, dasz ich manchmal lieber den Sprüchen von alten Wahr-

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sagerweibern zuhöre, als die gewöhnlichen vernünftigen Bücher lese." And again, in *Fermer der Geniale*, "Der Leser darf nur die gangbaren Bücher zusammenrechnen, die Helden und Heldinnen summiren, so wird er erstaunen, welche Menge von Schönheitsidealen sich unter uns Deutschen herumtreiben."

Just as in *Don Quixote* there are also in Tieck's works of 1795–96 many instances of romantic irony aimed at the author himself and his work. Near the beginning of *Hanswurst als Emigrant* Leander cautions, "Lasz uns doch um Gottes willen die Einleitungsscene ordentlich machen, sonst geht es ja den Zuschauern wie dem Dichter, dasz Beide gar nicht wissen, was aus dem Spasz werden soll." And at the end of this play the "Hanswurst" concludes the performance with the remarks,

> Jetzt hat es nun einem ganz neuen Dichter [Tieck himself] gefallen mich zurückzurufen (gegen das Parterre) und mich sogleich in eine so hochansehnliche Versammlung zu führen—Sie [the audience] sind sehr gütig gewesen, wenn Sie uns für wirkliche Personen gehalten haben. Seien Sie ebenso nachsichtig gegen den Dichter, und bilden Sie sich ein, Sie hätten sich bei seinen Possen amusiert.

In an imaginary conversation with the reader in *Peter Lebrecht*, incorporated after the fashion of Cervantes' interpolations in *Don Quixote*, one reads:

> Wozu denn die vielen Charakterschilderungen? höre ich verdrieszlich meine Leser ausrufen. Am Ende ist alles das unnütz und hat weiter keinen Bezug auf Ihre Geschichte, Herr Verfasser, die an sich schon langweilig genug ist.

Finally, after some argumentation, Tieck represents the reader as exclaiming:

> So hätten Sie Ihre Geschichte gar nicht schreiben sollen, denn so wie sie bis jetzt erscheint, verdient sie es durchaus nicht. Es ist eine Alltagsgeschichte von der alltäglichsten Art.

To sum up: Tieck was out of sorts with life during his *Lovell* period; his only positive faith was in his ability to write, for up to that time, despite his devoted reading of Cervantes, Goethe, and Shakespeare, he possessed only a latent idealism. But shortly after he accepted employment with Nicolai his strained relations with his employer forcibly recalled to his mind the essential contrast between the points of view of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in his beloved novel, so that he came to identify Nicolai

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with Sancho Panza and found himself sympathizing with the idealism of Don Quixote, eccentric as may have been the latter's application of it to life. Thus Tieck, for the first time, became vividly conscious of his own inherent, though undeveloped, idealism. As a consequence Tieck adopted much of the Cervantean romantic idealism and immediately incorporated it in his *Strausszfedern* and other works of that period. His awakened idealism led gradually also to a deeper understanding and appreciation of Goethe and Shakespeare.[17] These new ideals he fused with his own and adapted them to his own purposes, a result which he achieved most fully in his *Volksmärchen*. But it was Cervantes who first revealed to Tieck the grandeur of the human imagination and its power in combatting the ills of life.[18] And this abiding faith in the visions of the poetic imagination strengthened Tieck in later life to cope with the destructive forces of despair and pessimism that continued to assail him up to the very end of his earthly pilgrimage.[19]

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[17] Tieck eventually also adopted some of Wackenroder's sublime philosophy of art.

[18] Cf. *Friedrich von Schlegels sämmtliche Werke*, Klang, II, 238.

[19] Görte, *Der junge Tieck und die Aufklärung*, p. 86: "In Ludwig Tieck hat die innere Reaktion gegen die Erkenntnissicherheit des Rationalismus ein Gefühl der Weltangst hervorgebracht, das er nicht imstande war, dauernd durch eine Religion oder Philosophie vollständig zu meistern."

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LXI

CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE POETRY OF DONNE

A RECENT critic declares of John Donne: "He had none of that enthusiasm for Greek culture which distinguished More, Colet, and Ascham. He appears to have studied certain Greek authors in Latin translations. . . . . His learning was chiefly of the Mediaeval type."[1] No evidence, it is true, comes forward to establish Donne's acquaintance at first hand with Greek authors. At the same time, an examination of the allusions to Greek mythology in the poetry of Donne makes it clear that he had part in the all-but-universal interest of the Elizabethans in classical material, and that he uses this material with characteristic independence and originality.

The theogony which was for the Greeks a fixed and formal system became for the Elizabethan writers material for the fancy and imagination to work upon. Mythological characters interested them not only in themselves but as offering points of departure for innumerable flights of fantasy.

Allusions to the figures of Greek mythology are most common in the sonnet cycles.[2] Among these, the highest number of individual references is eighty-seven, found in Watson. The nearest approach to this is forty-two, in Donne's songs and sonnets. The median is approximately twenty-six, but only Drayton, Barnes, and Smith, besides Watson and Donne, exceed it.[3] Classical divinities mentioned by Donne are The Fates, Jove, Venus, Cupid,

[1] E. M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne*, p. 46, and cf. Ramsay, *Les Doctrines Mediaevales chez Donne*, part II, Chs. 1 and 2, and Appendix I. Also *Donne's Poetical Works* ed. by Grierson, I, 35; Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*, p. 14; and Jessopp, *John Donne*, p. 17.

[2] The sonnet cycles referred to are: B. Griffin's *Fidessa*; H. Constable's *Diana*; B. Barnes' *Parthenophil and Parthenope*; W. Percy's *Coelia*; R. L.'s *Diella*; W. Smith's *Chloris*; Lord Brooke's (F. Greville) *Caelica*; R. Tofte's *Laura*; G. Fletcher's *Licia*; R. Barnfield's *Cynthia*; N. Breton's *The Passionate Shepherd*; T. Watson's *The Passionate Centurie*; T. Lodge's *Phillis*; Daniel's *To Delia*; Drayton's *Idea's Mirror and Idea*; Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*; and Spenser's *Amoretti*. The sonnets of Wyatt, Surrey and Shakespeare are also used.

[3] Drayton, 31; Barnes, 37; Smith, 41. In actual references to the gods, Watson leads with 35; Drayton follows with 26; Barnes, 25; Donne, 23; the lowest are Percy, 3; Constable, 4; Daniel, 4; with a median of 14.

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Sybil, Prometheus, Mercury, Cynthia, Proserpine,[4] Chaos, Orcus, Boreas,[5] Orithyia, Pluto, Helicon,[6] Morpheus,[7] Circe, Phoebus,[8] Phaeton, and he handles each of them with remarkable spontaneity of wit.

As is to be expected in poetry of this type, the mythological figure which assumes special importance is the God of Love. The sonneteers refer repeatedly to Cupid, with his traditional associations; he shoots arrows from eyes, dances in eyes, lights fires at them. Sidney constructs an extravagant scheme of military symbolism to represent the warfare of love.[9] Mediæval imagery occurs also in

> When Cupid, having me, his slave, descried
> In Mars' livery, prancing in the press,
> What now, Sir Fool? said he.[10]

There is a suggestion of mediæval alchemy in Drayton's reference to the power of Love to refine the spirit in his fires.[11] But Sidney becomes almost modern in his psychological analysis here:

> It must be true, what we call Cupid's dart
> An image is, which for ourselves we carve.

Shakespeare's Cupid is alluringly human in this passage:

> Love's eye is not so true as all men's: no,
> How can it? O how can Love's eye be true
> That is so vex'd with watching and with tears? . . . .
> O cunning Love! with tears thou keepst me blind
> Lest eyes well-seeing thy foul faults should find.[12]

However, on another occasion Shakespeare calls Cupid a fool[13]; and in truth Cupid does seem very stupid, for he often relaxes his vigil by falling asleep and allows his flame to be extinguished.[14] He replenishes it, however, at the mistress's eyes—a conceit which grows out of all proportion in the legend accounting for hot

[4] Mentioned also by Percy and Drayton.

[5] By R. L.

[6] By Spenser and Drayton.

[7] By R. L., Smith, and Watson.

[8] Phoebus is used by twelve; not by Constable, Percy, Barnfield, Lodge, Wyatt, Surrey, Daniel, and Drayton; Phaeton, by Griffin, Tofte, and Barnes. Donne uses more names than any of the sonnetteers except Watson, Barnes, and Drayton.

[9,10,11] *Astrophel and Stella.*

[12] Shakespeare, Sonnet 148.

[13] Sonnet 137.

[14] Sonnet 153.

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springs.[15] Some other vagaries in treatment may be noted in Barnes' comparison of Cupid to Medusa, Tofte's conceit of the snake, and Constable's painting of a picture on the heart. The last brings to mind vividly Donne's *The Damp*:

> When they will find your picture in my heart.

The traditional figure of Cupid is accepted by Donne, but his allusions invariably have an individual note. He declares, indeed, against the conventional treatment of the God of Love by the Court poets:

> Our little Cupid hath sued livery,
> And is no more in his minority.[16]

and

> Yet am I not so blind as some men be,
> Who vow and swear they little Cupid see
> In their fair mistress' eyes.[17]

In even stronger terms he indicts convention as opposed to the "golden laws of nature"—

> We are made servants of Opinion . . . .
> Here love received immedicable harms . . . .
> Only some few, strong in themselves and free . . . .
> Yet make a throne for him within their breast.[18]

With Shakespeare and all the Elizabethans, Donne agrees that Love is purblind for he "fits actives to passives,"[19] yet his inherent bent for paradox and contrast determines his expression:

> I must love her that loves not me[20]

and

> Falsehood is worse than hate; and that must be,
> If she whom I love, should love me.[21]

Finally, Donne is unique in placing Cupid among the infernal gods, for although he prays to Love:

> Give me thy weakness, make me blind
> Both ways, as thou and thine, in eyes and mind.[22]

[15] Sonnet 154.
[16] Donne, *Eclogue.*
[17] *The Constant Lover.*
[18] *Elegy XVIII.*
[19,20,21] *Love's Deity.*
[22] *Love's Exchange.*

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he asserts that Love's dwelling-place is with Pluto,[23] and calls him a devil:

> Love, any devil else but you
> Would for a given soul give something too.
> At court your fellows every day
> Give th' art of rhyming, huntsmanship, or play.[24]

Perhaps the most stereotyped of Elizabethan poetic conventions is the address to the Muse. Wholly conventional, too, is the reference in the address to Elizabeth Drury:

> Immortal maid, who though thou wouldst refuse
> The name of mother, be unto my Muse
> A father, since her chaste ambition is
> Yearly to bring forth a child as this.[25]

and to Lord Harrington:

> Do not, fair soul, this sacrifice refuse
> That in thy grave I do inter my Muse.[26]

In this connection once more we may note both conformity and independence on the part of Donne. He refers to the Muse seventeen times—the frequency of the allusion establishing it as native to his thought. In some instances he voices a traditional opinion, as when he vouches for the divinity of the Muse in calling her "heaven's high holy Muse."[27] Again the traditional attitude of complaint—found in Barnfield, Watson, R. L., Tofte, Sidney,[28] Drayton,[29] Fletcher, Smith, Barnes, and Shakespeare[30]—is to be noted in his complaint of the ineffectiveness of his Muse, who inspires him to inconsequential love-songs when he would be writing more ambitious and more artistic poetry.[31]

All the writers of sonnet cycles[32] refer to their lady as their muse, Shakespeare calling her the tenth muse.[33] Certain references to

[23] *Elegy XIX.*
[24] *Love's Exchange.*
[25] *Second Anniversary.*
[26] *Obsequies to Lord Harrington.*
[27] *On Sidney's Translating the Psalms.*
[28] "Fool, look in thy heart and write."
[29] Muse is "dumb-born."
[30] Sonnet 103: "What poverty my muse brings forth."
[31] Letter to Rowland Woodward.
[32] See above, footnote 2.
[33] Sonnets 38 and 78. Donne subtly criticizes these writers in *Love's Growth*:

> Love's not so pure and abstract as they use
> To say, which have no mistress but their Muse.

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the Muse, however, appear to reflect something of the actual attitude of the poet toward his own work—the term Muse being interpreted as the state of mind conducive to creating. Perhaps calling upon some power outside himself for the energy to perform tasks or duties, establishes for Donne, as for other poets the very state of mind necessary to the act of creating, the contemplative mind being thereby freed from all disturbing elements, and produces a silent psychology of effectiveness. Donne adopts toward his Muse the critical attitude of the familiar friend. At one point he speaks of her as "undiscerning,"[34] at another, he pleads for a proper reward for "his Muse's white sincerity."[35] He accuses her of infidelity, of being to another what she should be to him; but, in turn, he accuses himself of being the cause, indicating that he is not doing justice to his powers of writing nor to his own aspirations.[36] In his fifth satire Donne is self-critical, he evidently has done some piece of work which he considers unworthy of his inspiration; but in spite of this he exhibits considerable self-confidence:

Thou shalt not laugh at this leaf, Muse.[37]

Like Drayton, he holds his gift of poesy as noble and lofty. There is nothing trivial in the nature of his muse; yet there is nothing audacious or patronizing as in Sidney,[38] Smith, Brooke, Lodge, Breton, and Drayton.[39]

An author's attitude toward his own genius is always of intense interest: Dante seemed most assured of his rank when he placed himself with Homer and other famous writers as "sixth amid so learn'd a band."[40] This self-assurance is especially true of John Donne; he is always frank with his readers in regard to his reasons for writing, or in criticizing his skill in composition.

One of Donne's references which permitted of varied treatment was the spheres. His idea that heaven is made up of many spheres[41]

[34] *Eclogue.* [35] La Corona.

[36] Letter to Mr. B. B. "If thou unto thy Muse be married." Cf. Spenser and Shakespeare in this. Spenser's muse was at times "absent in foreign lands." Shakespeare addresses her in Sonnet 101: "Oh truant Muse!" and like Donne speaks of the marital relation in connection with his muse; in Sonnet 82:

I grant thou wert not married to my Muse.

[37] *Satire V.*

[38] "Muses scorn to dwell in vulgar brains."

[39] Not of "pack-horse" breed; must have spirit and fire.

[40] *Inferno*, Canto IV.

[41] Love's Growth.

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may be an echo of the general belief in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy in the sixteenth century, although in several of his works he indicates that he has investigated and is familiar with the Copernican theory of the universe.[42] Since Donne says, "we look upon Nature, but with Aristotle's Spectacles, and upon the body of man, but with Galens, and upon the frame of the world, but with Ptolemies' spectacles," he must wish to speak in a language that will be generally understood when he refers frequently to the "earth's frame" and the older cosmic scheme of things. Although the Ptolemaic system has lent itself to poetic treatment in such poems as Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Rosetti's *Blessed Damosel*, Donne must have used it because it was the natural course for thought to run. Beyond all question, however, his keen intellect had grasped the significance of the "New Philosophy."

Donne hears "the music of the spheres" in spite of "that day's rude hoarse minstrelsy,"[43] and wishes to "behold those hands

[42] In the Eclogue of 1613:

"And were the doctrine new
That the earth mov'd, this day would make it true."

In a verse letter to Countess of Bedford:

"As new philosophy arrests the Sunne
And bids the passive earth about it runne . . . ."
"First seeds of every creature are in us"

In *The First Anniversary*, 1612:

"The new Philosophy calls all in doubt,
The Element of fire is quite put out;
The Sun is lost, and th' earth, and no man's wit
Can well direct him where to look for it. . . . ."
"They have impaled within a Zodiake
The free-borne Sun . . . .
For his course is not round."
"Man hath weav'd out a net, and this net throwne
Upon the Heavens, and now they are his owne . . . .
And Oh, it can no more be questioned
That beauties best, proportion, is dead."

Also, in Sermon "At Funeral of Sir William Cokayne, Knt." I need not call in new Philosophy that denies a settlednesse, an acquiescence in the very body of the earth, but makes the Earth move in that place, where we thought the Sunne had moved. . . . ."

3. From Sermon "At Funeral of Sir William Cokayne, Knt." *Love's Growth*: "So many spheares, but one heaven make."

[43] Love's Alchemy.

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which span the poles and tune all spheres at once,"[44] in which we seem to have a confusion of the Greek goddess Necessity and the Hebrew Jehovah. Again, Donne compares the prayer of a sinner with the musical praises of the spheres.[45] The passage which follows is reminiscent of both Greek and Jewish thought[46]:

> Make all this all three choirs, heaven earth and spheres,
> The first, Heaven, hath a song, but no man hears;
> The spheres have music, but they have no tongue,
> Their harmony is rather danced than sung.

Donne's references to the spheres as the framework of this universe are more numerous in his sermons[47] than are his references to the "New Philosophy."

No writer interested in the idea of the music of the spheres could overlook the possibilities in the idea of the Fates, the three daughters of Necessity. Donne assumes the duties of Clotho toward himself when he says:

> I have a sin of fear, that when I have spun,
> My last thread I shall perish on the shore.[48]

But this fear is defied much as Browning defies death:

> Come, Fates, I fear you not! All whom I owe
> Are paid but you; then rest me ere I go
> But Chance from you all sovereignty hath got.[49]

He says to death:

> Thou'rt slave to Fate, chance, kings and desperate men.[50]

His bitterness toward Fate is revealed in:

> and with us, methinks, Fate deals so
> As with the Jews' guide, God did; He did show
> Him the rich land but barr'd his entry in";[51]

and he finds Fate modernized in the Law of the Land:

[44] Good Friday.
[45] Litany.
[46] On the translating of the Psalms by Sidney.
[47] "At St. Pauls upon Christmas Day." "To the King at White-hall," illustrate the point.
[48] Hymn to God the Father.
[49] Elegy XII.
[50] Holy Sonnets X.
[51] Letter to R. Woodward.

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> Oh! ne'er may
> Fair law's white reverend name be strumpeted
> To warrant thefts; she is established
> Recorder to Destiny on earth, and she
> Speaks Fate's words.[52]

Then again, he mentions Fate in the conventional way as having a book of record,[53] much as Shakespeare does in *Henry IV*:

> That one might read the book of Fate,[54]

and in

> Hapless Aegeon, whom the Fates have marked,
> To bear the extremity of mishap,[55]

and

> O Fates! Come, come; Cut thread and thrum,[56]

and

> What Fates impose, that men must needs abide.[57]

The references to Jove which Shakespeare introduces are quite according to the traditional manner: "Jove sometimes went disguised,"[58] "Supreme Jove,"[59] and "your emperor continues still a Jove."[60] Donne, on the other hand, speaks of the invasions of Jove's[61] prerogatives by every modern god,[62] and he affords an insight into his mental attitude toward religion in such passages as

> Here Peter, Jove's; there Paul hath Dian's fane.
> So whether my hymns you admit or choose,
> In me you've hallowed a pagan muse.[63]

The praises of inconstancy in love are common in the followers of Donne, but this attitude was singular among the Elizabethans, who reproached love for inconstancy. Shakespeare mentions the

[52] Satire V.
[53] Letter to Countess of Bedford.
[54] *2 Henry, IV*, 3: 1.
[55] *Comedy of Errors.*
[56] *Midsummer's Night's Dream.*
[57] *Comedy of Errors.*
[58] *2 Henry VI*, 4: 1.
[59] *Coriolanus*, 3: 1.
[60] *Anthony and Cleopatra*, 4: 6.
[61] Jove is mentioned by sixteen of the Elizabethans, omitting Griffin, Brooke, Tofte, and Wyatt.
[62] *Love's Deity.*
[63] *Verse Letter to Countess of Bedford.*

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inconstancy of Venus in her intrigue with Mars,[64] which accounts for the being of Cupid, called "That wicked bastard of Venus."[65] The same note is sounded by Watson:

> Here lyeth Love, of Mars the bastard Sonne.

In Donne's philosophy of love, Venus takes on the character of the light, buoyant evanescence of the foam of ocean waves and in this phase she visualizes for Donne a much more attractive love than the constant love often idealized by poets of the conventional type:

> Venus heard me sigh this song;
> And by love's sweetest part, variety, she swore.[66]

Other creatures of Greek Mythology which are used by Donne are the following: Sirens,[67] Mermaids, Argus,[68] Furies,[69] Chimera, Vengeance, and Python.[70] The songs of the sirens[71] and mermaids[72] interested him as they do all poets. He bequeaths his eyes to Argus, the hundred-eyed monster charm'd by "sweet Mercury," in his satiric poem, "The Will." The Furies are the spirit of the storm in his vivid description in the letter to Christopher Brooke. His use of Chimera as "this she-Chimera with eyes of fire,"[73] indicates familiarity with the myth itself, for Chimera was the fire-breathing monster, the son of Echidna, and is not found in Elizabethan literature commonly. Vengeance [74] and Opinion [75] are personified much as are Mischief in *Julius Caesar* and Rumor in the *Æneid.* Opinion is "a monster in no certain shape attired . . . . formless at first but growing on its fashions" much as in Book IV of the *Æneid,* "Rumor sped . . . . small at first, because afraid, she soon exalts her stature skyward, stalking through the lands . . . . born of Earth, the last of the Titans."

[64] *Anthony and Cleopatra.*
[65] *As You Like It.*
[66] *The Indifferent.*
[67] Mentioned also by Shakespeare.
[68] Brooke merely refers to Argus; Breton, "And Love in Argus eyes, Finds Jealousy a fiend"; Tofte wishes for Argus' eyes.
[69] Drayton: "The furies cruel be."
[70] Fletcher and Lodge refer to Python.
[71] *Elegy XIX.*
[72] "Go and Catch a Falling Star."
[73] *Elegy XIV.*
[74] Ode.
[75] *Elegy XVIII.*

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Donne speaks of Earth as the mother of all, "our mother which these things doth bear,"[76] and of the heavens as begetting all things here, reminding us of the myth concerning Gaea and Uranus, the parents of the Titans, among whose children were Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses, and Phoibe, goddess of the moon before Diana. His reference to "Darkness, Light's brother, his birthright claims o'er the world,"[77] belongs to this myth, although his genealogy is not quite precise since Erebus was the father of Aether. However, both were children of Nyx, the proverbial mother of every divinity whose origin was shrouded in the darkness of uncertainty. Chaos, father of Erebus, is mentioned several times in his poems: "Like to the first Chaos,"[78] and "view old Chaos in the pains we feel,"[79] are the most significant. The latter bespeaks a careful study and understanding of the Greek idea of the origin of the universe, for this elegy is called "His Parting from Her," and the idea of the great general disturbance at the parting of the elements from each other as they dwelt in Chaos, in order to form the universe, suggests most acute pangs of severance. This conceit bears out the idea that all of Donne's conceits are really figures of speech which are the natural product of a keen intellect.

Always, Donne uses terms of Greek Mythology with a skill or adeptness which is amazing. His use shows both an analysis of the meaning of the myth and a synthetic conclusion as to its significance, in his application of it to the particular matter in hand. For instance, "was more than for Acteon not to look"[80] and "Could Promethean art either unto the northern pole impart the fire of these inflaming eyes,"[81] both show the ability to assimilate a thought and to present it again in a new and surprising form essentially his own. Again,

> I more amazed than Circe's prisoners, when
> They felt themselves turn beasts, felt myself then
> Becoming traitor, ...[82]

[76] Hymn to Christ.

[77] *The Storm.*

[78] *The Comparison.*

[79] *Elegy XIII.* [80] *Elegy XII.*

[81] *Eclogue.* The myth of Prometheus is retold by Constable, Tofte, Barnes, and Sidney; Drayton merely refers to his aspiration. Smith and Watson repeat the myth of Acteon.

[82] Satire IV. Other references to the myth of Circe are those of Griffin, Circe's rod; R. L., Circe's floods; Tofte, Circe changed to a fountain of tears.

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implies that he not only knew the myth,[83] but that it had become real to his own experience. The myth does not say that Odysseus' men were "amazed," nor does it imply the idea connotative with that word in the sixteenth century. They were chagrined and repentant after they found what they had made of themselves through their eating. Donne, by power of his vivid imagination, knew that they must have felt mystified or bewildered while the change from man to beast was taking place.

In regard to Homer, Donne says something that arrests the attention of a reader of the Greek Epics:

> And her, whose book (they say) Homer did find and name.[84]

Evidently, Donne had been reading about a possible authoress of some work ascribed to Homer. There is no hint as to who the author might be. Samuel Butler would probably say the work was "The Odyssey."

Both Homer and Virgil were extremely fond of the use of altars and sacrifices in their literature. Donne, also, uses them frequently and they are pagan altars:

> Gods, when ye fumed on altars, were well pleased
> Because you were burnt, not that they liked the smell.[85]

In these poets, Pluto's realm figures strongly; Pluto is a term common among poets, including Donne,[86] but he uses the term "Orcus,"[87] an unusual name for the god of death. His acquaintance with the infernal regions of Greek Mythology is shown in "Elysian bliss,"[88] and Lethe.[89] Donne speaks of his tears as a "heavenly Lethan flood to drown his sins' black memory,"[90] and in his extravagant verses about Elizabeth Drury, he says they are all "drown'd in Lethe and have forgotten all good"[91] because they are forgetful of her.

[83] Some of the sonneteers, for example, Watson, seem to pile reference upon reference merely to display a broad knowledge of classical learning.

[84] Valediction to His Book.

[85] *Elegy IV.*

[86] *Elegy XIX.*

[87] *Elegy XIV.*

[88] *Elegy XII.* Daniel and Watson use term.

[89] Letter to I. L. See Shakespeare's *Hamlet* for the most effective of his five references.

[90] Sonnet IX.

[91] *Second Anniversary.*

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Donne's references to Sibyl are unique, for he refers to the Sibyllin Books, those prophetic documents revealing the fate of Rome and sold by Sibyl to Tarquin, in wishing for the lasting fame of his own book[92] and also in connection with the mystical quality of the book of a friend.[93]

Other terms of classical literature used by him are Pygmalion,[94] Vestal, Colossus, golden fruit, the torch, the holy plough, the Heliconian spring, the Greek philosopher Heracleitus, and the circle in its philosophical sense:

> O soul, O circle, why so quickly be
> Thy ends, thy birth and death closed up in thee.[95]

Here again he has grasped the whole idea of the Greek figure of speech and fitted it to his own conception with his usual nicety. His precision suggests the skill of a juggler.

> Would not Heracleitus laugh to see[96]

is a clever expression to measure degree, especially when used in a satire, surely ridiculous enough if it would cause the "weeping philosopher" to laugh.

A very amusing epigram illustrates the fact that Donne had a broad knowledge of classical terms and ideas:

> Thou art like Mercury in stealing, but liest like a Greek.

This brings to mind the many fictitious stories which Odysseus fitted to his needs, the false Sinon of the Trojan horse, and the long-drawn-out story of the Guardian of Sophocles' Electra.

A continuous comparison of how the Elizabethans handle each classical allusion would grow monotonous; hence, only enough of those allusions have been used here to show that there is a certain degree of similarity between them, as well as to show which of the sonneteers have initiative and originality. The study has made evident the fact that John Donne reflects to a considerable degree his own age.

BEATRICE JOHNSON

San Mateo, California

[92] Valediction to his Book.
[93] Commendatory Verses upon Mr. T.C.
[94] Griffin and Daniel use the reference. Smith is the only one to refer to Lethe.
[95] Obsequies on Lord Harrington.
[96] Satire IV.

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LXII

CANCELED PASSAGES IN THE LETTERS OF ROBERT BURNS TO GEORGE THOMSON

IF ANY part of Robert Burns' extensive correspondence would seem to have been thoroughly edited, it is the series of letters he wrote to George Thomson in the course of his contributions to that worthy's *Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs*. Unlike the rest of the correspondence, this series was never dispersed. Though one letter somehow found its way into the Pickering Collection, and so into the British Museum, the remaining fifty-five continued in Thomson's possession until his death in 1851. In the following year they were bought by Lord Dalhousie, in whose collection they remained until they were acquired by Mr. J. P. Morgan. Thomson had placed the letters in the hands of Dr. Currie, the poet's first biographer, who selected mangled fragments for publication, and during their half-century at Brechin Castle they were freely accessible to Burns scholars, among them Scott Douglas and William Wallace. The former of these declared in his 1877 edition of the *Complete Works* that the letters to Thomson "are here for the first time printed exactly as they appear in the original manuscripts"[1]—a claim which with true editorial amenity is balanced by Wallace's statement that "an examination of the letters written by Burns to George Thomson . . . . has enabled me to reproduce this correspondence accurately for the first time."[2]

Though meticulous accuracy has not been the distinguishing trait of most editors of the Burns correspondence, it would seem reasonable to suppose that, after two such scholars as Douglas and Wallace had gleaned a field, few awns would remain for anyone who followed them. Yet in their transcripts of the letters to Thomson one looks in vain for any mention of the existence in those letters of a whole series of canceled passages. The passages are not merely canceled; they have been almost—in a few cases wholly—obliterated by spiral sweeps of a broad-nibbed pen, and can be deciphered only after patient scrutiny with a strong reading-

[1] Quoted in Gebbie and Hunter: *Complete Works of Robert Burns*. [Self-Interpreting Edition.] Philadelphia, 1887, V, 15.

[2] *The Life and Works of Robert Burns*, Ed. by Robert Chambers, Revised by William Wallace, Edinb. and Lond. 1896, IV, 6. Unless otherwise indicated, all page references in the succeeding notes are to this edition.

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glass. Possibly, owing to the unequal fading of the ink, these passages are more legible today than they were fifty, or even thirty, years ago, but even if Douglas and Wallace were unable to read them, one is surprised at their failure to mention their existence.

Of the fifty-five letters to Thomson in the Morgan Library,[3] twelve, ranging in date from August, 1793, to July, 1796, contain canceled passages which vary in length from a single word to four or five lines of manuscript, and total a little more than three hundred words. The substance of the passages, as well as the manner in which they have been canceled, indicates that Thomson was responsible for their deletion. The only other persons who might conceivably have done it are Dr. Currie and Burns himself, and they are excluded by both the manner and the matter. When Burns had occasion to strike out anything he had written he did it—as one would expect of a man of his impetuous temperament—with a single slash of the pen. Had he wished to modify or retract something he had said, he might have added a postscript, but he would never have taken the pains elaborately to blot out four or five lines. And though Dr. Currie has justly earned a bad name for his handling of the poet's letters, his actual tampering with the manuscripts was limited to bracketing passages which he intended to omit, or occasionally drawing a line through a naughty word.[4] And that the nature of the canceled matter is such that only Thomson could have had the slightest interest in its suppression, will be plain from a glance at the passages themselves, which here follow in chronological order. The canceled portions are in italics, and enough of the previously published context is given to make them clear:

1. Opening of letter postmarked August 19 [1793]:

'My dear Sir,

'That unlucky song, "O poortith cauld," &c. must stand as it stands—I won't put my hand to it again.—"Let me in this ae night"—I shall overlook. I am glad that you are pleased with my song, "Had I a cave," &c.—as I liked it myself'. . . . .[5]

[3] I gladly take this opportunity to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Morgan Library for their courtesy in permitting me to consult and utilize the unpublished material which supplies the basis of the present paper.

[4] For an example of Currie's handling of manuscripts, see the letter from Burns to Robert Cleghorn, in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.

[5] Wallace, IV, 27.

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2. Postscript to letter of September, 1793, enclosing the first draft of *Bannockburn:*

'P.S. I shewed the air to Urbani, who was highly pleased with it. . . . . Clarke's set of the tune, with his bass, you will find in the Museum; though I am afraid that the air is not what will entitle it to a place in your elegant selection.—*However I am so pleased with my verses, or more properly, the Subject of my verses, that although Johnson has already given the tune a place, yet it shall appear again, set to this Song, in his next & last Volume.*—'[6]

3. Long letter, about September, 1793, commenting on Thomson's list of the 75 airs he had chosen for his first three numbers:

'No. 69. Todlin Hame—Urbani mentioned an idea of his, which has long been mine; that this air is highly susceptible of pathos: accordingly, you will soon hear him, at your concert, try it to a song of mine in the Museum, "Ye Banks & Braes o' bonie Doon"—*I mention this so as to make it worth your attending on Johnson* [several words illegible] *of the Museum, from which he will if it* [words illegible] *things—I printed* [words illegible] *known to him, to give them material for celebrity.*—'[7]

4. Letter of September, 1793, suggesting English sets for some of the airs which Thomson intended to publish:

'The faulty line in Logan Water, I mend thus—

'How can your flinty hearts enjoy
The widow's tears, the orphan's cry—

'The song otherwise will pass. [Words illegible] "*Quaker's Wife*" [words illegible] *your taste.—I am pleased with my song; & very proud of my success* [?] *with the lovely Heroine.*—

. . . .'You cannot, I think, insert, Fye let us a' to the Bridal, to any other words than its own.—

'[words illegible] *declare off from your taste.—Toddlin hame is a song that to my taste is an exquisite production of genius. That very Stanza you dislike*

"*My kimmer & I lay down to sleep*"

is to me a piece of charming native humour.—What pleases me, as simple & naive, disgusts you as ludicrous & low.—For this reason, [a title illegible], "Fye gie me my coggie Sirs," "Fye let us a' to the bridal," with several others of that cast, are, to me, highly pleasing; while, "Saw ye my father or saw ye my mother" delights me with its descriptive, simple

[6] *Ibid.*, IV, 38.
[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 47.

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pathos.—Thus my song, "Ken ye what Meg o' the mill has gotten" pleases me so much, that I cannot without [word illegible] try my hand at another song to the air; so I shall not attempt it.—I know you will laugh at all this; but, "Ilka man wears his belt his ain gate." '[8]

5. Letter of July, 1794, beginning, 'Is there no news yet, my dear Sir, of Pleyel?':

. . . .'I told you that our friend Clarke is quite an enthusiast in the idea that the Air "Nansy's to the green-wood gane," is capable of sentiment & pathos in a high degree.—In this, if I remember right, you did not agree with him.—I intend setting my verses which I wrote & sent you, for "The last time I came o'er the moor" to this air; *& Clarke is to take it in hand as an adagio air.*'[9]

6. Letter of 30 August, 1794:

'The last evening as I was straying out & thinking of *your favorite air* O'er the hills & far away—I spun the following stanzas for it'. . . . .[10]

7. Letter of September, 1794, enclosing *Sae flaxen were her ringlets* to 'a blackguard Irish song called *Oonagh's Waterfall:*'

. . . .'The air is charming, & I have often regretted the want of decent verses to it. . . . . If it does not suit you as an Editor, *but if you know the air* you may be pleased to have verses to it that you may sing it before Ladies.' . . . .[11]

8. Letter of 19 October, 1794:

(a) ' "Saw ye my father?" I am still decidedly of opinion that you should set the tune to the old song, & let mine follow for English verses; but as you please. *Clarke laughed at your objection to my airs & songs; 'tis mere whim & caprice of taste.*'

(b) 'I differ from your idea of the expression of the tune ["Cauld Kail"].—There is, to me, a great deal of *querulous* tenderness in it.—You cannot, in my opinion, dispense with a bass to your addenda airs.—A lady of my acquaintance . . . . plays "Nae luck about the house," & sings it at the same time so charmingly that I shall never fear to see any of her songs sent into the world as naked as M[r]. What-d-ye-call-um has done in his London Collection.—*By the by, I am much obliged to him for his interesting Essay, as it has nearly preoccupied the ground, & to much better purpose, on which I was to have built my system.—All that is now left for me is, a few anecdotes & miscellaneous remarks.—*'

[8] *Ibid.*, IV, 53–54.
[9] *Ibid.*, IV, 131.
[10] *Ibid.*, IV, 136.
[11] *Ibid.*, IV, 140.

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(c) 'I will thank you for another information, & that as speedily as you please—whether this miserable, drawling, hotch-potch *wounded snake* Epistle has not compleatly tired you of the correspondence of,

'Yours
'R. Burns'[12]

9. First letter of November, 1794:

' "Young Jockey was the blithest lad"—my English song—"Here is the glen & here the bower," cannot go to this air; *it was written on purpose for an original air composed by Miss Heron of Heron.*'[13]

10. Letter of 20 November, 1794, with *O saw ye my Dear, my Mary:*

'I think these names will answer better than the former; & the rhythm of the song is *abused* as you desired.—'[14]

11. Letter of February, 1796:

'I am much pleased with your ideas of publishing a Collection of our songs in Octavo with etchings.—I am extremely willing to lend every assistance in my power. The *twenty-five* Irish airs, *in one number, is a business that you will find your account in more than anything.*—I shall chearfully undertake the task of finding verses for *them.*[15]

12. Letter of 4 July, 1796:

. . . .'You will see my alterations & remarks on the margin of each song.—*You may perhaps think it hard as to "Cauld kail in Aberdeen," but I cannot help it.*'[16]

The substance of these passages seems at first glance so trivial that one wonders why Thomson should have been at such pains to obliterate them, and even after investigation one or two remain bewildering. Why, for instance, should the publisher have objected to "wounded snake" as an epithet describing a long and discursive letter? In most of them, however, a clear motive is discernible—in fact, three distinct motives, all of them selfish.

The first, of course, is vanity. About half of the canceled passages are outspoken criticisms of Thomson's taste, or even, as in No. 1, a flat refusal to comply with his nagging demands for re-

[12] *Ibid.*, IV, 150, 151, 154.
[13] *Ibid.*, IV, 166.
[14] *Ibid.*, IV, 173.
[15] *Ibid.*, IV, 260.
[16] *Ibid.*, IV, 275.

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visions. To be sure, Thomson allowed numerous other differences of opinion to stand, but these are mostly in the tone of the concluding sentence of the fourth extract. He was apparently willing to have it known that the poet had not agreed with him, so long as it was conceded that either might be right, but he would not endure an accusation of "whim & caprice of taste," or an assertion that the rhythm of a song had been "abused" at his request. Nor did he wish to have *O'er the Hills and Far Away* called his favorite air, though other passages in which *Cauld Kail in Aberdeen* is so described have not been touched. He likewise resented the suggestion that he might have been familiar with that unquestionably "blackguard" ditty, *Oonagh's Waterfall*. In short, for Thomson's suppression of the passages numbered 1, 4, 6, 7, 8a, and 10, mere vanity, as capricious as Burns had said his taste was, is sufficient explanation.

The second discernible motive is more serious, being no less than a clumsy and incomplete attempt to cover up his wilful disregard of some of Burns' wishes in regard to the publication of his songs. Nos. 8b, 9, 11, and 12 are all to be explained on this ground.

Early in their correspondence Thomson had mentioned that he had "Dr. Beattie's promise of an essay on the subject of our national music, if his health will permit him to write it."[17] Burns replied enthusiastically: "Dr. Beattie's essay will of itself be a treasure.—On my part, I mean to draw up an appendix to the Dr.'s essay, containing my stock of anecdotes, &c. of our Scots Airs & Songs."[18] But Beattie's essay was not forthcoming, and there is no further reference to the matter in the correspondence until 14 October, 1794, when Thomson writes his impressions of Ritson's two-volume *Collection of Scottish Songs*, which had just been published:

> . . . . His introductory essay on the subject is curious, and evinces great reading and research, but does not decide the question as to the origin of our melodies. . . . . He snarls at my publication on the score of Pindar being engaged to write songs for it; uncandidly and unjustly leaving it to be inferred, that the songs of Scottish writers had been sent a packing to make room for Peter's! Of you he speaks with some respect, and gives you a passing hit or two, for daring to dress up a little, some foolish songs for the *Museum*. . . . .[19]

[17] Thomson to Burns, 20 Jan., 1793. Wallace, III, 391.
[18] *Ibid.*, III, 392.
[19] IV, 146.

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Burns had already seen Ritson's essay, and in his reply of 19 October gives, in the canceled passage, *his* judgment on it, to the effect that if Thomson wants an historical essay, he can do no better than reprint Ritson's. But Thomson, his vanity smarting under Ritson's criticism, would have none of him, and blotted out Burns' praise, though with astonishing carelessness he permitted Dr. Currie to print the answer to the canceled passage:

> I do not find [Ritson's] historical essay on Scottish song interesting. Your anecdotes and miscellaneous remarks will, I am sure, be much more so.[20]

Whereupon Burns, with his customary good-nature in dealing with Thomson, allows Ritson to drop, and in his reply merely announces his readiness to continue with his share of the undertaking:

> . . . . I have, yesterday, begun my anecdotes, &c. for your work.—I intend drawing it up in the form of a letter to you, which will save me from the tedious dull business of Systematic arrangement.—Indeed, as all I have to say is, unconnected remarks, anecdotes, scraps of old songs, &c. it would be impossible to give the work a beginning, a middle & an end; which the Critics insist to be absolutely necessary in a Work.—As soon as I have a few pages in order, I will send you them as a Specimen.—I only fear that the matter will grow so large among my hands as to be more expence than you can allot for it. . . . .[21]

But the specimen pages were never sent, or, if they were, Thomson did not care to preserve them.

So much for No. 8b. The story of No. 9 is briefer. In May, 1794, Burns had sent in his song *Here is the glen and here the bower*, with the statement that he had written it for *The Banks of Cree*, an air composed by Lady Elizabeth Heron. Thomson, who was always wanting to set Burns' words to tunes other than those they were written for, had evidently (in one of the numerous passages in his end of the correspondence which he and Dr. Currie failed to publish) come back with the suggestion that the words be used to *Young Jockey was the blithest lad.* Burns tells him, in substance, to print them to the air for which they were written, or else leave them out. But Thomson, after the poet's death, printed them to the tune *The Flowers of Edinburgh.*[22]

[20] Thomson to Burns, 27 Oct., 1794. IV, 161.

[21] IV, 161.

[22] J. C. Dick: *The Songs of Robert Burns. . . . .* A Study in Tone Poetry. Henry Frowde, London, etc., 1903. p. 369.

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Furthermore, Burns, noting Thomson's fondness for Irish airs, which he wished to incorporate in the Scottish collection, had proposed, as early as September, 1793, that instead of diluting the Scottish collection with an incongruous mixture of Irish, he should issue a supplementary volume devoted entirely to the latter. "I will take care that you shall not want songs; & I assure you that you would find it the most saleable of the whole."[23] Thomson's reply at this date, if he made any, has not been published, but on 5 February, 1796, he writes:

> I have still about a dozen Scotch and Irish airs that I wish 'married to immortal verse.' We have several true-born Irishmen on the Scottish list; but they are naturalised, and reckoned our own good subjects. Indeed, we have none better.[24]

Such, at least, is what Thomson claimed to have written, but we must remember Currie's statement that "the whole of this correspondence was arranged for the press by Mr. Thomson, and has been printed *with little addition or variation.*" We must remember, too, that the originals of Thomson's letters have not been preserved. In view of the definiteness of Burns' reply, especially in the canceled passage (No. 11), there can be little doubt that what Thomson really wrote amounted to an acceptance of the scheme for a supplementary number, if Burns would agree to find words for the airs. Later in the same letter, after giving his song *Hey for a Lass wi' a Tocher*, to the Irish air *Balinanoma and ora*, the poet says, "you have now four of my Irish engagement," which he proceeds to enumerate. But Burns died a few months later with his "Irish engagement" unfulfilled, and after his death Thomson not only dropped the scheme for a supplementary volume and incorporated a number of Irish airs among the Scottish, but even went so far as to set Burns' *Come let me take thee to my breast*, which had been written for *Cauld Kail in Aberdeen*, to the Irish air *Ally Croker*.[25] This last act was particularly indecent, because of the poet's dying injunction that the song was to be suppressed entirely. The letter of 4 July, 1796, was the last he wrote to Thomson, with the exception of a desperate appeal for funds a few days later, yet Thomson not only disregarded the one specific request in it, but set the condemned words to a "rank Irish" air, and then sought to cover up his sin by mutilating the letter.

[23] Wallace, IV, 54.
[24] *Ibid.*, IV, 259.
[25] Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

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It may also be noted in passing that Thomson failed to preserve the annotated copies of the songs which Burns returned with this letter of July 4, though one might suppose that the poet's last comments upon his own work would be held especially sacred. The whole episode furnishes an edifying gloss on Thomson's reply, late in life, to a would-be purchaser of the Burns letters:

> . . . . I am possessed of all the letters and songs in MS. which our immortal Bard wrote for my Work: they are all nicely laid down by the *artiste* paster of the Register House, and elegantly bound in a folio volume. Tell your friend that I hold the Bard's letters to be above any price, and will not sell them.[26]

But a still more edifying commentary on Thomson's conduct is to be derived from the second and third of the canceled passages, both of which refer to the rival publication, Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, of which Burns was really, though not avowedly, the editor.[27] Passage No. 3 is so thoroughly blotted as to almost undecipherable, but the fragments which can be made out indicate that Burns was suggesting some sort of coöperative arrangement between Johnson and Thomson whereby both could make use of certain songs. It must be recalled, in this connection, that Thomson, in May, 1796, applied to Burns for a certificate that he was the only authorized publisher of the songs contributed to the *Select Collection*. Burns, ill as he was, and careless as he always was of his own property-rights in his songs, refused to sign the certificate which Thomson had sent him, but furnished another "which, though a little different from M^{r}. M^{c}knight's model, I suppose will amply answer the purpose."[28] In the preface to his second half-volume, which appeared in 1798, Thomson printed what he alleged to be this certificate; at a later date, however, he reprinted it in a form differing in several particulars from the 1798 version.[29] He never produced the original manuscript, nor was it preserved among the Burns letters.

Even the kindliest editors and biographers have found this conduct difficult to explain in any way that would be creditable to Thomson. In the light of these canceled passages any such explanation is no longer difficult; it is impossible. In his letter of

[26] Quoted in Gebbie & Hunter, *op. cit.*, V, 154.
[27] Dick, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.
[28] Wallace, IV, 265.
[29] Both forms are given in Gebbie & Hunter, V, 309.

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7 April, 1793, Burns had explained the nature of his publishing arrangement with Johnson: "Though I give Johnson one edition of my songs, that does not give away the copyright, so you may take 'Thou lingering star' . . . . or any other songs of mine."[30] This passage, which authorized Thomson to reprint anything he chose from the *Museum*, the canny editor preserved, whereas the two passages which indicate pretty clearly that Burns intended the rule to work both ways are obliterated—one of them with such thoroughness that even now it can be recovered only in fragments. But even if passage No. 3 be disregarded, No. 2 is enough to make plain that Burns had no notion of giving Thomson entire control of such songs as he decided to include in his "elegant selection." The canceled sentence does not make the inclusion of *Bannockburn* in Johnson's last volume contingent upon its being rejected by Thomson: it is going to appear there, whether or no. And the fact that it did not so appear is due to no change in the poet's attitude in regard to his copyrights but solely to his meek acquiescence in the delusion that the song had really been improved by the silly revisions which Thomson had forced on him in order to make the words fit the air *Lewis Gordon*. In the same letter which carried his certificate to Thomson we find him planning, "when your Publication is finished," to issue a "collection, on a cheap plan," of all the songs of which he wished to be known as the author—again implying that the songs, once Thomson's volumes have been issued, are his own to do as he pleases with. (It also indicates that his refusal to accept compensation for his contributions to the *Select Collection* was not so quixotically generous as it is generally taken to be.) It might have been wise for Thomson to cancel this passage also, since he was trying to establish his own absolute right to the songs, but he probably thought it unnecessary inasmuch as it made no "horrid implications" concerning the rights of his rival publisher. In short, when Thomson surrendered, for inclusion in Currie's edition, the songs which Burns had contributed to the *Select Collection*, he was magnanimously returning property which had never been his. . . . .

In one sense, these restored passages cannot damage Thomson's reputation, because as a man of taste in literature and in music he has little reputation to lose. The judgment of posterity has long since damned to eternal ridicule the meddling amateur

[30] Wallace, III, 410.

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who did not hesitate to suggest "improvements," and to make unauthorized alterations, in the poetry of Burns and the music of Beethoven. But with the light which his treatment of these letters sheds on his character and motives it is no longer possible to regard him merely as a well-meaning but silly meddler. He stands convicted, not only of childish vanity, but of petty meanness and of a deliberate disregard of the dying wish of the poet who had devoted time and energy, without material recompense, in furthering his schemes.

Thomson died "at the patriarchal age of ninety-two—'a remarkable proof,' says Chambers, 'of what a moderate, cheerful mind, not unduly tasked by business or crushed by care, will do in prolonging life, and thus forming a striking contrast to the hapless Bard of Caledonia'."[31] One wishes that Burns might read that pious remark. Only the genius that wrote *Holy Willie's Prayer* could furnish an adequate commentary.

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Addendum: Since this paper was written, collation of the letter of 7 April, 1793, in the British Museum, has furnished additional proof of Thomson's attitude towards Johnson. The third sentence of that letter, before Thomson's canceling pen attacked it, read: "What with my early attachment to ballads, *Johnson's Museum*, your book, &c. Ballad-making is now as compleatly my hobby-horse, as ever Fortification was Uncle Toby's". . . . . And the cover of the letter is docketed in Thomson's hand: "Remarks on several of the Scots Songs.—Johnston(*sic*) has no copyright."

Comment is superfluous.

J. DeL. F.

[31] Quoted in Gebbie & Hunter, V, 154.

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LXIII

BLAKE AND THOMAS TAYLOR

THE mystical philosophical (or pseudo-philosophical) tendencies of the English romantic movement probably owed a good deal to Thomas Taylor. From the publication of Cowper's *Task* and Burns' Kilmarnock poems to the death of Shelley and Byron, Taylor poured out an unceasing stream of commentaries and translations elucidating for England the doctrines of Plato and the Neo-Platonists. To be sure, his works had very limited sale, and most of one edition was locked up for a lifetime in the archives of the rich nobleman who financed its publication. But no man could print so much and receive as many comments as he did without having a definite effect.

Perhaps his influence worked more strongly on William Blake than on any other poet. They were strict contemporaries, Blake being about a year the elder; and it is probable, though not certain, that they knew each other personally. Whether they did or not, the dates of their publications interlock so consistently, and the Neo-Platonism of the poet so consistently develops just behind that of the scholar, that some form of influence seems almost unquestionable. Both were mystics living in London: both knew Flaxman, Tom Paine, and other common friends; directly or indirectly there must have been some transferring of ideas.[1]

In this connection a dated table of publications is illuminating. The following list, though by no means complete,[2] gives the more important works of both authors.

TAYLOR	BLAKE
	1783. Poetical Sketches printed. (nothing mystical)
1787. Hymns of Orpheus, and section from Plotinus on The Beautiful.	
1788–89. Philosophical and Mathematical Commentaries of Proclus.	1789. Songs of Innocence engraved.

[1] Some of the more obvious likenesses between Taylor and Blake have been pointed out by Professor Damon in his *William Blake.*

[2] For a very full list of Taylor's works see *Thomas Taylor, the Platonist, List of Original Works and Translations,* prepared for Newberry Library by Ruth Balch of the Library Staff, Chicago, 1917.

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TAYLOR	BLAKE
	1789. Book of Thel engraved.
1790 or 1791. Dissertation on Eleusinian and Bacchic mysteries.	
1792. Philosophical and Mathematical Commentaries of Proclus (edition in Yale Library).	1793 ff. Marriage of Heaven and Hell engraved.
1793. Plato's Cratylus, Phaedo, Parmenides and Timaeus.	1793. Visions of Daughters of Albion engraved.
1793. Sallust on the Gods and the World.	
1794. Five books of Plotinus (including that on the descent of the soul).	1794. Books of Urizen engraved.
	1794. Songs of Experience engraved.
	1797 ff. The Four Zoas written.
1804. The Works of Plato.	1804 ff. Milton engraved.
	1804 ff. Jerusalem engraved.

Any one reading these books in chronological sequence will see Blake's Neo-Platonism steadily increasing in proportion to what he *could have* amassed from Taylor. In some cases there may have been other sources[3] available, in some there certainly were not; but for all cases under discussion Taylor was a *possible* source, sometimes, apparently, the only one. Even where Blake could have drawn from other writers, it seems improbable that he did. For example, the creation of Urizen in *The Book of Urizen* shows a marked likeness to the creation of man in Plato's *Timaeus*.[4] Taylor's translation of the *Timaeus* was not the only version in existence; but it is rather striking that it had appeared so shortly before Blake's poem. A comparison of Taylor's translation will show how direct the borrowing from Plato was:

Blake's *Book of Urizen* 194–205.

"Restless turn'd the Immortal, enchain'd,
Heaving dolorous, anguish'd, unbearable;
Till a roof, shaggy, wild, enclos'd
In an orb his fountain of thought.
In a horrible, dreamful slumber,
Like the linkéd infernal chain,
A vast Spine writh'd in torment
Upon the winds, shooting pain'd

[3] I have made, not an exhaustive search, but a reasonably thorough one, without finding such sources.

[4] First noticed by Professor Damon.

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Ribs, like a bending cavern;
And bones of solidness froze
Over all his nerves of joy."

Plato's *Timaeus* (Taylor's trans. ed. of 1793, p. 525)[5]

"Employing therefore this nature of bone, he fashioned like one working with a wheel a bony sphere, and placed it round the brain; leaving a narrow passage in the sphere itself. And besides this, forming certain vertebrae from bone about the marrow of the neck and back, he extended them like hinges, commencing from the head and proceeding through the whole cavity of the body. And thus he preserved all the seed, by fortifying it round about with a stony vestment."

Taylor's works are so rare and so widely scattered that no scholar has yet essayed the Herculean task of mastering them all. We have examined those obtainable, and among them found five which show many likenesses to Blake and may throw some light on his meaning. The first is *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries* in the third edition of 1875, which is practically a reprint of the first.[6] This is a small work. The second is *The Philosophical and Mathematical Commentaries of Proclus* in two volumes, London, 1792. It has the same title as the 1788–89 work, which we have not been able to examine.[7] The 1792 edition contains long discussions on Neo-Platonism by Taylor, brief lives of Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblicus, and Proclus, the commentaries of Proclus on Euclid, Proclus's Theological Elements, etc. The third and fourth books are the *Cratylus*, etc. and the *Sallust*, both read in the 1793 editions. The fifth is *The Works of Plato* in the vast, five volume edition of 1804. These books appeared just as the mystical tendency in Blake's poetry was beginning to be obvious. We have no positive proof that he read them; but it seems highly improbable that a poet so eager to explore mystic thought would have left such works unperused, and there are various similar passages which sound as if the poet had borrowed material from the scholar.

We give these passages below. They are presented, in the first place, as evidence that Blake probably read Taylor. But, much more important than that, they are brought together in an effort to elucidate Blake's meaning. Either from Taylor or elsewhere

[5] About three-fourths through the dialogue. The likeness was mentioned by Professor Damon in his *William Blake.*

[6] I have compared all quoted passages with the anonymous and dateless first edition in the Boston Public Library (Amsterdam ed.).

[7] Miss Balch lists a copy as in the British Museum.

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he must have acquired Neo-Platonic ideas; and a great deal in his poetry which once seemed unintelligible nonsense can now be explained as a modern adaptation of ancient and once highly respected systems of thought.

For our text of Blake we have used Sampson's ed. of the shorter poems[8] (1913) and Sloss and Wallis's edition[9] of the longer works.

I

Blake's *Jerusalem* (12, 61–13, 12)

"And the North Gate of Golgonooza toward Generation
Has four sculptur'd Bulls terrible before the Gate of iron . . . .
The South, a golden Gate, has four Lions, terrible, Living . . . .
The Western Gate, fourfold, is clos'd; having four Cherubim . . . .
The Eastern Gate, fourfold; terrible and deadly its ornaments."

Commentaries of Proclus (II, 279):

"But there are two gates: one towards the north gives entrance to mortals descending; but the other towards the south which is more divine, is impervious to mankind; and alone affords a passage to ascending immortals."

The *Cratylus*, etc., 1793 (pp. 396–397):

"He asserts, therefore, that this lowest order of daemons always contends with souls in their ascent and descent, especially western daemons for, according to the Egyptians, the west is accommodated to daemons of this description."

II

Blake's *Jerusalem* (53, 1–2):

"But Los, who is the Vehicular Form of strong Urthona,
Wept vehemently over Albion."

Commentaries of Proclus (II, 434, note):

"The reader must observe that these vehicles or divine bodies, the first participants of their correspondent souls, are no other than those vehicles, so beautifully described by Synesius." (II, 435): "Every soul possesses an eternal body, which is the first participant of its nature. Hence the cause of every particular soul, and consequently of its vehicle, is immovable, and on this account super-mundane."

III

Blake's advice to a disciple was: "Cultivate imagination to the point of vision." His wife complained, that, though a good husband, he was too often away in "eternity."

[8] *The Poetical Works of William Blake*, ed. by John Sampson, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1913.

[9] *The Prophetic Writings of William Blake*, ed. by D. J. Sloss and J. P. R. Wallis, Oxford, 1926.

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A similar attitude is found in *The Commentaries* (I, cxxviii): "But after the multitude belonging to souls, betake yourself to intellect, and the intellectual kingdoms, that you may possess the unity of things. There remain in contemplation of a nature ever abiding in eternity, of life ever flourishing, intelligence ever vigilant, to which no perfection of being is wanting, and which does not desire the chariot of time, for the full energy of its essence." Again (II, 244): "For as he who desires to know intelligible essence, then only perceives what is above sense, when he possesses no image of a sensible object: so he who desires to contemplate a nature superior to intelligible essence, will enjoy the ineffable vision, if he neglects everything intelligible, while merged in the most profound and delightful of all contemplations." (II, 351, note): "So that he who contracts the difference, subsisting in things which are many, into one life alone, and contemplates an unceasing sameness of energy, never passing its intelligence, or life, from one thing into another, but ever abiding in the same manner in itself, far remote from all distance; he, I say, who beholds all these, contemplates eternity, viewing life ever possessing a present whole, where all things abide together in sameness, without the order of first and last, and are comprehended in an indivisible bond."

The Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. 282): "Eternity is nothing else than an illumination proceeding from the unity connected with being."

IV

Blake uses the word "shadow" repeatedly. Numerous examples are given by Sloss and Wallis (II, 222–225). According to these editors, "The symbol is used in reference to matters of the phenomenal universe which persist because they are 'shadows' of the realities in the spiritual world."

In Taylor's *Commentaries of Proclus* we find the word used often in the same way (I, xxviii): "But we cannot, by any means, attain to the apprehension of the fifth, unless we have been first accurately conversant with the rest; for from our imperfect condition we are compelled to rise from difference to identity, from multitude to unity, and from shadow to substance." (I, xxix): "Because we speak with those, who are alone conversant with shadows, and are on this account derided by them, when they find that our fifth does not, by any means, accord with material resemblances, which they consider as the only realities." (I, lxxxix): "Since, then, there is a long gradation of beings, proceeding from the first being, even to formless matter, which is nothing more than the dark shadow of essence." (I, 45, note): "But I call images in the first place, shadows." (II, 214): "However, though the real person of theology was not the object of vulgar inspection, her shadow at least was beheld by the benighted multitude, and became the subject of ridiculous opinions, and idle investigation." (II, 227): "It is one thing to be *modest* and another to be *meek*: for the former is the shadow attendant on genius."

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V

Blake's Preface to *Milton*:

"The Stolen and Perverted Writings of Homer & Ovid,
of Plato & Cicero."

Taylor's *Commentaries of Proclus* (II, 216):

"We are informed by Numenius, the Pythogorean, that Plato's successors, Speusippus, Zenocrates, and Polemo, perverted his dogmata, and almost entirely changed the whole of his philosophy."

VI

Blake repeatedly uses "non-entity" as equivalent to delusion, the state of Ulro. (See Sloss and Wallis, II, 239).

There is a similar use in *The Commentaries of Proclus*. (I, xxxi): "On the former system, she is on a level with the most degraded natures, the receptacle of material species, and the spectator of delusion and non-entity." (II, 348, note): "Body, and its properties, belong to the region of non-entity." (II, 349, note): "Whatever becomes corporeal in an eminent degree, as falling fast into non-entity, has but little power of recalling itself into one."

Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. 430): "From thence they verge downwards and extend to perfect non-entity, or the last of things—that is, to matter itself."

VII

Blake's "black water" of *Jerusalem* 4. 10 is explained by Professor Damon[10] as materialism—the Sea of Time and Space. But how did Blake come to use that peculiar symbolism? In *The Commentaries* (II, 230) occurs the phrase: "By which we may safely pass through the night of oblivion over the dark and stormy ocean of matter." And again (II, 234): "To shun the bitter stream of sanguine life." (II, 283): "The Stoics assert that the sun is nourished by the exhalation of the sea; the moon from the effluvia of fountains and rivers; but the stars from the exhalation of the earth. . . . . It is necessary therefore that souls, whether they are corporeal or incorporeal, while they attract bodies, must verge to humidity, and be incorporated with humid natures, especially such souls, as from their material inclinations ought to be united with blood, and confined in humid bodies as in a watery tegument." (II, 294): "Again, according to Plato, the deep, the sea, and a tempest are so many symbols of the constitution of matter."

Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries (p. 12): "'The Egyptians,' says Simplicius, 'called matter, which they symbolically denominated water, the dregs or sediment of the first life'."

The Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. 132): "A fish, from its residence in the sea, represents a life merged in generation."

[10] S. F. Damon, *William Blake*, 1924, p. 435.

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VIII

Blake's *Jerusalem*, 59, 26–48:

"And one Daughter of Los sat at the fiery Reel, & another
Sat at the shining Loom, with her sisters attending round:
Terrible their distress, & their sorrow cannot be utter'd.
And another Daughter of Los sat at the Spinning Wheel:
Endless their labour, with bitter food, void of sleep:
Tho' hungry, they labour: they rouze themselves, anxious,
Hour after hour labouring at the whirling Wheel . . . .
Other Daughters of Los, labouring at Looms less fine,
Create the Silk-worm & the Spider & the Catterpillar
To assist in their most grievous work of pity & compassion.
And others Create the wooly Lamb and the downy Fowl."

Commentaries of Proclus (II, 284):

"What symbol is more proper to souls descending into generation, and the tenacious vestment of body, than as the poet says, 'Nymphs weaving on stony beams purple garments wonderful to behold?' . . . . The purple garments plainly appear to be the flesh with which we are invested. . . . . Thus according to Orpheus, Proserpine, who presides over everything generated from seed, is represented weaving a web."

IX

In Blake's *Jerusalem* one of the sons of Albion is named *Hyle*. Blake may have got this word from Henry More's *Psychozoia* of the seventeenth century, where Hyle is an allegorical character. But he may also have got it from Taylor. (*Commentaries of Proclus*, II, 287, note): "But it is this *hyle* or matter which composes all that body of the world which we everywhere perceive adorned with impressions of forms."

Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries (23):

"Blessed! thrice blessed! who, with wingéd speed,
From Hylé's dread voracious barking flies."

Sallust (p. 124):

"The raging uproar lulls
Of dire-resounding Hyle's mighty flood."

Sallust (p. 136):

"And lest deep-merged in Hyle's stormy mire,
Her powers reluctant suffer tortures dire."

Sallust (p. 155):

"And from Hyle's stormy main,
To her father back again,
To her true immortal goal
Lead my wand'ring, weary soul."

Sallust (p. 157):

"Fraudful Hyle here prepares
Me to plunge through magic snares."

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X

Blake's *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 89–94:

"Tell me where dwell the thoughts forgotten till thou call them forth?
Tell me where dwell the joys of old, & where the ancient loves,
And when will they renew again, & *the night of oblivion* past,
That I might traverse times & spaces far remote, and bring
Comforts into a present sorrow and a night of pain?
Where goest thou, O thought? to what remote land is thy flight?"

Commentaries of Proclus, II, 230:

"The mathematical sciences are indeed the proper *means* of acquiring wisdom, but they ought never to be considered as its *end*. They are the bridge as it were between sense and intellect by which we may safely pass through *the night of oblivion* over the dark and stormy ocean of matter, to the lucid regions of the intelligible world; and he who is desirous of returning to his true country will speedily pass over this bridge, without making any needless delays in his passage."

(II, 276): "The mathematical science; by whose assistance, we first recognize the glimmerings of truth, and discover the dawning beams of intellect emerging, as it were, from the *night of oblivion*."

XI

With the main thesis of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* compare the following (*Commentaries of Proclus*, I, ci):

"But in the third place, being elevated to supernal natures, and judging these to be alone true, they affirm themselves to be ignorant of all they formerly imagined themselves to know; in which degree Socrates professed to find himself, when he said, *this one thing I know, that I know nothing*; an ignorance preferable to all the knowledge gained by the most unwearied experimental enquiries."

XII

Blake uses "generation" in the Neo-Platonic sense as meaning birth into material life, putting on the garment of flesh. For examples see Sloss and Wallis, II, 162–163.

Similarly the *Commentaries of Proclus* (I, xci) read: "For true being, according to the Platonists, is without generation, because it has an infinite power of being totally present at the same time: and body is said to be generated, because it always possesses in itself an infinite flowing power, which it cannot at once totally receive."

XIII

Blake's *Jerusalem*, 38, 16–21:

"Mutual in one another's love and wrath all renewing,
We live as One Man: for, contracting our infinite senses,
We behold multitude; or, expanding, we behold as one,

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As One Man all the Universal Family; and that One Man
We call Jesus the Christ: and he in us and we in him
Live in perfect harmony in Eden, the land of life."

Commentaries of Proclus (I, x):

"Will it not, therefore, be proper, in the first place, to enquire, with the great Plotinus, whether multitude is not a departure and distance from *one*, so that infinity itself is a separation from unity in the extreme, because it is no other than innumerable multitude; that on this account it becomes evil; and that we contract a similar nature when departing from intellectual unity, we are divided by sensible multitude."

XIV

Blake's peculiar use of the word "Spectre" to represent "the reasoning power" with its false picture of life, is well known. Examples can be found in Sloss and Wallis (II, 226–233). The word occurs in a sense resembling Blake's in *The Commentaries* (I, 53): "For the conjectural power knows the spectres of sensible forms, while they are beheld in water and other bodies, which perspicuously represent their image."

XV

Blake repeatedly uses the figure of the "Wine-press," often with great lack of clearness. See Sloss and Wallis, II, 254–256.

At times, at least, he may have had in mind the following passage from *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries* (p. 144): "The pressing of grapes is as evident a symbol of dispersion as the tearing of wool; and this circumstance was doubtless one principal reason why grapes were consecrated to Bacchus: for a grape, previous to its pressure, aptly represents that which is collected into one; and when it is pressed into juice, it no less aptly represents the diffusion of that which was before collected and entire."

XVI

Repeatedly in *Jerusalem* Blake speaks of the starry wheels of Albion's sons, meaning apparently, mistaken systems of thought. An example is *Jerusalem* 5, 3–5:

"Cambridge & Oxford & London
Are driven among the starry Wheels, rent away and dissipated
In Chasms & Abysses of Sorrow."

Compare *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries* (p. 142):

"In the first place, then, with respect to the wheel, since Dionysus, as we have already explained, is the mundane intellect, and intellect is of an elevating and convertive nature, nothing can be a more apt symbol of intellectual action than a wheel or sphere."

Also *Sallust* (p. 34): "But of the bodies contained in the world, some imitate intellect, and revolve in a circle; but others soul, and are moved in a right line."

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XVII

The Four Zoas (end of Night V):

"The Woes of Urizen, shut up in the deep dens of Urthona . . . .
I will arise, explore these dens, and find that deep pulsation
That shakes my caverns with strong shudders: perhaps this is the night
Of Prophecy, and Luvah hath burst his way from Enitharmon."

Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries (pp. 103–104):

"The reader may observe how Proserpina, being represented as confined in the dark recess of a prison and bound with fetters, confirms the explanation of the fable here given as symbolical of the descent of the soul. . . . . What emblem can more beautifully represent the evolutions and outgoings of an intellectual nature into the regions of sense than the wanderings of Ceres by the light of torches through the darkness of night, and continuing the pursuit still she proceeds into the depths of Hades itself?"

XVIII[11]

Visions of the Daughters of Albion—Argument:

"I pluckéd Leutha's flower,
And I rose up from the vale;
But the terrible thunders tore
My virgin mantle in twain."

Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries (p. 99):

"Proserpina, therefore, or the soul, at the very instant of her descent into matter, is, with the utmost propriety, represented as eagerly engaged in plucking this fatal flower; for her faculties at this period are entirely occupied with a life divided about the fluctuating condition of body.

After this, Pluto, forcing his passage through the earth, seizes on Proserpina."

XIX

Blake repeatedly speaks of the union or reunion of the soul with the body as "death" and of people absorbed in material affairs as "dead." Examples may be found in Sloss and Wallis, II, 147.

Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries (p. 5): "That the soul, indeed, till purified by philosophy, suffers death through its union with the body, was obvious to the philologist Macrobius. . . . . *The death of the soul was nothing more than a profound union with the ruinous bonds of the body.*"

XX

Jerusalem (33, 35–34, 11):

"Vala replied in clouds of tears, Albion's garment embracing:
'I was a City & a Temple built by Albion's Children.

[11] Pointed out by Professor Damon.

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I was a Garden planted with beauty. I allured on hill & valley
The River of Life to flow against my walls & among my trees . . . .
'Art thou Vala?' replied Albion, 'image of my repose? . . . .
Is not that Sun thy husband & that Moon thy glimmering Veil?
Are not the Stars of heaven thy Children? Art thou not Babylon?
Art thou Nature, Mother of all? Is Jerusalem thy Daughter?
Why have thou elevate inward, O dweller of outward chambers,
From grot & cave beneath the Moon?"

Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries (pp. 70–71):

"The divinity of the moon is represented as addressing him in this sublime manner: ' . . . . Behold, Lucius, moved with thy supplications, I am present; I, who am *Nature*, the parent of things, mistress of all the elements . . . . who rule by my nod the luminous heights of the heavens, the salubrious breezes of the sea."

XXI

Blake repeatedly uses "vegetation," "vegetate," etc., apparently to express a materialistic decadence. For example turn to *The Four Zoas*, I, 95–98:

"They said: 'The Spectre is in every man insane & most
Deform'd. Thro' the three heavens descending in fury & fire,
We meet it with our songs & loving blandishments & give
To it a form of vegetation'."

Similarly in *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries* (p. 99) we read: "Hence, by an immoderate attachment to this unsubstantial mockery and gliding semblance of the real soul [the material body], such an one becomes, at length, wholly changed, as far as is possible to his nature, into a vegetive[12] condition of being."

XXII

Vala (I, 86–92):

"There is from Great Eternity a mild & pleasant rest
Nam'd Beulah, a Soft Moony Universe, feminine, lovely,
Pure, mild & Gentle, given in Mercy to those who sleep,
Eternally Created by the Lamb of God, around,
On all sides, within & without the Universal Man.
The Daughters of Beulah follow sleepers in all their Dreams,
Creating Spaces lest they fall into Eternal Death."

The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries (p. 13):

Quotes from Ficinus the opinion of the ancient theologists: " 'They asserted that prudent men, who earnestly employed themselves in divine concerns, were above all others in a vigilant state. But that imprudent [i.e., without foresight] men, who pursued objects of a different nature,

[12] The Amsterdam first edition reads "plantal" instead of "vegetive."

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being laid asleep, as it were, were only engaged in the delusions of dreams'."

Blake, as the context shows felt more compassion than Ficinus for the dreamers of dreams, but was equally clear that their attitude was not one for a noble soul.

XXIII

The symbolism of Urizen's book of brass may be clearer in the light of the following passage:
Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. 132):

"Brass, from its resisting nature, is an apt emblem of body, and consequently of the realms of generation, in which body predominates."

XXIV

Blake's pairing off of male and female symbolic figures might easily have received an impetus from the following passage:
Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. 43, note):

"It is necessary to observe, that this mutual communication of energies among the gods was called by ancient theologists ἱερος γάμος, *a sacred marriage*; concerning which Proclus . . . . remarks as follows: . . . . 'Theologists at one time considered this communion of the gods, in divinities co-ordinate with each other; and then they called it the marriage of Jupiter and Juno, of Heaven and Earth, of Saturn and Rhea. But at another time they considered it as subsisting between subordinate and superior divinities; and then they called it the marriage of Jupiter and Ceres. But at another time, on the contrary, they beheld it as subsisting between superior and subordinate divinities; and then they called it the marriage of Jupiter and Proserpine. . . . . It is necessary to understand the idiom of each, and to transfer a conjunction of this kind from the gods, to the communion of ideas with each other'."

XXV

Blake's character Enion, the venerable Earth Mother, whose name suggests a derivation from the Latin *Ens*, resembles the Neo-Platonic conception of Vesta.
Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. 41, note):

"The goddess Vesta has a manifest agreement with *essence*, because she preserves the being of things in a state of purity, and contains the summits of the wholes from which the universe consists. For *being* is the most ancient of all things, after the first cause, who is truly superessential; and Earth, which among mundane divinities is Vesta, is said by Plato, in the Timaeus, to be the most ancient of all the gods in heaven. . . . . Hence every thing which is stable, immutable, and which always subsists in the same manner, descends to all mundane natures from this supercelestial Vesta."

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XXVI

Blake's hostile, or at least distrustful, attitude toward Nature might easily have been inspired by Taylor's Introduction to the *Timaeus. Cratylus, etc.*, 1793 (p. 375):

"With respect to the term *nature*, which is differently defined by different philosophers, it is necessary to inform the reader, that Plato does not consider either matter or material form, or body, or natural powers, as worthy to be called nature; though nature has been thus denominated by others. Nor does he think proper to call it soul; but establishing its essence between soul and corporeal powers, he considers it as inferior to the former through its being divided about bodies, and its incapacity of conversion to itself, but as surpassing the latter through its containing the reasons of all things, and generating and vivifying every part of the visible world. For nature verges toward bodies, and is inseparable from their fluctuating empire."

XXVII

Taylor, like Blake, uses the word "abyss" to symbolize matter or materialism:

Sallust (p. 128):

"Nor e'er remember in the dark abyss
The splendid palace of their sire sublime."

XXVIII

Blake's *Book of Ahania* (Ch. V):

"The lamenting voice of Ahania,
Weeping upon the Void!
And round the Tree of Fuzon,
Distant in solitary night,
Her voice was heard, but no form
Had she; but her tears from clouds
Eternal fell round the Tree.
And the voice cried: 'Ah Urizen! Love!
Flower of the morning! I weep on the verge
Of Nonentity!—how wide the Abyss
Between Ahania and thee'! . . . ."

Taylor's *Sallust* (pp. 165–166) (To Vesta):

"While on Hyle's stormy sea,
Wide I roam in search of thee,
Graciously thine arm extend,
And my soul from all defend: . . . .
And soon cut the fatal folds
Through which guileful nature holds
Me indignant from thy sight
Exil'd in the realms of night,

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From my father's bosom torn,
Wand'ring weary and forlorn,
That my soul with rapid wing,
From Oblivion's coast may spring,
May once more triumphant gain
Truth's immortal, shining plain."

XXIX

In 1793 Blake engraved *The Visions of the Daughters of Albion* and named the villain of the poem Bromion. In the same year Taylor published his *Sallust*, etc., containing the line,

"Jove all-seeing, Bromius strong."

The epithet Bromius was, of course, common in Greek mythology; but the coincidence in dates seems worth recording.

XXX

The hint of the falls of Urizen and Los may be found in Taylor's *Sallust* (p. 159):

"Staggering and oppress'd with sleep,
Thro' dark Hyle's stormy deep,
Headlong borne with forceful sway,
And unconscious of the way,
Far I fell, mid dire uproar,
Till I touch'd this gloomy shore.
But my soul, now rous'd by thee,
And enabled truth to see,
Scorns her fetters, and aspires,
Borne on wings of pure desires,
To thy meadows full of light,
Fill'd with fountains of delight.
Arbiter of mental life,
Thro' these realms of endless strife,
Thro' earth's dark Tartarian tomb,
May thy light my steps illume;
And disclose the arduous way
To the coasts of mental day."

XXXI

Blake's *Jerusalem* (31, 15–16):

"Till he came to old Stratford & thence to Stepney & the Isle
Of Leutha's Dogs."

Sallust (p. 127, note):

"For evil daemons, as I have shown in my *Dissertation on the Mysteries*, appear in the shape of dogs."

Sallust (p. 157):

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"Daemons from my life expel,
That in matter's darkness dwell;
Noxious to the human race,
Dogs of hell, terrific, base."

XXXII

Blake's general attitude in telling his obscure philosophic myths might easily have been inspired by Taylor.
Sallust (p. 10):

"As the gods impart the goods of sensible natures in common to all things, but the goods resulting from intelligibles to the wise alone, so fables assert to all men that there are gods; but who they are, and of what kind, they alone manifest to such as are capable of so exalted a knowledge. In fables too, the energies of the gods are imitated; for the world may very properly be called a fable, since bodies, and the corporeal possessions which it contains, are apparent, but souls and intellects are occult and invisible. Besides, to inform all men of the truth concerning the gods, produces contempt in the unwise, from their incapacity of learning, and negligence in the studious; but concealing truth in fables, prevents the contempt of the former, and compels the latter to philosophize. But you will ask why adulteries, thefts, paternal bonds, and other unworthy actions are celebrated in fables? Nor is this unworthy of admiration, that where there is an apparent absurdity, the soul immediately conceiving these discourses to be concealments, may understand that the truth which they contain is to be involved in profound and occult silence."

XXXIII

Sloss and Wallis (II, 194) in discussing the sons of Los, say that one class of them were "never generated," a phrase of Blake's which "eludes interpretation." But it does not elude interpretation after one has read Taylor's *Sallust* (p. 5):

"The essences of the gods are neither generated; for eternal natures are without generation; and those beings are eternal who possess a first power, and are naturally void of passivity."

XXXIV

Blake's *Jerusalem* (27, 35-36):

"Albion gave his deadly groan,
And all the Atlantic Mountains shook."

Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. 399), Introduction to *Timaeus*:

"According to the saying of Heraclitus, he who passes through a very profound region will arrive at the Atlantic mountain, whose magnitude is such, according to the relation of the Aethiopian historians, that it touches the aether, and casts a shadow of five thousand stadia in extent."

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XXXV

In Blake's *Milton*, p. 32 (and reproduced there in the Quaritch ed. of 1893) is a diagram by Blake of a vast egg. It contains the names of Adam and Satan, surrounded by the four intersecting circles of the Four Zoas. Apparently it is Blake's chart of that mental universe through which Milton took his course. This may have been suggested by the *Cratylus* of 1793 (p. 286):

"*Time* is symbolically placed for the one principle of the universe; but *aether* and *chaos*, for the two posterior to this one: and *being*, simply considered, is represented under the symbol of an egg." And five or six pages later: "The *egg itself* is heaven: from the bursting of which into two parts, the sections are said to have become heaven and earth."

This chart of Blake's was his drawing of what he called "the mundane shell." The phrase was probably suggested by Taylor's work, for, though its exact form does not appear there, the adjective "mundane" is constantly used in ways that would suggest it. We quote a few examples:

Cratylus, etc. (p. 56, note): "mundane gods"—"mundane natures" (p. 61, note): "mundane subsistence"—"mundane intellect"—"mundane soul"; (p. 63, note): "mundane establishment"—"mundane concerns"; (p. 70, note): "mundane idiom"; (p. 372): "mundane animal."

(p. 372) (Introduction to *Timaeus*):

"The whole mundane animal too is connected together, according to the united comprehension which subsists in the intelligible world; and the parts which it contains are distributed so as to harmonize with the whole, both such as are corporeal and such as are vital. For partial souls are introduced into its spacious receptacle, are placed about the mundane gods, and become mundane through the luciform vehicles with which they are connected."

Sallust (p. 133, note) speaks of "the mundane order."

Sallust (p. 156): "Of the mundane gods the king."

Sallust (p. 162): "Thy power exempt from mundane forms we see."

XXXVI

The following passage from Blake's *Four Zoas* (IX, 478–482) may be simply a bit of idyllic poetry:

"And on the river's margin she ungirded her golden girdle;
She stood in the river & view'd herself within the wat'ry glass,
And her bright hair was wet with the waters. She rose up from the river,
And as she rose, her Eyes were open'd to the world of waters:
She saw Tharmas sitting upon the rocks beside the wavy Sea."

But if this passage has a symbolic meaning, it may be explained by the following excerpt from *The Works of Plato* (II, 514):

"For, as if some one standing on the margin of a river should behold the image and form of himself in the floating stream, he indeed will pre-

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serve his face unchanged, but the stream being all-variously moved will change the image. . . . . After the same manner the soul, beholding the image of herself in body, borne along in the river of generation, and variously disposed at different times, through inward passions and external impulses, is indeed herself impassive, but thinks that she suffers, and, being ignorant of, and mistaking her image for, herself, is disturbed, astonished, and perplexed."

XXVII

Blake's *Milton* (16, 21–26):

"The Mundane Shell is a vast Concave Earth, an immense
Harden'd shadow of all things upon our Vegetated Earth,
Enlarg'd into dimension & deform'd into indefinite space
In *Twenty-seven* Heavens and all their Hells, with Chaos
And Ancient Night & Purgatory. It is a cavernous Earth
Of labyrinthine intricacy, *twenty-seven* folds of opakeness."

Blake's *Jerusalem* (75, 10):

"And these the names of the *Twenty-seven* Heavens & their Churches:"

Works of Plato (II, 629):

"But Timaeus, in what he here says, converting things last to such as are first, and the terminations of the soul to its summit establishes this to be octuple, and that *twenty-seven* times, the first." Also on the preceding page Taylor has the footnote: "Let it be remembered that the first numbers of the soul are, as we have observed in the Introduction to this Dialogue, 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 8, *27*." These passages are part of a discussion on the mystic properties of numbers, which might easily have left with Blake the impression that 27 was the supreme Platonic number, as 3 was the supreme number of the Trinitarians.

XXXVIII

Blake's *Jerusalem* (98, 7–8):

"At the clangor of the Arrows of Intellect
The innumerable Chariots of the Almighty appear'd in Heaven."

Works of Plato[13] (II, 283):

"Intellect, possessing its life in eternity, and in an essence ever in energy, and fixing all its intelligence collectively in itself, is perfectly divine." (II, 475, note): "Intellect, therefore, is alone unconquerable; but science and scientific reasoning are vanquished by intellect, according to the knowledge of being." (V, 523, note): "His [Apollo's] emission of arrows is the symbol of his destroying everything inordinate, wandering, and immoderate in the world."

[13] Quotations throughout this essay from *The Works of Plato* are almost wholly from Taylor's vast mass of editorial matter, not from the Platonic dialogues themselves.

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XXXIX

Blake's *Milton* (23, 72):

"Time is the mercy of Eternity."

Works of Plato (II, 279):

"Time is the image of eternity."

XL

Blake's *Four Zoas* (IX, 616-619):

"The feast was spread in the bright South, & the Eternal Man
Sat at the feast rejoicing, & the wine of Eternity
Was serv'd round by the flames of Luvah all day & all the night.
And many Eternal Men sat at the golden feast."

Works of Plato (II, 578, note):

"According to the theology of Plato, there is not one father of the universe only, one providence, and one divine law, but many fathers subordinate to the one first father."

XLI

With the wanderings of Blake's Urizen in *The Four Zoas*, Night VI compare *Works of Plato* (II, 506, note): "But the fourth and last genus is that which abundantly wanders, which descends as far as to Tartarus, and is again excited from its dark profundities, evolving all-various forms of life, employing various manners, and at different times different passions. It also obtains various forms of animals, daemoniacal, human, irrational, but is at the same time corrected by Justice, returns from earth to heaven, and is circularly led from matter to intellect, according to certain orderly periods of wholes."

XLII

For Blake's use of the symbolic "veil of Vala" see Sloss and Wallis, II, 251. The conception may have been suggested by such passages as the following in *The Works of Plato*: (I, 520), "The veil of Minerva is an emblem of that one life or nature of the universe, which the goddess weaves by those intellectual vital powers which she contains." (II, 487, note): "Hence soul[14] is said .... to extend itself to the extremities of heaven, as vivifying it on all sides; and to invest the universe as with a veil, as possessing powers exempt from divisible bulk."

Cratylus, etc., 1793 (p. xvi):

"Men who are *ignorantly* called men of learning .... who, like Homer's mice, impiously *nibble* the veil of *Wisdom*, and would willingly destroy the work of her celestial hands."

[14] Remember that "soul" is used here in the Neo-Platonic sense as something inferior to intellect.

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XLIII

Blake's *Songs of Innocence* ("Night")[15]:

"When wolves and tigers howl for prey,
They pitying stand and weep."

Works of Plato (I, 501):

"Why therefore should you wonder that many according to life are wolves, many are swine, and many are invested with some other form of irrational animals?"

XLIV

Blake's *Jerusalem* (opening):

"Of the *Sleep of Ulro* and of the passage through Eternal Death and of the *awaking* to Eternal Life."

Works of Plato (I, 493):

"As they advance however in perfection, are excited from body, and collect their powers from matter, they become more prolific, and more inventive of the things about which they were before unprolific and dubious, through the sluggishness and privation of life proceeding from matter, and the *sleep of generation*." (Invert the order of one of the above sentences, and you find both running parallel in thought throughout.)

Works of Plato (II, 459):

"As this introduction and the following translations were the result of no moderate labour and perseverance, I earnestly hope they may be the means of *awakening* some few at least from the *sleep of oblivion*."

XLV

Blake's ["To Thomas Butts"][16]:

"With my inward eye, 'tis an old man grey,
With my outward, a Thistle across my way."

Works of Plato (I, 66, note):

"But sometimes one herb, or one stone, is sufficient to a divine operation. Thus, a thistle is sufficient to procure the sudden appearance of some superior power."

XLVI

Blake's *Four Zoas* (V, 164–165):

"Nor all the power of Luvah's Bulls,
Tho they each morning drag the unwilling Sun out of the deep."

Works of Plato (IV, 449, note):

"But they say that the moon is drawn by two bulls."

[15] This was written before *The Works of Plato* was even planned. But the likeness may represent some common source, now lost, and so help to interpret Blake.

[16] According to Sampson (*Poetical Works of Wm. Blake*, p. 187 of 1913 ed.), this was written some two years before *The Works of Plato* appeared. But there is the possibility of personal contact between Blake and Taylor.

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XLVII

For Blake's use of the "polypus" see Sloss and Wallis, II, 207. In *The Works of Plato* (III, 478), the editor translates a passage from "The Banquet" as follows: "So that every one of us at present is but the tally of a human creature; which has been cut like a polypus, and out of one made two." Of this passage the editor says in the footnote: "Under this difficulty of ascertaining what animal is meant by the ψηττα mentioned here by Plato, we have translated it a polypus, because the wonderful property ascribed here to the ψηττα is the same with that in the polypus, which a few years since afforded great entertainment to the virtuosi in many parts of Europe."

XLVIII

Blake's *Jerusalem* (99, 1–4):

"All Human Forms identified, even Tree, Metal, Earth, & Stone; all
Human Forms identified, living, going forth & returning wearied
Into the Planetary lives of Years, Months, Days & Hours; reposing,
And then Awaking into his Bosom in the Life of Immortality."

Works of Plato (I, 64, note):

"Hence we may behold the sun and moon in the earth, but according to a terrene quality; but in the celestial regions, all plants, and stones, and animals, possessing an intellectual life according to a celestial nature."

XLIX

Blake's *Jerusalem* (p. 77):

"Is the Holy Ghost any other than an Intellectual Fountain?"

Works of Plato (I, lxxxiii):

"That vast whole of wholes, in which all other wholes are centered and rooted, and which is no other than the principle of all principles, and the fountain of deity itself."

L

Blake's *Songs of Experience*[17]:

"Ah Sunflower! weary of time,
Who countest the steps of the sun;
Seeking after the sweet golden clime,
Where the traveller's journey is done."

Works of Plato (I, 64, note):

"Hence the sun-flower, as far as it is able, moves in a circular dance toward the sun; so that, if any one could hear the pulsation made by its circuit in the air, he would perceive something composed by a sound of this kind, in honour of its king, such as a plant is capable of framing."

[17] The *Songs of Experience* appeared ten years before *The Works of Plato*. But there is the possibility that Blake knew Taylor personally, and got ideas from him long before they appeared in print.

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LI

Blake's *Jerusalem* (p. 77):

"I give you the end of a golden string;
Only wind it into a ball,
It will lead you in at Heaven's gate,
Built in Jerusalem's wall."

Works of Plato (I, lvix):

"Having thus taken a general survey of the great world, and descended from the intelligible to the sensible universe, let us still, adhering to that golden chain[18] which is bound round the summit of Olympus, and from which all things are suspended, descend to the microcosm man." Ibid. (I, lxxxvii): "By these men [Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, etc.], who were truly links of the golden chain of deity, all that is sublime, all that is mystic in the doctrines of Plato .... was freed from its obscurity and unfolded into the most pleasing and admirable light." (If Blake had this passage in mind in the above stanza, he would be referring to himself as the last link in the golden chain of Neo-Platonic thinkers. This belief is strengthened by the following passage: *Works of Plato* (I, xc): "Porphyry being let down to men like a mercurial chain, through his various erudition, unfolded everything into perspicuity and purity."

Such is the evidence. It probably shows that Blake read these particular works of Taylor. But, more important than that, it shows that much of his thought was drawn *in some way* from Neo-Platonic sources and can be given a dignified and poetical interpretation in the light of Neo-Platonic teaching.

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[18] The phrase "golden chain" is found in Homer and Milton, but neither uses it to symbolize a continuous system of thought. Since Prof. Lowes, in his *Road to Xanadu*, has shown that Coleridge read Taylor enthusiastically, the following quotation from Coleridge's prose may be in point: "From the time of Honorius to the destruction of Constantinople .... there was a continued succession of individual intellects; the golden chain was never wholly broken, though the connecting links were often of baser metal" (*The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Prof. Shedd, New York, 1853, IV, 30.)

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LXIV

HERESY CONCERNING KEATS

OF what song the sirens sang Sir Thomas Browne, being a quaint and theoretical old gentleman, probably had some private opinion, and of just what John Keats meant when he declared (or the urn rather obviously declared for him) that "Beauty is truth, truth beauty" more than one critic has advanced a not so private opinion. The statement is so lucid and so guilelessly simple, taken alone, that it cannot be misunderstood, but put into its context it is like a man of too severe ideals in a naughty world—promptly at outs with the neighbors. It disagrees so sharply both with the ode it concludes, and the odes which follow it, that it is become what scholars in their odd language would call a "crux." The answer is simpler than might be expected. One may very reasonably ask whether Keats ever even said "Beauty is truth," and the answer is: No, he probably did *not* say it, nor anything like it.

The confusion which arises when we accept the guileless statement as his may be summarized briefly. (For four strophes the whole emotional value of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* has been based upon the poignant transiency of human beauty and passion.) Suddenly there comes the fifth and concluding strophe which declares that this "silent form," the urn, "dost tease us out of thought," after which it immediately advances a theory of æsthetics—and æsthetic theory is usually considered to have some connection with conscious cerebration. Moreover, the theory advanced implies that the *fact* of beauty is sufficient . . . . in other words that its *transiency* is no matter, and that in four-fifths of the poem we have responded to an emotional appeal which has no real validity.

That is nonsense and instinctively we feel it. The poem is so well loved precisely because that appeal *is* valid and universal. Though we crave a solution of the questions transiency raises in our minds, we scarcely crave *this* solution once its implications become clear—it is so completely false to John Keats. For this is the solution of the art-for-art's-sake people, and no one can imagine him in such company.

After Keats has apparently reached a perfectly lucid though somewhat dubious solution, the *Ode on Melancholy* further com-

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plicates the matter by returning to the point from which the *Grecian Urn* started, splendidly ignoring that guileless and conclusive statement. In the later ode, though the angle of approach is different, again transiency is the emotional base, and in the *Ode to a Nightingale* he takes flight from this same settled question.

We do not expect and, luckily, do not often meet an iron-rivetted and structural system of thought in poetry. What we do expect is emotional coherence, and here are two lines which not only belie the poem they conclude, but put it at variance with the group to which it belongs. It is possible to suggest that a great poet, concluding one of his greatest poems, did not believe what he said, or did not recognize its implications. This is possible but decidedly not wise. The critics have done what they could to reconcile the *Grecian Urn* with *Melancholy*, the usual explanation being that of a revulsion of feeling between the writing of one ode and the other. Amy Lowell suggests that *Melancholy* is an "angry denial" in another mood of the conclusion of the *Grecian Urn*; Mr. H. G. Garrod (when he stops berating Amy Lowell long enough to speak of his subject which is, officially, Keats) has it that the *Grecian Urn* is a "strong revulsion from the thesis of *Melancholy*."

The existence of a conflict is conceded in any effort at explanation, but may it not be possible that there is no conflict at all, and that Keats never either meant nor made such a statement as "Beauty is truth"? We take the passage out of the context, find its meaning lucid, and then put it back into the text only to find this lucid meaning troublesome. Perhaps it would be safer to find the meaning while the passage was still in its context. How far Pre-Raphaelite conceptions have colored our thought so that we read them back into periods to which they are alien is a question of intangibles which cannot easily be weighed—but which most distinctly cannot be ignored. Two lines apparently so complete in themselves, and hence so easily detached, would be especially defenseless against such a process. As we at present read them, they seem to smack more of Rossetti than of Keats, and perhaps more of Oscar Wilde than either.

Particularly, once the lines are restored to the poem, one must scrutinize that word "Beauty." What beauty? Out of the context "Beauty" is Abstract Beauty, or something else inhuman which approximates it, and parades in the fine dress of Initial Capitals. In the context Keats clearly has a *specific* beauty in mind and that

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specific beauty may be either one of two. First it may be the Urn, *qua* urn: something marble and, above all, permanent. That agrees perfectly "in principle," as the diplomats say when there is mischief afoot, with Abstract Beauty. But the talk of Abstract Beauty is of our making and Keats is, or may be, innocent. And if we accept this as the correct reading we are left in the confusion with which we started: two lines at war with three poems.

Or, secondly, the beauty that he has definitely in mind may be that of the figures on the urn. It is the urn which gives us a message ("Thou sayst" are Keats's words). To be grotesquely literal for a moment—does the urn contract its marble lips and labialize the statement "Beauty is truth"? Hardly. Or do the scenes upon the urn convey a certain idea? They do. And it is these scenes, not the urn *qua* permanent marble, which make the point on which Keats ends. This is so obvious as scarcely to deserve mention, and yet the equally obvious consequences seem not to have been noticed. The word "urn" is never once mentioned in the text, its shape, its proportion are unknown; even its material, marble, is unmentioned until the fifth strophe, when we learn that the *figures* on it are marble. It is the beauty of these figures which is "all Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know," and the beauty of these figures is the beauty of pipes and timbrels and wild ecstasy.

Read in its context, Keats is abandoning the problem as insoluble, not advancing a theory of æsthetic. If these scenes—and Keats—say anything, they say: Beauty is not truth, at least not in any permanent and abiding sense. Such reason, such truth as you will find in life is to be found in momentary ecstasy, and here only. This is not a novel doctrine. Keats has been both praised and blamed for leanings toward it elsewhere: he seems never to have been accused of advancing it here where he did advance it in a flat statement.

To indulge a little in that most exciting of modern sports, psychological reconstruction—a game invented by the critics for their own amusement and the occasional furtherance of truth—there are in this *Ode* the clear symptoms of an emotional question whose answer Keats has not found. It is not a very obscure question and one that no Anglo-Saxon, if he possessed both intelligence and a lack of faith in the doctrine of original sin, could very well miss: the question precisely what are the five senses worth (granted that they are not evil) inside the rather vague cir-

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cumference of eternity. For a man at once so ardent and so thoughtful as Keats, the question was likely to be particularly pressing, and no more than any other mortal could he have found the answer. The point is, that the question intrudes upon him in the white heat of composition at a season when his powers were at their zenith. The first two strophes pose an antithesis:

Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness,
  Thou foster-child of Silence and Slow Time,
Sylvan historian, who canst thus express
  A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme:
What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape
  Of deities or mortals, or of both,
    In Tempe or the dales of Arcady?
  What men or gods are these? what maidens loth?
What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?
    What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?

II

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
  Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;
Not to the sensual ear, but, more endear'd
  Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone:
Fair youth, beneath the trees, thou canst not leave
  Thy song, nor ever can those trees be bare;
    Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve;
    She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
  Forever wilt thou love, and she be fair!

He begins, it may be noted, with a rhapsodic appreciation of a specific sensuous object. Keats is, as any school boy can inform you, a sensuous poet, and there is not and cannot be anything abstract about the sensuous; it immediately translates the indefinite word beauty into the concreteness of beautiful things. And Keats, save possibly in the famous opening of *Endymion*, is no exception. He need not dandle a solid marble urn on his lap while he works, but there can be nothing vague nor abstract in his conception of the beauty of which he writes. In this case, by the end of the first strophe he has reached ecstasy. The question-marks are exclamatory. It is impossible to read them as honest questions, the serious and somewhat fatuous demands for information of a small boy deprived of the book of knowledge. The first *may* be a real query. The rest are not. A high enthusiasm

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for Greek art was the spring which launched him into this poem and in ten lines it swept him to a climax, premature for the poem, but one which had been maturing within him the long time since Haydon had first introduced him to the Elgin marbles.

Then, at the end of the strophe, he stopped—flat-footed. The next strophe is great poetry but it starts at a wide tangent. That problem which a strenuous moral sense has thrust on the Anglo-Saxon—that question of the value of the senses—had intruded. Just how long had the originals of those maidens been dust upon the wind?

In the pause between these two strophes, this, and the next two great odes, are germinated. Perhaps the antithesis was in his mind before he started the poem. Perhaps he started with an enthusiasm for Greek art and no very clear idea of where he was going, only to collide with a question while he was seeking the opening of the next strophe. In view of the smooth transitions in the *Ode on Melancholy* and the *Ode to a Nightingale* the sharpness of the break here has a certain suggestiveness.

In any case, in the second strophe, after ecstasy, he is suddenly off at a tangent: (ecstasy is not so fine a state after all, spiritual ditties are better, and the true happiness of the lover is that he will never be disillusioned.) That is beautiful and it may be true, but something of (original sin has crept into paradise. He goes on:

III

Ah, happy, happy boughs! that cannot shed
  Your leaves, nor ever bid the Spring adieu;
And, happy melodist, unwearied,
  For ever piping songs for ever new;
More happy love! more happy, happy love!
  For ever warm and still to be enjoy'd,
    For ever panting, and for ever young;
All breathing human passion far above,
  That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy'd,
    A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

IV

Who are these coming to the sacrifice?
  To what green altar, O mysterious priest,
Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies,
  And all her silken flanks with garlands drest?
What little town by river or sea shore,
  Or mountain-built with peaceful citadel,

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Is emptied of this folk, this pious morn?
And, little town, thy streets for evermore
Will silent be; and not a soul to tell
Why thou art desolate, can e'er return.

V

O Attic shape! Fair attitude! with brede
Of marble men and maidens overwrought,
With forest branches and the trodden weed;
Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought
As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!
When old age shall this generation waste,
Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,'—that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

The significance of the third strophe is clear enough: the poem is progressing along a clear line. The opening strophes were antithetical—the third contains them both in a clear reaffirmation of the problem involved in the antithesis. Ecstasy and the burning forehead, human potentiality and physical weakness are all there—the transiency and the fever and the glory of the senses.

In the fourth strophe, Keats returns from the question to the sensuous object with which he began. It is a pause, a beautiful pause, and yet a sorrowful one, concluding with a dying cadence and the deep melancholy of streets forever deserted. The instinct which led to that pause (quite aside from the gracious charm of the picture) was the instinct of genius. After the sharp reversals of the preceding stanzas we are left tranquil a moment; the original beauty with which we began is reaffirmed, but with its accumulated sadness. And then, frankly and swiftly, Keats turns to give such solution as he is able. "O Attic shape," he says,

Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought
As doth eternity

Which means exactly what it says—that thought (which we have built up *about* the urn in the strophes following the initial ecstasy) breaks down and vanishes if we abandon ourselves to the message of the urn. Ecstasy can submerge us as completely as eternity. But the message, ecstasy, the clue, is withheld so that his last word may literally be his last word.

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> When old age shall this generation waste
> Thou shalt remain in midst of other woe
> Than ours, a friend to man.

A fixed shape shall remain with this as yet undisclosed solution, which is the best Keats can offer. So far this interpretation is orthodox enough:—but is the message of the urn that of the poet-asters and the art-for-art's-sake people? Was the ardent Keats content to call a marble woman the highest aspiration of mankind? Or did he mean in that parenthetical "a friend to man" that the urn was triumphantly pagan and unaware that his Anglo-Saxon question even had existence? The urn spoke, but not with literal marble lips—its pictures spoke and of these the initial one, which struck Keats most forcibly, is that of maidens loth and mad pursuit, of pipes and timbrels and wild ecstasy. *This* is all we can and need to know.

So conceived, the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* has that essential emotional coherence which is of more consequence to a work of art than the intellectual validity of its ideas. And, so conceived, the poem harmonizes perfectly with the two odes which follow, the *Ode on Melancholy* and the *Ode to a Nightingale*, and the three taken together form a larger unit as definitely integrated as are the strophes within any one of the three odes. The three form an experiment in symphonic structure.... There is no space here to argue the exact order of composition; following Amy Lowell we must assume this order for the three in order to allow space for brief comment on the relationship of the three within the larger whole which they form.

The conclusion of the *Grecian Urn* was an out-and-out and passionate declaration for the senses, curiously mingled with a tinge of desperation. The *Ode on Melancholy* pauses and restates the position so far: it is a pause in the emotional development just as the fourth strophe in the preceding ode had been a pause. Joy is forever bidding adieu, and the sorrowful transiency of the senses is not altered by the passionate recognition that the senses are the best that man can know. That fact bitterly remains, and the *Ode on Melancholy* neither advances nor retreats from the conclusion of the preceding ode.

The *Ode to a Nightingale* finishes and underlines the motto of the trilogy precisely because it chronicles a revolt from the central conception of the group—and chronicles the failure of that revolt. It is in this ode, and this ode only of the three, that Keats flirts

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with the dogma of Permanent Beauty which has been ascribed to him.

It is obvious that before the poem even commences the full significance of the life of the senses, with its marriage of anguish and joy, has been established. It was the business of the previous ode, with its pause in the progression, to emphasize the cruelty of delight. But in the final ode Keats starts with a flight from that reality. He is tempted by those glamorous shadows which lie within a frosty beaker of Hippocrene—anything to "Fade far away, dissolve, and quite forget." But this is only a half-escape—it is upon the "viewless wings of Poesy" that he must make his true escape if escape is ever to be made. No more here than elsewhere does Keats deny the senses—his is a revolt only against their limitations, an effort to build up the full joy of the sensuous life outside the fabric of reality and consequently without its anguish—it is a flight into that one possible world which offered a release, the world of imagination. And at this point the poem hovers upon the borderline of life: what is real and what perhaps is still more real, being imagined, is uncertain. And for one imperial and conquering moment victory seems to rest with the rebels and the song of the nightingale soars above the litanies of death. It is one moment, one rocket flung against the black of time. The end of it is but foam and forlornness. And with that end, Keats implicitly returns to the conclusion of the first ode, now definitive. Pipes and timbrels and wild ecstasy, that is all ye know and need to know.

Within these odes, emotionally so coherent, there is a curious contrast of light. "Grave and gay" is the evocative phrase Amy Lowell uses to describe the *Ode to a Grecian Urn*. She might also have spoken of the quality of the light which plays upon it—there is the clarity and sharpness of full sunshine, and yet of morning before the day has grown hot and the sun blinding—clear and cool and young before the full significance of life has come awake. *Melancholy* is to candle light, behind curtains. And the *Nightingale* is foam and shadow, too fragile for the hand to touch, a song of passion in the dark.

ROYALL SNOW

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LXV

CARLYLE'S GENERAL METHOD IN *THE FRENCH REVOLUTION*

THOMAS CARLYLE'S *French Revolution* may be regarded as a prodigious cento of fragments from the memoirs and histories which made up the great bulk of his sources. Those sections which are not devoted to running commentary[1] on the Revolution, on democracy, or on other problems, are Carlylean renditions of various dull or hopelessly biased accounts, selected for color and drama, arranged according to climax or contrast, and presented so as to secure the result desired, a "flame-picture." "While other historians sought to blend . . . . details [from memoirs] into a smooth equable narrative, as rags are fashioned into a sheet of paper, Carlyle took the rags themselves and hung them forth gay or grimy or blood-stained, dancing in air or trailing in mud."[2] Instead of considering Carlyle as a scientific historian we may more properly regard him as an artist, dealing with reported fact from a confusing number of directions, and handling materials which, however manifestly unreliable they themselves might be, always demanded some degree of accuracy and good faith, and which on the other hand permitted various turns of interpretation, emphasis, perspective, or moral judgment. From a great number of incoherent and carelessly inaccurate narratives, he attempted to winnow that thing which he revered with his whole soul, the significant human *fact*.

The "flame-picture" was also, if we may adopt a different figure, something of a mosaic. Every paragraph which depicts a situation or states a fact can be shown to have one or more originals behind

[1] There are, roughly, 1700 paragraphs in *The French Revolution*; of these more than 500 contain no historical material whatever, but express Carlyle's reactions to events and ideas of the Revolution. My analysis of his method in the history has proceeded in the directions suggested by his citations of sources in footnotes; of these there are over 850. It has been assumed that by assembling all the sources mentioned in them, the basis of all Carlyle's statements of fact could be found. Except for some half dozen allusions, which cannot be regarded as a part of his *general* method, this has been found true. In the absence of citation, the source of a given paragraph has been selected from the whole according to its fitness and adequacy. The history has been examined in the light of all the sources, of which, according to the least calculation, there are 83.

[2] Richard Garnett, *Life of Thomas Carlyle, London* [1887], p. 82.

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it, a page or a line of a source which has, through the medium of his philosophy and style, become a brilliant unit in a larger aggregate. Thus, according to his footnotes, for the narration of the increasing tumult in Paris on July 13, 1789, Carlyle consulted at least five sources and wove their details into a single paragraph. The share that each original had in his narrative may be seen from the following:

C.-E. Marquis de Ferrières, "Mémoires," Paris, 1822, i, 116: Cependant le tocsin sonnait dans toutes les églises; les boutiques étaient fermées; les rues pleines de gens armés. . . . .

P.-J.-B. Buchez et P.-C. Roux, "Histoire Parlementaire," Paris, 1833 et seq., ii, 97: Partout on cherchait des armes; tous les ouvriers en fer étaient occupés . . . . mais c'était des armes à feu qu'il fallait. Pour cela, on allait à l'Hôtel-de-ville, s'addresser à M. de Flesselles, prevôt des marchands.

J.-S. Bailly, "Mémoires," Paris, 1821, i, 348: M. de Flesselles déclare que M. de Pressoles, manufacturier de Charleville, lui avait promis 12,000 fusils. . . . .

J.-J. Dusaulx, "Prise de la Bastille," Paris, 1821, p. 276: A neuf heures du matin, la multitude qui s'exaltait de plus en plus, s'empara du dépôt des armes des gardes de la Ville, et se distribua trois cent soixante fusils. . . . .

Bailly, "Mémoires," i, 329: . . . . et l'on vit à sa place un homme en chemise et sans bas comme sans

The French Revolution, i, 251-252[3]*:* All shops, unless it be the Bakers' and Vintners', are shut: Paris is in the streets;—rushing, foaming like some Venice wine-glass into which you had dropped poison. The tocsin, by order, is pealing madly from all steeples.

Arms, ye Elector Municipals; thou Flesselles with thy Echevins, give us arms!

Flesselles gives what he can: fallacious, perhaps insidious promises of arms from Charleville; order to seek arms here, order to seek them there.

The new Municipals give what they can; some three hundred and sixty indifferent fire-locks, the equipment of the City-Watch;

'a man in wooden shoes, and without coat, directly clutches

[3] All references to *The French Revolution*, in this paper, will be to the first edition, London, 1837. Since later editions were consulted before the writer had access to the first ed., there may be variations in punctuation and spelling but not in the text, which has been carefully collated with later eds. Unless otherwise noted all sources indicated are in the editions which Carlyle consulted; in general, enough of their titles is given to identify them readily.

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souliers, monter garde, el fusil sur l'épaule, à la porte de la grande salle. . . . .

Histoire de la Révolution française, par Deux Amis de la Liberté, Paris, 1790–1803, i, 335[5]: Depuis vingt-quatre heures les enclumes retentissoient sous les coups redoublés du marteau. Tout le fer est forgé en instrumens de carnage. . . . .

one of them, and mounts guard.[4]

Also as hinted, an order to all Smiths to make pikes with their whole soul.

Of the five sources quoted here, Carlyle cites four in the chapter from which the paragraph has been drawn (Pt. I, Bk. V, Ch.V, "Give Us Arms"): the *Histoire Parlementaire*, Dusaulx, the *Deux Amis*, and Ferrières. Bailly is cited at the end of Chapter VI, "Storm and Victory," along with various other works which contributed appropriate details. Carlyle's general method, it is seen, was one of selection, transformation of original passages, and a careful placing in a vast word-picture. Instead of employing his sources for the production of a single coherent image, it is obvious that he read various accounts for separate little episodes. He saw the fall of the Bastille not as a single momentous event, but as an aggregate of many individual contributory incidents, each worth delineation in itself, each charged with the magic of human motive. The episodic nature of his narrative in a measure reflects the episodic nature of his sources, which were in the main a collection of memoirs, reminiscences, hastily-written histories, letters, and diaries, materials that were naturally deficient in coherence and perspective. From such materials Carlyle achieved a *pictorial* coherence, to which chronology, as we shall see later, was at times (in minor instances) subordinated. The method to be observed in the above parallel is typical, as far as it goes, of Carlyle's general practice. Every paragraph containing historical facts is the product of a number of mutually confirming sources. Instead of expanding on his material, a treatment which one might reasonably

[4] Bailly dates his account the 12th of July; Carlyle is relating events of the 13th. Carlyle not only misdates the event but also misquotes Bailly concerning the "wooden shoes," which are noted only in Bailly's work.

[5] Carlyle used this work in the ed. of Paris, 1792–1803. In this paper all quotations from this source are identical in text with the one I am using. I shall refer to it as Carlyle does, as *Deux Amis*.

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expect from an historian with Carlyle's opinions, he tends to condense, to pack into one paragraph perhaps the gist of ten or a dozen accounts; frequently a paragraph must have been produced by the contribution of a different source for every phrase. But this is not common, and cannot be discussed here.

One of the first features to strike a close observer of Carlyle's literary method in his histories is his use of footnotes. Let it be said at once that they cannot be depended upon as an adequate record of the materials from which he borrowed. It is frequently difficult to identify unmistakably the work which he cites. In citing his sources an author may either give a reference for each important statement or may "cover" a number of them later with a comprehensive reference in which the page-numbers given are completely inclusive. Carlyle apparently used no single method, and his footnotes, appearing on almost every page, are to some extent deceptive. Although he usually consulted from three to a half dozen works for a single chapter, or even for a single paragraph, most paragraphs of *The French Revolution* receive only one or two footnote references. For example, the *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1811–1833) is cited in footnotes on the following pages of volume I: 48, 101, 122–23, 278, 307, and 321. Nevertheless this work was consulted constantly for the first twenty chapters and many of Carlyle's sentences can be explained only by resorting to its articles. Thus its unacknowledged use is evident in "Dishonoured Bills" (p. 93),[6] in "Astrea Redux Without Cash,"[7] in "Controller Calonne" (p. 97),[8] in "Maurepas" (p. 58),[9] in "The Notables" (p. 108),[10] in "Loménie's Death-throes" (pp. 154–55),[11] in "The Procession."[12] It is used also in describing the activities of Théroigne de Méricourt in portions of "The Insurrection of Women," and of other characters of that episode,[13] in describing

[6] In the sentence beginning: "As little could Controller d'Ormesson do. . . . ."

[7] In the paragraphs dealing with Necker's final years.

[8] Calonne's *bon mot* to the Queen, about achieving the impossible.

[9] In the sentence beginning: "M. de Maurepas has to gyrate . . . ."

[10] Calonne's final years; paragraph beginning: "Such destiny the magic . . . ."

[11] Loménie de Brienne's final years; last paragraph in the chapter.

[12] Throughout the chapter, for details in the lives of the leaders of "the procession."

[13] Part I, Book VII, Chapter VII, "At Versailles," second paragraph; the description of Jourdan and "Père Adam" in the third paragraph; p. 393 of Chapter XI, "From Versailles"; p. 403 of the same chapter (the last days of Moreau de Saint-Méry). See the appropriate articles in *Biog. Univ.*

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Marat's funeral-honors,[14] in narrating the flight to Varennes,[15] in delineating Charlotte Corday and Marat,[16] in relating Danton's last days,[17] and in innumerable allusions by word or phrase. The chief characteristic, then, of Carlyle's use of footnotes is the arbitrary citation of one source below a given paragraph when several uncited works have also been employed for the remainder of the passage. Occasionally at the end of a chapter he adds a fairly comprehensive (but never entirely inclusive) footnote, as at the ends of "Storm and Victory," "The Lanterne," "Charlotte Corday," "Extinct," and "Danton, No Weakness." Finally, we may observe that Carlyle's footnotes are often fragmentary, as, for example, "Duc de Levis," "Founders of the French Republic," and "Walpoliana."[18] Yet it must be conceded that, once Carlyle's sources are completely assembled, scarcely anything he wrote in *The French Revolution* can be regarded as without a foundation of source-material.

Enough has perhaps been shown of Carlyle's *mechanical* use of sources. It may be assumed that the word "paraphrase" connotes something more than what has thus far been discussed; we may be sure that a paraphrase by Carlyle must mean a complete and profound revision of an original passage, an act of spiritual interpretation and insight, an effort at dramatic feeling and characterization, the re-casting of a thought or fact in a distinctly individual style. A paraphrase by Carlyle is characterized by attributes which fall into two groups: those determined by the surface qualities of his style and those arising from Carlyle's psychology. The distinction may be a trifle arbitrary, but it will serve in the interest of clarity. Carlyle's style, as is generally known, luxuriates in capitalization, triad constructions ("believed, bewept, besung"), epithets ("sea-green Robespierre"), omitted connectives in syntax,

[14] Pt. III, Bk. IV, Ch. I, "Charlotte Corday," p. 236, concerning the funeral urn, naming children after Marat, and David's picture of him. Cf. *Biog. U.*

[15] Pt. II, Bk. IV, Ch. VIII, "The Return," pp. 255–56, Théroigne's last years; p. 254, Bouillé's last years. See the *Biog. U.*

[16] See art. on Charlotte Corday in *Biog. Univ.*

[17] The article on Danton in the *Biog. Univ.* was used more copiously than can be indicated in the scope of this study. See the *Biog. U.*

[18] These three notes presumably refer to the following: Duc de Levis, *Souvenirs et Portraits*, Paris, 1780–89; *Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic*, London, 1798; Horace Walpole, *Walpoliana*, London, 1817 (bound with Walpole's *Reminiscences*). (These are the only editions in which I have been able to gain access to these three works.)

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hyphenation, alliteration, groupings in pairs with assonance or rhyme ("perorate and speculate"), the coining of words, italicizing for emphasis. The second group of features includes apostrophe, exclamation, hyperbole, contributed speeches without quotation marks, comment, synoptic surveys over a given scene, and interrogation. These aspects of his style will be seen in great abundance in whatever passage of *The French Revolution* one may choose to analyze. Such a passage may fall under one of three general types: (a) the *faithful* paraphrase, which adheres closely to the facts presented by a source, (b) the slightly *embroidered* paraphrase, and (c) that which shows some *fabrication* of minor details. It is only in types (b) and (c) that Carlyle's style and method produce any departure from accuracy; type (a) represents Carlyle's normal use of his materials.

In one of the most normal and typical of passages, the narrative of the "Bust-procession" on the 12th of July, 1789,[19] we find virtually all of Carlyle's habits of style and paraphrasing in operation:

Deux Amis, i, 313: Un gros de citoyens se rend au cabinet de Curtius: on enlève du consentement de cet artiste, les bustes de M. Necker, et de M. le duc d'Orléans que l'on disoit alors partager sa disgrace; on les couvre de crêpes, et on les porte dans les rues au milieu d'un cortège nombreux, accompagné de quelques hommes de la garde de Paris.

Cette pompe en même-tems funèbre et triomphante traversoit la place Vendôme, lorsqu'un détachement de Royal-Allemand et de dragons vient le sabre haut

(1) *Carlyle, i, 245–247:*[20] . . . . And
(2) now to Curtius' Image-shop
(3) there; to the Boulevards; to the
(4) four winds, and rest not till
(5) France be on fire!
(6) France, so long shaken and
(7) wind-parched, is probably at
(8) the right inflammable point.
(8) —As for poor Curtius, who, one
(9) grieves to think, might be but
(10) imperfectly paid,— he cannot
(11) make two words about his
(12) Images. The Wax-bust of
(13) Necker, the Wax-bust of d'Or-
(14) leans, helpers of France: these,
(15) covered with crape, as in funeral
(16) procession, or after the manner

[19] Pt. I, Bk. V, Ch. IV, "To Arms," beginning with the last sentence of the fifth paragraph and ending with the ninth. (In the first edition of *The French Revolution*, Parts I, II, III were three separate volumes; thus my references to volumes are also to Parts.)

[20] *Ibid.* (The "Bust-procession" was precipitated by an inflaming speech of Camille Desmoulins; a mob then began a "demonstration" in favor of Necker who had just been dismissed.)

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charger cette troupe de citoyens desarmés. Le buste de M. Necker est brisé, celui de M. le duc d'Orléans échappe avec peine au sabre d'un dragon; un garde-françoise sans armes perd la vie, quelques autres personnes sont blesseés.

Deux Amis, i, 312: La consternation fut générale, l'exil d'un seul homme devint une calamité publique: les spectacles sont fermés comme dans les jours de désolation et de deuil . . . . .

Baron P.-V. de Besenval, Mêmoires, Paris, 1805, iii, 410: je leur envoyai l'ordre de se porter à la place Louis XV. Un fort détachement des Gardes-Suisses étoit déjà dans les Champs-Elysées, avec quatre pièces de canon . . . . .

Deux Amis, i, 313–314: Le Prince de Lambesc, colonel de Royal-Allemand étoit alors avec

of suppliants appealing to Heaven, to Earth, and Tartarus itself, a mixed multitude bears off. For a sign! As indeed man, with his singular imaginative faculties, can do little or nothing without signs: Thus Turks look to their prophet's Banner, also Osier *Mannikins* have been burnt, and Necker's portrait has erewhile figured, aloft on its perch.

In this manner march they, a mixed, continually increasing multitude; armed with axes, staves and miscellanea; grim, many-sounding, through the streets. Be all theaters shut; let all dancing, on planked floor, or on the natural greensward, cease! Instead of a Christian Sabbath, and feast of *guingette* tabernacles,[21] it shall be a Sorcerer's Sabbath; and Paris, gone rabid, dance,—with the Fiend for piper!

However, Besenval with horse and foot, is in the Palace Louis Quinze.

Mortals promenading homewards, in the fall of the day, saunter by, from Chaillot or Passy, from flirtation and a little thin wine; with sadder step than usual. Will the Bust-procession pass that way? Behold it; behold also Prince Lambesc dash forth on it, with his Royal-Allemands! Shots

[21] In the same general passage (in the edition of 1792–1803, however), the "Deux Amis" note that the anger of the crowds, as they came as usual on Sunday evenings from the *guinguettes* or suburban tea-houses and taverns, was due less to the dismissal of Necker than to the appearance of arms and soldiers at a time always given to pleasure and gaiety.

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sa troupe sur la place Louis XV. Le peuple indigné l'assaille d'un grêle de pierres. Le fougeux aristocrate perd la tête, se jette dans les Tuileries avec quelques cavaliers, et pourfend d'un coup sabre un malheureux vieillard qui lui tendoit les bras. Quelques coups de fusil et le bruit d'un coup de canon répandent la terreur parmi les citoyens paisibles que l'agrément de la promenade avoit attirés dans ce lieu; hommes, femmes, enfans prennant la fuite dans le plus grand désordre, et se précipitent à toutes les issues du jardin. A cet vue, les cris redoublés *aux armes*, *aux armes* se répétent successivement du Pont-Royal dans tout Paris, quelques épées brillent, le tocsin sonne dans toutes les paroisses, on court à l'hôtel-de-ville, on se rassemble, on enfonce quelques boutiques d'armuriers; des gardes-françoises s'échappent de leurs casernes et se mêlent avec le peuple; une compagnie deRoyal-Allemand est battue et mise en

fall, and sabre strokes; Busts are hewed asunder; and alas, also heads of men. A sabred procession has nothing for it but to *explode*, along what streets, alleys, Tuileries Avenues it finds; and disappear. One unarmed man lies hewed down; a Garde Francaise by his uniform; bear him (or bear even the report of him) dead and gory to his Barracks;—where he has comrades still alive!

But why not now, victorious Lambesc, charge through that Tuilleries Garden itself, where the fugitives are vanishing? Not show the Sunday promenaders too how steel glitters, besprent with blood; that it be told of, and men's ears tingle? Tingle, alas, they did; but the wrong way. Victorious Lambesc in this his second or Tuileries charge succeeds but in overturning (call it not slashing, for he struck with the flat of his sword) one man, a poor old schoolmaster, most pacifically tottering there; and is driven out,[22]

[22] On minor details Carlyle is occasionally (but not often) indifferent to conflicting source-accounts. Joseph Weber (*Mémoires concernant Marie Antoinette*, Paris, 1822, i, 367–68) declares that two men were felled by Lambesc, and that of the two, not the schoolmaster but the Garde-française was struck down by the "flat of the sword"; the schoolmaster was unable to escape Lambesc's horse and was accidentally injured. On the other hand, J.-J. Dusaulx (*Prise de la Bastille*, Paris, 1821, p. 274) relates that "dans cette conjoncture, un soldat des gardes-françaises avait été tué d'un coup de pistolet, par un dragon," and that a man "nommé Chauvet, maître de pension, agé de 64 ans, avait été blessé par le prince. . . . ." Weber attempts, in his royalist bias, to screen the prince, adding, "et l'on s'écria aussitôt que celui-ci l'avait été blessé d'un coup de sabre."

Carlyle used Weber's *Mémoires* (which were really written by Lally-Tollendal) in the edition of London, 1804–09. He seems to have had little faith in Weber's veracity; yet while he often shows his reliance upon Dusaulx, he fails, in this particular narrative, to mention the pistol shot Presumably where writers differed on the details of an episode, he felt at liberty to conjecture the most probable facts.

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fuite par les soldats du Dépôt, secondés par un bon nombre de Parisiens déterminés à vendre chèrement leur vie.

Histoire Parl., ii, 83: Sa [Lambesc's] marche fut arrêtée par une barricade de chaises; de derrière, on lançait sur son peloton, des pierres, des bouteilles et des chaises . . . . .

(86) by barricades of chairs, by flights
(87) of "bottles and glass," by exe-
(88) crations in bass-voice and treble
(89) Most delicate is the mob-
(90) queller's vocation; wherein Too-
(91) much may be as bad as Not-
(92) enough. For each of the bass-
(93) voices, and more each treble
(94) voice, borne to all parts of the
(95) City, rings now nothing but
(96) distracted indignation; will ring
(97) all night. The cry, *To Arms!*
(98) roars ten-fold; steeples with
(99) their metal storm-voice boom
(100) out, as the sun sinks; armorers'
(101) shops are broken open, plun-
(102) dered; the streets are a living
(103) foam-sea, chafed by all the
(104) winds.[23]

The characteristics which make the above passages from Carlyle representative of what may be found on almost any page of *The French Revolution* may be noted as follows: first, his sentences are roughly faithful to the original; second, they at times approach translation; third, they present the facts of the sources through the spectrum of Carlyle's style; fourth they do not indicate a thorough assimilation by Carlyle of the facts themselves, but rather a paraphrase of the originals in such a way as to unite in forming a sort of mosaic-pattern; and fifth, they show no fabrication, or contribution of factual detail.

[23] We may note the following features of Carlyle's style as shown in the parallel: *capitalization* in ll. 2, 12, 24, 51, 56, 67, 95; *triads* in ll. 1–4, 17–19, 31–32, 86–88; an *epithet* in l. 78; *omitted connectives* in ll. 95–104; *hyphenation* in ll. 2, 33, 90–92; *alliteration* in ll. 29, 30, 40; a *coined hyphenated expression* in l. 99 ("storm-voice"); *italics* in ll. 60 ("*explode*"); *apostrophe* in ll. 69–72; exclamation in ll. 1–5, 40–42; *hyperbole* in ll. 100–104; *contributed speech without quotation marks* in ll. 34–37 (in which the mob is conceived as commanding all gaiety to be stopped); *comment* in ll. 20–23; *a general survey of the situation* in ll. 89–104; *interrogation* in ll. 51–52, 69–76.—Noteworthy also are the *metaphors* in ll. 60 ("explode"), 99 ("storm-voice"), and ll. 102–104 ("the streets are a living foam-sea, chafed by all the winds)."

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From this aspect of Carlyle's work, that of general soundness and good faith in employing his materials, one is led immediately to consider the exceptions, those passages which on close examination reveal various degrees of embroidering and addition. Were each of the exceptions long enough, it would be possible to compute the approximate ratio between the typical and the exceptional, to state clearly what proportion of the history is to be regarded as imaginary or creative. However, after the most careful scrutiny, Carlyle's deviations from his sources can be seen in only very minute and quite unimportant instances, when, for example, he desires to make a character live and speak, without regard to the absence in the sources of any evidence of a spoken word.

Carlyle's embroidery on a given scene, fact, or character took the turn (1) of introducing details which quite probably were present, (2) of utilizing some obscure but concrete and human detail found in a footnote of a source, (3) of being occasionally indifferent to conflicting accounts in order to form the most vivid and dramatic version, (4) of violating chronological order so as to complete a portrait or scene. In view of the gossipy and treacherous nature of his materials, and considering that he was not attempting a strictly documented and scientific history but a work of art, we are hardly justified in stressing his occasional freedom with the original accounts.[24] Let us look at a typical example of his practice in this regard. In narrating the harangue which Desmoulins delivered on the 12th of July and which precipitated the "Bust-procession" and its consequencies, Carlyle used Desmoulins' *Vieux Cordelier* (Paris, 1825), in which he found the printed speech as Camille recollected it and re-told it. We thus have the following:

Vieux Cordelier, pp. 81–82: Aussitôt je fus plutôt porté sur la table que je n'y montai. A peine y étais-je, que je me vis entouré d'une foule

Carlyle, i, 244–46:[25] But see Camille Desmoulins, from the Café de Foy, rushing out, sibylline in face; his hair streaming, in each hand a

[24] Carlyle himself wrote: " . . . . I have again been *resolute* about the writin of a book, and even working in the direction of one. Subject, 'The French Revolution.' Whole boxes of books about me. Gloomy, huge, of almost boundless meaning, but obscure, dubious—all too deep for me; will and must *do my best.* Alas! gleams too, of a work of art hover past me; as if this should be a *work of art.* Poor me!' Carlyle's *Journal*, July 26, 1834. (Quoted from Froude's biography of Carlyle, N. Y. 1882, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 259.)

[25] Pt. I, Bk. V, Ch. IV, "To Arms!" fifth paragraph, to the last sentence.

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immense. Voici ma courte harangue, que je me n'oublierai jamais:

"Citoyens! il n'y a pas un moment à perdre. J'arrive de Versailles: M. Necker est renvoyé: ce renvoi est le tocsin d'une Saint-Barthélmi de patriotes: ce soir tous les batallions suisses et allemands sortiront du Champ-de-Mars pour nous égorger. Il ne nous reste qu'une resource, c'est de courir aux armes, et de prendre des cocardes pour nous reconnaître .... J'avais les larmes aux yeux ..... Ma motion fut reçue avec des applaudissemens infinis. Je continuai; Quelles couleurs voulez-vous? .... le verte, couleur de l'espérance! ..... Alors je m'écria: Amis! le signal est donné; voici les espions et les satellites de la police qui me regardent en face. Je ne tomberai pas du moins vivant entre leurs mains. Puis, tirant deux pistolets de ma poche, je dis: Que tous les citoyens m'imitent! Je descendis étouffé d'embrassemens; les uns me serraient contre leurs coeurs; d'autres me baignaient de leurs larmes."

pistol! He springs to a table: the police satellites are eying him, alive they shall not take him, not they alive, him alive. This time he speaks without stammering.—Friends! shall we die like hunted hares? Like sheep hounded into their pinfold, bleating for mercy, where is no mercy, but only a whetted knife? The hour is come; the supreme hour of Frenchmen and Man; when Oppressors are to try conclusions with Oppressed; and the word is, swift Death or Deliverance forever. Let such hour be *well*-come! Us, meseems, one cry only benefits: To Arms! Let universal Paris, universal France, as with the throat of the whirlwind, sound only: To Arms!—"To Arms!" yell responsive the innumerable voices; like one great voice, as of a Demon yelling from the air: for all faces wax fire-eyed, all hearts burn up into madness. In such, or fitter words does Camille evoke the Elemental Powers, in this great moment. .... Friends, continues Camille, some rallying-sign! Cockades; green ones; .... the color of Hope! .... As with the flight of locusts, these green tree-leaves; green ribands from the neighboring shops; all green things are snatched, and made cockades of. Camille descends from his table, 'stifled with embraces, wetted with tears;' has a bit of green riband handed him; sticks it in his hat.

In none of the other sources mentioned by Carlyle can there be found quite the original of his paragraph; yet were we without his citation we might justly question the adequacy of the passage from

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the *Vieux Cordelier* in accounting for the English version of the incident. Carlyle sees Desmoulins with hair streaming, "sibylline in face," able for the moment to control his habitual stammering, gifted with considerably more eloquence than his contemporaries state, and drawing from the crowd more of a demonstration of willingness than even Camille himself indicates. "In such or fitter words," says Carlyle, "does Camille speak." Most readers, however, will agree that the "fitter" words are Carlyle's and that his prodigality with metaphors and similes and flexible rhythm makes just the difference between a more or less ordinary narration of an event and an artist's exuberant treatment of it. There is a condensed account of the episode in the history by the *Deux Amis*, in which the cry, "To Arms!" is given, and in which the chronological placing of the pistol-drawing is the same as Carlyle's: "Dans ce moment un jeune homme monte sur une table, crie *aux armes*! tire l'épée, montre un pitolet et une cocarde verte. La foule qui le regarde et l'écoute en silence, électrisée par son courage, pousse tout-à-coup d'horribles clameurs. On s'anime, on s'excite; et les feuilles des arbres arrachées en un instant, servent de cocardes à plusieurs milliers d'hommes, et donnent le premier signal de l'insurrection dans tous les quartiers de la ville."[26] On the whole, however, the paralleled passages indicate the extent to which Carlyle permitted himself to embroider on his sources.

In the whole of the history there are but eleven instances of the elevation of material found in the footnote of a source to major rank in Carlyle's text. In his relentless quest for concrete detail, he occasionally utilized such an incident as Lieutenant-General Loiserolle's offer of himself as a victim to the guillotine in his son's place,[27] or the horrible idea of a human tannery at Meudon.[28] Frequently the sole purpose of the use of such subordinant material is to add a touch in the portrait of a character, as in that of Couthon, whose paralysis was caused by exposure while endeavoring *se rendre dans sa jeunesse aupres d'une personne qu'il*

[26] From *Deux Amis, Paris*, 1792–1803, i, 274. Carlyle does not cite this source at this point; on p. 245, however, there is the following citation: "*Vieux Cordelier*, par Camille Desmoulins, No. 5 (reprinted in Collection des Mémoires, par Baudouin Frères, Paris, 1825), p. 81."

[27] Carlyle, iii, 392 (in "Go Down To"); *Mémoires sur les Prisons*, Paris, 1823, i, 264–65.

[28] Carlyle, iii, 342 (in "Flame Picture"); G.-H.-R. Montgaillard, *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1827, iv, 290.

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amait, et qui demeurait à une assez grande distance.[29] The most charming example of all, however, is to be found in his use of a footnote in the sixth volume of the *Histoire Parlementaire*, in which we see Marie Antoinette speaking graciously with a young Lorraine officer while Paris is preparing the Champ-de-Mars for the Federation,[30] and enslaving him by her beauty and tenderness.

The nature of the minor departures from original accounts may best be seen by noting the following typical examples: at the hanging of Foulon[31] it was not Lafayette but Bailly who addressed the futile words about legal justice; it was Dusaulx and not Besenval (as Carlyle implies) who remarked the *fière contenance* of the Parisians as they marched resolutely to the Bastille[32]; it was Lafayette and not Mirabeau who persuaded President Mounier on October 5th to have the Assembly adjourn[33]; at the Federation there really were cries of *Vive le Roi*, as Madame de Staël notes[34]; in the chapter, "Grown Electric," Carlyle misreads Dampmartin who in describing the tense atmosphere on the elections of the Etates-General makes no mention of the cry, *À bas les Aristocrats*[35]; in the flight to Varennes, Choiseul and Goguelat were not, according to Choiseul's own record, "passing and repassing between Metz and the Tuileries."[36] That the magnitude of

[29] Carlyle, ii, 285 (in "The Book of the Law"); C.-F.-D. Dumouriez, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1822, ii, 370–71.

[30] Carlyle, ii, 82 (in "As in the Age of Gold"); *Hist. Parl.*, vi, 389–90.

[31] Carlyle, i, 287–88 (in "The Lanterne"); *Deux Amis*, ii, 123; *Hist. Parl.*, ii, 146–47.

[32] Carlyle, i, 264 (in "Storm and Victory"); Dusaulx, *Prise de la Bastille*, Paris, 1821, 291: *La fière contenance des Parisiens, leur intelligence et leur activité, produisirent de prompts effets. . . . .*

[33] Carlyle, i, 385 (in "Lafayette"); Ferrières, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1822, i, 321–22. Ferrières states that it was Lafayette's fatigue after his march to Versailles, and not Mirabeau's request (which Mounier had refused), that decided the President.

[34] Carlyle, ii, 378 (in "Some Consolation to Mankind"); Madame de Staël, *Considerations on the French Revolution*, London, 1818, ii, 52. Carlyle used this work in the French; I have consulted both *eds.*; the pagination is the same. Although he cites the work in other pages of his history he omits any mention of it here. He must have read the whole of it, however.

[35] Carlyle, i, 184, (in "Grown Electric"); A.-H. Viconte de Dampmartin, *Evénemens qui se sont passéssousmes yeux pendant la Révolution française*, Berlin, 1799, i, 25–26. Carlyle, it will be noted, cites Dampmartin in a footnote.

[36] Carlyle, ii, 219 (in "Count Fersen"); Le Duc de Choiseul, *Relation du Départ de Louis XVI*, Paris, 1822, 38–39. Carlyle cites Choiseul here; only mis-reading can account for the discrepancy. Oscar Browning notes Carlyle's error; see his *Flight to Varennes and Other Historical Essays*, London, 1892, p. 56.

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these errors is not such as to discredit Carlyle's general performance is, perhaps, obvious to everyone. One encounters such errors in practically every chapter of *The French Revolution*. They involve no extensive or measurable quantity of his work, and we are left unable to indicate with any precision the degree to which they fill the history with dubious or erroneous statements. But it can be safely said that inasmuch as they form a small and exceptional fraction of the work they are not to be taken as indicating Carlyle's practice as a literary historian.

Also representative of his tendency at times to embroider is his indifference to conflicting sources, always, however, in matters of subordinate detail. We have noted already[37] the discrepancy between Weber and Dusaulx regarding the victims of Lambesc's charge on the Tuileries Gardens. Dusaulx and the *Deux amis* differ over the release of Abbé Lefèvre, the powder-distributer, who during the insurrection of women had been left suspended in the belfry of the Bastille. Carlyle conjectures (with grim humor) that, like the rope which refused to hang Foulon, the rope broke, "as French ropes often did."[38] But the most interesting revelation of Carlyle's occasional determination to use the most dramatic version of a rumor is seen in his indifference to Montgaillard's and Moleville's denial of the report that at the execution of Louis XVI Abbé Edgeworth said, "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven." Montgaillard declares that Edgeworth later denied having spoken the words. It is the untrustworthy Mercier whom Carlyle is obviously following.[39] The story that Mirabeau had once set up a tailoring establishment, in order to "ingratiate himself with this Third Estate," Carlyle quotes from an indignant footnote of the *Fils Adoptif*, remarking that it is "among the pleasant memorabilities of this era" and that although it may be mere

[37] See above, note 22.

[38] Carlyle, i, 355 (in "The Menads"); *Deux Amis*, iii, 293 (according to the *Deux Amis*, a *woman* cut Lefèvre down); Dusaulx, p. 281 (Dusaulx states that a *garde-national* cut the abbé down).

[39] Carlyle, iii, 153 (in "Place de la Révolution"); Montgaillard, iii, 414; A.-E. de Bertrand de Moleville, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1816, ii, 348. Carlyle cites, among others, L.-S. Mercier, *Nouveau Paris*, Paris, 1795, iii, 3–8. But neither here (Carlyle, iii, 153) nor elsewhere does he indicate the edition of Mercier. I have verified the passage, however, in the edition of Paris, 1795, which he presumably used. That Carlyle regarded Mercier as unreliable we know from his mention of the latter as "the exaggerative man" (*The French Revolution*, iii, 318).

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fable, it was nevertheless widely believed "in those days."[40] One soon comes to the conclusion, however, that a mention of about half a dozen[41] of such treatments of originals exhausts the list.

Violation of chronological order likewise occupies a very inconspicuous place in Carlyle's general method. Typical of its occurrence in unimportant detail is the misdating of Louis XV's remark that Coligny and he nearly came to blows in one of their quarrels; the incident is placed among those occurring from 1781 to 1783, though Besenval specifically notes the year 1786.[42] Similarly the balloon ascension of "Chemist Charles" is related as occurring on "the 1st of December 1783," with the Duchess Polignac and her party present to enjoy the feat; Lacretelle (whom Carlyle cites at this point) states, on the other hand, that the Duchess Polignac and her party assembled on August 27th, but there is no mention of Charles, who does not figure in Lacretelle's narrative until December 1st. Carlyle, for the sake of brevity, unites the two incidents.[43] This practice is most common with him in finishing a portrait or a scene, as in the last paragraph of "The Improvised Commune" Dame Lavergne's petition to President Lafarge is dated August 29th, 1792, though the incident, as narrated in the *Histoire Parlementaire*, occurred on October 9th.[44] Thus to end and round off a chapter which had dealt ramblingly with the "improvised commune" of September, 1792, Carlyle does not hesitate to alter time sequence.[45]

[40] Carlyle, i, 178 (in "The Election"); *Mémoires de Mirabeau, écrits par Lui-même, par son Père, son Oncle, et son Fils Adoptif*, Paris, 1834–35, v, 307–08. Carlyle usually refers to this work as *Fils Adoptif*.

[41] To be more exact, I have found only seven instances of this feature.

[42] Carlyle, i, 92 (in "Dishonoured Bills"); Besenval, iii, 255.

[43] Carlyle, i, 72–73 (in "Windbags"); J.-C.-D. Lacretelle, *Histoire de France pendant le 18 ième Siècle*, Paris, 1819, vi, 86–89. Carlyle's citation from Lacretelle at this point is erroneous, as will be noted; he cites, "Lacretelle: 18me Siecle, iii, 258."

[44] Carlyle, iii, 18–19; *Histoire Parlementaire*, xix, 300.

I have found seven instances of minor violation of chronology, each classifiable under the two general types outlined above; namely, those due to careless misdating, and those due to an apparently deliberate combination of two separate minor events or facts in order to complete a scene or portrait.

[45] By way of an attempt at indicating something of the degree of embroidering in *The French Revolution*, I may state that embellishments ranging in extent from a single word to three or four sentences in the first hundred pages of the edition of London, 1857, number more than twenty; and that C. R. L. Fletcher (*ed. French Revolution*, London, 1902) notes more than thirty-six of more major magnitude throughout the history, in his footnotes. Perhaps the most effective way of dealing

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Fabrication in Carlyle's narrative is closely related to embellishment. Details are added in both for the sake of vivification. But pure fabrication differs from minor ornamentation in one respect, by introducing speeches and conversations which have no basis in a source. These are very rare in *The French Revolution*, the most extraordinary being Count Fersen's words with the drowsy porter on the night of the flight to Varennes:

Le Duc de Choiseul, "Relation du Départ de Louis XVI," Paris, 1822, p. 79: Quand M. de Fersen eut dépassé de quelques pas la maison de madame Sullivan, il s'arrêta, descendit de son siége, courut à la maison, et demanda au portier si la voiture était partie; il apprit qu'elle l'était; et alors, remontant très-vite sur le siége, il se remit en march . . . . .

Carlyle, ii, 224:[46] Passing up the Rue de Clichy, he alights for one moment at Madame Sullivan's: "Did Count Fersen's Coachman get the Baroness de Korff's new Berline?"—"Gone with it an hour-and-half ago," grumbles responsive the drowsy porter.—"*C'est bien.*" Yes, it is well . . . . .

This conversation, brief as it is, is in neither Choiseul's nor Weber's accounts, which are closely similar throughout and which Carlyle employed copiously at nearly every point of this narrative. The tempo and dramatic quality of the episode obviously led Carlyle to imagine the probable dialogue between Fersen and the porter. In none of his sources can the quoted speeches be found.

So infrequently, however, is this device used by Carlyle, that it is possible to list what I believe are all the instances of its occurrence. In none of the sources do we find the cry, "Oyez, oyez, All men to their districts to be enrolled!" which is to be found in Carlyle's narration of the events of July 13, 1789[47]; on the 6th of October, there was apparently no cry, on the part of the sentinels of "Save the Queen"[48]; the mob, in urging Lafayette to lead it to Versailles, did not laconically order, "At one o'clock!"[49]; when Paris discovered that, although its King had fled toward Varennes it was existing well enough without him, it did not say, "We have

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with this problem would be through additional footnotes in a definitive edition of Carlyle's history.

[46] In "Count Fersen," fifth paragraph from the end of the chapter.

[47] Carlyle, i, 254 (in "Give Us Arms").

[48] Carlyle, i, 390 (in "The Grand Entries").

[49] Carlyle, i, 398 (in "From Versailles").

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no King, yet we slept sound enough"[50]; when the Royal family was stopped by Drouet and Sausse, there was no command, "Mesdames, your Passports?"[51]; nor apparently, was there any original in the same chapter for the words of Damas to his distrusting soldiers at Clermont on the night of the flight; the cries of, "Bread" and "Black Cockades!" are not to be found in the sources for the chapter, "To Versailles"[52]; nor in the chapter, "Exeunt," do the citizens shout, "The Ball is in Peter's house," etc.[53]; and, lastly, Robespierre's sarcastic question, "A Republic, what is that?" does not occur in Madame Roland's account, which Carlyle cites.[54]

Examples of detail contributed for vivid effect could be multiplied indefinitely. The important point is that embellishment and violation form no part of Carlyle's treatment of the major episodes and movements of the Revolution. His method was mainly a compromise between a slavish adherence to his materials, which were not sound enough to deserve it, and complete freedom in marshalling facts and in expressing prejudices. Neither the Scylla of "Dryasdust's" predicament nor the Charybdis of Thiers' or Lamartine's error really ensnared him. His purpose was neither to produce a heavily documented, emasculated, and dull record of events nor to indulge in an unbridled song of rebellion and bloodshed with his statements unsupported by references and his partisanship visible on every page; but to portray vividly the most significant and symbolical event of modern times, without betraying either the Whig or the Tory in him, and without at-

[50] Carlyle, ii, 229 (in "Attitude"). From *Deux Amis*, vii, 71, we may quote " . . . . point d'attroupement, point de clameurs, point de motions turbulentes ni de mouvemens précipités. Nul n'auroit cru voir une nation sans chef, un royaume déserté par son roi. . . . ." This short passage is the nearest equivalent I have been able to find for Carlyle's sentence.

[51] Carlyle, ii, 248 (in "The Night of Spurs"). "*Alte la*" is likewise puzzling.

[52] Carlyle, i, 367.

[53] Carlyle, iii, 81. Carlyle cites the *Hist. Parl.* xx, 63–71.

[54] Madame Roland (*Mémoires*, in her Œ*uvres*, Paris, An VIII [1800], ii, 69–70), depicts Robespierre, during the flight to Varennes, as fearing a new Massacre of Saint-Bartholomew. Pétion and Brissot speak indirectly of a Republic: "Pétion et Brissot disoit qu'il . . . . fallait préparer les esprits à la République. Robespierre, ricanant à son ordinaire et se mangeant les ongles, demandoit ce que c'étoit qu'une République!" This passage Carlyle transforms to: "They . . . . would fain have comforted the seagreen man; spake of . . . . a Journal to be called *The Republicain*. . . . ." "A Republic?" said the seagreen, with one of his dry husky *un*sportful laughs, "What is that?"—It will be noted that Carlyle cites Madame Roland at this point.

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tempting to exalt one party at the expense of another. Carlyle's sole important contribution is the pervading philosophic doubt that revolution is the method by which man can best solve the problem of being governed, and a note of lament that after Mirabeau's death the Revolution was guided by little men or savage mobs.

Thus the general method of Carlyle can be designated as an attempt to paraphrase more or less faithfully the heterogeneous materials at his hand. Aiming chiefly at pictorial effects he employed his style in an effort at dramatic vividness, and selected passages from sources according to its guidance. Excerpted passages were thus subjected to stylistic changes and to a general fusion into a larger whole, rather than entirely assimilated by Carlyle so as to produce a completely new narrative. It is thus easy to reveal his method by paralleling the original accounts with Carlyle's version. From such parallels we are able to observe that his treatment of sources is, on all major accounts, entirely faithful to the facts presented in them, and that all departures from the original versions of an event are confined to minor details which, however, enliven and enrich the narrative. Such embellishments consist in freely paraphrasing speeches rather than translating them, yet enclosing them in quotation marks; giving major rank to obscure facts in a source; placing details in an arrangement not suggested by the source, in order to secure symmetry or completeness; departing from the source-accounts for the sake of greater vividness, but without gross unfaithfulness to the original; an occasional indifference to conflicting sources; and a few unimportant violations of chronological order. Pure contribution, or fabrication of details, is confined to a few speeches for which none of the sources can account.[55] On the whole, Carlyle seems to have reserved for himself the right to delineate the Revolution as David delineated Marat lying in his blood; neither the historian nor the painter had seen his subject, but both demand of us a belief in something more than mere fact. They demand an imaginative credence.

[55] I should state clearly that in the narrow limits of this paper I have not exhausted all the examples of embroidery and fabrication to be found in such a lengthy work as *The French Revolution*. Nor do I pretend to infallibility concerning the absence in any of the sources of the originals of some of Carlyle's sentences. I have presented the general conclusions from a careful examination of all of Carlyle's cited material.

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To depict the Revolution as the crash of shams and the fall of "do-nothing" aristocracies, Carlyle elected to fix his gaze on the preëminently human aspect of the movement. From eleven *histoires* and over forty *mémoires*, from biographical dictionaries, letters, periodicals, and miscellaneous works, he sought whatever concrete and pregnant facts there were. Over half of his materials were royalist in spirit. Only the *Histoire Parlementaire*, the *Moniteur*, and the *histoire* by the *Deux Amis* can still be regarded as worthy of use.[56] Unlike Thiers, whose ten volumes contained but one footnote reference, he would buttress his work with citations.[57] So charged with human feeling and human significance were his sources that merely to vivify their narratives and to fuse them into one account would be sufficient. To Taine's criticism that Carlyle had shown an excess of puritanism and partiality,[58] M. A. Aulard, in 1912, pointed out, "Ce qui est plus intéressant, c'est que Carlyle ne mérite à aucun degré le reproche de partialité que Taine lui adresse. Nul historien ne fut plus soucieux d'être impartial, nul peut-être n'y a mieux réussi." To Michelet's charge that Carlyle was but "un très léger fantaisiste,"[59] Aulard replies that "Il [Carlyle] excelle, je ne dis pas à vivifier le document, mais à en extraire ce qui est vif. Il n'invente pas: il choisit et collige." Finally, to the accusation that Carlyle indulged in "fausses lueurs" Aulard's response is that Carlyle saw Marat, the many-colored mob, the volunteers marching against Brunswick, the carmagnole, the career of Robespierre, the general stream of forms, personages, and movements with a much clearer eye than Michelet himself. On the whole, Aulard sees Carlyle's work as charged with sympathy and intelligence:

> Impartial, ai-je dit, mais non calme ni insensible. Tout le lait de la tendresse humaine, comme dit son Shakespeare, il est en lui. Il sympathise

[56] A. Aulard (*Carlyle Historien de la Révolution Française*, in *La Révolution Française*, LXII, 193–205), supports Carlyle's method by pointing out that Carlyle used the only available materials of the time: the *mémoires* of the Empire, the *Moniteur*, Toulongeon's history, the *Histoire Parlementaire*, and other works of like nature.

Aulard's high rank among authorities on the French Revolution perhaps needs no comment here. Cf. his *The French Revolution, a Political History*, translated by Bernard Miall, London, 1910.

[57] Of the 850 citations in *The French Revolution* 32 are wrong.

[58] H. Taine, *L'Idéalisme Anglais, Étude sur Carlyle*, Paris, 1864, pp. 164–168.

[59] In a letter presented in Aulard's essay, *Carlyle Historien*, etc., p. 194. All references to Aulard here are to this essay.

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avec ses hommes. . . . . Parmi tant d'épithètes par où il exprime ses émotions, celle de *pauvre* lui semble la meilleure. . . . . J'ai voulu seulement dire qu'à mon sentiment le livre de Carlyle est le poème de ce qu'il appelle "le sans-culottisme," et que ce poème m'inspire, non d'une fantaisie littéraire, mais d'une étude de la réalité aussi complète et aussi sérieuse qu'on pouvait la faire à l'époque où Carlyle écrivit; enfin que ce poète-historien n'a pour but ni de glorifier ni de maudire la Révolution, mais l'interpréter en la scrutant dans son âme même, et autant par la sympathie que par l'intelligence.

Perhaps we may now comprehend more fully not only what Carlyle sought to do but also in some degree, the methods he employed in attaining his object. To him the *mémoires* and *histoires* of the Empire still had the magic flavor of a tremendous epoch just gone by. They stirred his mind and heart with quaking emotions. And of those emotions, pity was the most powerful. For Carlyle, to pity was to understand, and in even the most acrid and vociferous denunciations which he occasionally delivers over the stupidities and barbarities of the Revolution there is always a deep under-current of pity and sympathy. Alternating with his humor come his tears. He viewed world-history as a vast, absurd, pathetic tragi-comedy, in which tears and laughter and irony and agony were bewilderingly inseparable. Perhaps that is why Trevelyan takes as the key-sentence of Carlyle's history the words, "One thing History will do: pity them all, for it went hard with them all."[60]

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[60] G. M. Trevelyan, "Carlyle as an Historian," *The Living Age*, Vol. 223, p. 369.

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LXVI

EMERSON'S THEORY AND PRACTICE OF POETRY

THIS paper does not attempt to isolate all the influences that determined Emerson's theory and practice of poetry. My purpose is rather to call attention more clearly than I did in a former paper[1] to his obligations to Coleridge and Wordsworth. Emerson's criticism of these two men will aid us in determining not only their relation to each other, but also their position in the history of English poetry and literary criticism. Just as present-day criticism of both Coleridge and Wordsworth shifts from scathing strictures to high praise, so, too, did Emerson's. But Emerson differs from many later critics in that he took cognizance of the manifold forces that entered into their work.

Emerson made a sharp distinction between Coleridge and Wordsworth. Coleridge was the philosopher and critic; his poetry was practically ignored by Emerson. Wordsworth, on the other hand, was primarily a poet, the greatest philosophic poet of his age. This distinction, however, was not perceived clearly in his youth. He does not, for instance, seem to have become acquainted with Coleridge's critical work until 1829. In his first criticism of these men, written in 1820, Emerson had little patience either with their poetry or with their estimates of poetry.[2] Instead he

[1] "Emerson's Debt to Coleridge," *Studies in Philology*, Jan., 1926.

[2] In "Emerson on Wordsworth," *PMLA*, March, 1926, Mr. John Brooks Moore presents Emerson's criticism of Wordsworth's attitude toward nature. He relies mainly upon the *Journals*, ignoring the valuable introduction to *Parnassus* (cf. p. 1184). In his review, it seems to me, he has omitted material that would give an entirely different aspect even to his arguments on *nature*. He has one reference to Coleridge, and, though he stresses the influence of Carlyle, he takes no account of the fact that Coleridge's influence upon Emerson was greater than we have suspected. He practically brushes aside the odes, and analyses *The Prelude*, which Emerson did not read in full until after 1850. Through Coleridge, however, Emerson had read before 1833 two of the finest parts of the poem, the tribute to France and the Skating Scene. Mr. Moore refers to the latter (p. 188) as an illustration of Emerson's attitude after 1836, without realizing its source and implications. A much stronger reference that he might have used is to a list of poems Emerson made in 1837 (cf. p. 1174). I think I am correct in saying this list should form the basis of any paper dealing with the influence of Wordsworth upon Emerson.

But if these omissions were all, I could not dissent with Mr. Moore's treatment of the change that took place in Emerson's attitude toward Wordsworth. As the

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turned with admiration to Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Shakespeare, and Milton. What poetry he wrote was largely under the stimulus of the ancients. By 1826 Emerson had temporarily lost sight of Coleridge; but he had begun his comparison of Wordsworth with Milton and Shakespeare. It is in this comparison that we find the real starting point for our study of Emerson's conception of poetry and the place which Wordsworth was to occupy in his practice. Here, too, we find an attitude that might have continued unchanged had it not been for the critical influence of Coleridge.

I

The material for Emerson's comparison of Wordsworth with Milton and Shakespeare consists in a letter, possibly to his aunt, written in June, 1826, and in journal entries dated 1828 but probably written at the same time as the letter. In the quotation which follows we have the essence of his opposition to Wordsworth:

> Not otherwise this modern poet, by natural humour an ardent lover of all the enchantments of wood and river and seduced by an overweening confidence in the force of his own genius, has discarded that modesty under whose influence all his great precursors have resorted to external nature sparingly for illustration and ornament, and have forborne to tamper with the secret and metaphysical nature of what they borrowed.[3]

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foundation stone of his argument he uses Emerson's criticism of Wordsworth during the years 1826–28, and makes this positive statement (page 180): "Emerson's first observations, written in 1826, are interesting because they are the first." In my opinion, however, they are interesting because they present a decided theory of poetry and an analysis of the *Ode* (cf. p. 1172), the value of which Mr. Moore completely overlooks. From his own point of view the earlier criticism, written when Emerson was seventeen, is of more importance. It is true that the criticism remains unpublished; yet reference is made to it in the *Journals* (Vol. 1, p. 32); the note book "Contains notes on College lectures and extracts copied from the books he was reading; also some very juvenile criticism of Wordsworth, especially 'The Excursion' and notes for his prize dissertation 'On the Present State of Ethical Philosophy'."

Cabot, in *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, page 58, says, "There is much criticism of the poetry of the day; laudatory of Byron and Moore, doubtful of 'the experiments of Mr. Wordsworth and Mr. Coleridge'; queries whether they have not gained more ridicule than honor, not because they want genius, but because they want nature, and the affectation of simplicity is too apparent." The change from hostility to both Wordsworth and Coleridge to hostility for Byron, whom he evidently liked in his youth, needs to be traced. It is similar to a change in Emerson's attitude toward nature.

[3] *Journals*, II, 107–08. The precursors to whom Emerson refers are Milton and Shakespeare, as is evident from the following: "He mauls the moon and the waters and the bulrushes, as his main business. Milton and Shakespeare touch them gently, as illustration or ornament" (*Ibid.*, p. 232).

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In compensation for his biting criticism, however, he adds the following praise of the idea of immortality to be found in the *Ode.*

> But I should not worry myself with abusing Mr. Wordsworth, not even for his serene egotism, whereby he seems at every turn thunderstruck to see to what a prodigious height human genius has headed up in *him*, but that he has occasionally written lines which I think truly noble. He would be unworthy your notice but that now and then comes from him a flash of divine light and makes you uneasy that he should be such an earthen vessel. He has nobly embodied a sentiment, which, I know not why, has always seemed congenial to humanity, that the soul has come to us from a preexistence in God; that we have a property in the past which we do not ourselves recognize, and a title to the future for which we should be a little thankful.[4]

We have here two theories of poetry brought into sharp contrast. And it is striking that the criticism should turn on the poet's attitude toward nature and toward himself. Milton and Shakespeare touch the themes of nature gently, as illustration or ornament. Nowhere in their poetry do they place themselves in the forefront. Clearly, Emerson at this time is a classicist in his attitude toward poetry. Even the *Ode*, which he praises, appeals to him because he recognized the latent Platonism. In this conflict between the classical and the romantic—the objective and the subjective—attitude toward life, many divergent currents enter to turn the tide in favor of Romanticism. That Emerson did eventually become a romanticist is manifest when we consider the theory of poetry which he put forward at the time he wrote *Woodnotes.*

"I wish to write such rhymes," says Emerson in June, 1839, "as shall not suggest a restraint, but contrariwise the wildest freedom." And his verse should not be just a "tinkling rhyme, but grand Pindaric strokes, as firm as the tread of a horse." It should be rhyme—

> that vindicates itself as an art, the stroke of the bell of a cathedral. Rhyme which knocks at prose and dullness with the stroke of a cannon ball. Rhyme which builds out into Chaos and old night a splendid architecture to bridge the impassable, and calls aloud on all the children of morning that the Creation is recommencing.[5]

Freedom and not restraint, except as he is restrained by the

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 108–09.
[5] *Journals*, 226–27.

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Pindaric measure, is what Emerson is seeking at this time. The essentially romantic quality of his attitude is more concisely presented, possibly, in November of the preceding year. "It is of no use to preach to me *ab extra*," says Emerson. "I can do that myself."[6] Among those to whom Emerson refers as teaching *ab intra* is Coleridge, whose works he was reading at this time. Others taught him in the same way, but we may well conclude that Coleridge was the critic who lighted his path.

We cannot appreciate fully what Wordsworth meant to Emerson unless we realize the extent to which Emerson drew from Coleridge's criticism of Wordsworth's theory and practice of poetry. We need to reread with Emerson what Coleridge has to say of Wordsworth in *The Friend*, particularly the criticism of the *Ode* to be found on pages 460–68. We should also reread the *Biographia Literaria*, with special attention to Chapters IV, XIII, XVII, and XXII. In Chapter IV Coleridge deals with Wordsworth's interpretation of the distinction between Fancy and Imagination. In Chapter XIII he presents his own analysis of this distinction. In Chapter XVII he demolishes Wordsworth's theory of poetry. And in Chapter XXII he relates Wordsworth's power as a poet to the distinction between Fancy and Imagination.

Emerson began his acceptance of Coleridge's criticism of Wordsworth as early as 1831. By 1835 we find him asserting that Wordsworth is the most original, as well as the sanest, poet of his age. In the same year he fashioned his conception of the distinction between Fancy and Imagination in terms quite similar to those used by Coleridge. And in 1839, the year in which he announces the theory for the composition of *Woodnotes*, he gave a series of addresses and began essays dealing with Genius, Imagination, and poetry. I refer in particular to the address entitled "Genius," and the essays *Intellect* and *Poetry and Imagination*. In my paper on Coleridge I attempted to point out the direct influence of Coleridge upon "Genius" and *Intellect*. At this time I wish to call attention to the fact that in *Poetry and Imagination* Emerson clearly lays down the distinction between Fancy and Imagination as the basis for his interpretation of all poetry from the time of Homer to that of Wordsworth. In the strictest sense, Emerson accepts as poetry only that which is infused with Imagination. Almost in the words of Coleridge he writes:

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

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Imagination is central; fancy, superficial. Fancy relates to surface, in which a great part of life lies. The lover is rightly said to fancy the hair, eyes, complexion of the maid. Fancy is a wilful, imagination a spontaneous act; fancy, a play as with dolls and puppets which we choose to call men and women; imagination, a perception and affirming of a real relation between a thought and some material fact. Fancy amuses; imagination expands and exalts us. Imagination uses an organic classification. Fancy joins by accidental resemblance, surprises and amuses the idle, but is silent in the presence of great passion and action. Fancy aggregates; imagination animates. Fancy is related to color; imagination to form. Fancy paints; imagination sculptures.[7]

Emerson would say, in the final analysis, that the imaginative poet writes from the soul, that is *ab intra*. Only through the Imagination can a poet achieve the "wildest freedom." We have in part seen how Coleridge touched Emerson's intellect. It remains to indicate how Wordsworth touched his soul.

II

Writing in regard to Wordsworth's poetry on his thirty-fourth birthday, Emerson says,

I think I could easily make a small selection from his volumes which should contain all their poetry. It would take Fidelity, Tintern Abbey, Cumberland Beggar, Ode to Duty, September, The Force of Prayer, Lycoris, Lines on the Death of Fox, Dion, Happy Warrior, Laodamia, The Ode.[8]

Of these twelve poems only two, *Cumberland Beggar* and *Lycoris*, are not included in *Parnassus*. If we arrange these poems in the order in which they were written, we can more readily see what Emerson had in mind; *Cumberland Beggar*, 1797; *Tintern Abbey*, 1798; *The Ode*, 1802–07; *Ode to Duty*, *Happy Warrior*, and *Fidelity*, 1805; *Lines on the Death of Fox*, 1806; *Laodamia*, 1814; *Dion*, 1816; *Lycoris*, 1817; *September*, 1815 and 1819. The early and late periods in Wordsworth's poetic activity—the periods prior to 1798 and subsequent to 1820—are the only ones which Emerson did not include. No one will question, of course, Emerson's judgment as to the period of Wordsworth's greatest work,but not everyone perhaps will agree that he selected the most representative poems, although the group of poems which he chose are recognized in the light of later criticism as presenting the essential features of

[7] *Letters and Social Aims*, pp. 28–29, Centenary Edition.
[8] *Journals*, IV, 246, May 25, 1837.

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Wordsworth's poetry at its best. We should remember, too, that it was not until 1850 that Emerson had access to *The Prelude*, the poem which develops one phase of Wordsworth's poetry more completely than any other.

Since opinions differ, however, as to the import of the poetry which Emerson listed, we should be careful in defining the nature of Wordsworth's influence upon Emerson. We might take *Tintern Abbey*, for instance, to illustrate the influence that came from *The Excursion* and the fragment of the *Recluse* that forms its introduction. The influence of these poems is written large in *Nature*. So, too, is that of the *Ode to Duty*, *The Happy Warrior*, the *Ode*, *Laodamia*, and *Dion*. To which group shall we give the greater emphasis? I am inclined to regard the group of odes as the most important. If this be true, then we may expect to find a development in Emerson's attitude toward Wordsworth similar to the development in Wordsworth himself. Furthermore, the verse forms of the poems listed by Emerson are blank verse, the rimed couplet, the Pindaric measure, the quatrain, and the versification of *Laodamia*, which is composed of a quatrain and a couplet. When we analyze these we discover, to our surprise, that they include nearly every type used by Emerson. These types made their appearance about the time Emerson came to recognize the intrinsic worth of the *Ode*. Of these five types, even in his early poems, the predominant form is the Pindaric measure. And what is true of the form is even more true of the content.

This early study of Wordsworth's poetry may be considered as the foundation for *Woodnotes*, and the stages in the growth of this poem, which include the composition of *Nature*, correspond to the development of Emerson's attitude toward Wordsworth. In fact the history of the *Ode* and the history of *Woodnotes* are more nearly alike than we suspect, and the fundamental idea is practically identical.

Wordsworth wrote the first stanzas of the *Ode* in the years when he was writing his first Miltonic sonnets—in the years when *Paradise Lost* furnished the invocation to the *Recluse*. The sense of joy was uppermost in his heart. Then came one of the saddest events in his life, the death of his brother John in 1805. The break in the composition of the poem was filled with poems in the spirit of the *Ode to Duty*, *The Happy Warrior*, *Fidelity*, and *Lines on the Death of Fox*. When Wordsworth regained the composure of his mind, he completed the *Ode*. But the concluding stanzas are filled

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with the high seriousness of the group of poems he wrote in memory of his brother, and there is a depth of thought, a philosophic note, greater than that to be found in any preceding poem. As Coleridge says, it was a poem written for the few.

Like Wordsworth, Emerson was reading with great admiration the poetry of Milton when first he turned to the *Ode*. Besides finding the Platonic idealism in the poem, he also found in it, we may surmise, the high seriousness and the imaginative vigor of Milton. Emerson wrote various poems at this time in the measure of the *Ode*, but the one that approaches closest the spirit of the opening stanzas of Wordsworth's poem was addressed to Miss Ellen Tucker shortly before his marriage:

> Dear Ellen, many a golden year
> May ripe, then dim, thy beauty's bloom,
> But never shall the hour appear
> In sunny joy, in sorrow's gloom,
> When aught shall hinder me from telling
> My ardent love, all loves excelling.[9]

All too soon was the sunny joy of Emerson overshadowed by sorrow's gloom. Eighteen months later he was mourning the death of his wife, and for a period of nearly three years every poem he wrote in some way related to her death. He went to the mountains for comfort. He reread *The Friend*. He turned to the *Ode*, *The Happy Warrior*, the *Ode to Duty*, *Dion*, and *Laodamia* for reassurance in the truth of immortality.[10] And in the spirit of these poems he writes:

> Then bear thyself, O man!
> Up to the scale and compass of thy guest;
> Soul of thy soul.
> Be great as doth beseem the ambassador who bears
> The royal presence where he goes.
> . . . . . .
> Therefore, O happy youth,
> Happy if thou dost know and love this truth,
> Thou art unto thyself a law,
> And since the soul of things is in thee,
> Thou needest nothing out of thee.[11]

[9] *Journals*, II, 265–66.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, 429–30.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, 395–99.

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No sooner had Emerson overcome the first pangs of his grief than he was confronted with his doubts about the ministry. In the early summer of 1832 he went to the mountains, and there made his decision. He also returned to Wordsworth, but found no consolation.

> A genius that hath epilepsy [he says]. The *Ode to Duty*, conceived and expressed in a certain high, severe style, does yet miss of greatness and of all effect by such falsities or falses as,
>
> "And the most ancient heavens thro thee are fresh and strong,"
>
> which is throwing dust in your eyes, because they have no more to do with duty than a dung-cart has.

Equally biting is his criticism of *Tintern Abbey*:[12]

> So that fine promising passage about "the mountain winds being free to blow upon thee," etc., flats out into "*me and my benedictions.*" If he had cut in his dictionary for words, he could hardly have got worse.[13]

At least we can say, however, that Emerson thought enough of Wordsworth to read his poetry when most he needed help.

When Emerson returned from his European trip in the following year, he resumed his study of Wordsworth. After two years of communing with nature under the pines, where he found solace following the death of his brother Edward in 1834, he exclaims:

> Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty* singeth,—
>
> "There are who ask not if thine eye
> Be on them," etc.[14]

And almost in the same breath Emerson adds, "Wordsworth writes the verses of a great, original bard." But he indicates also his agreement with Coleridge's criticism, which he was reading at the time, when he says, "But he writes ill of it, and even writes other poetry that is very poor."[15]

The sense of joy had returned to Emerson. He had come into contact with some of the foremost writers and thinkers of his age. He had learned to appreciate Wordsworth for more than the *Ode*. And he had made his plans for a new home. In his new household his brother Charles was one of his greatest joys, but the happiness was only temporary. His brother died in the spring of 1836, and

[12] Lines 133–59.
[13] *Journals*, II, 534–35.
[14] *Ibid.*, III, 533.
[15] *Ibid.*, III, 535.

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once more Emerson turned to Wordsworth's poetry for comfort. Referring to a group of his friends shortly after the death of Charles, he writes, "They are to me what the Wanderer in the *Excursion* is to the poet, and in the lines at the end of the *Yarrow Revisited.*"[16] And in the spirit of Wordsworth in *Tintern Abbey* he returned to the pines for strength; for "There I feel that nothing can befall me in life—no disgrace, no calamity (leaving me my eyes), which nature cannot repair."[17]

Scattered throughout *Nature* are many passages expressing the idea of the healing and consoling power of nature.[18] We must feel

[16] *Ibid.*, IV, 51–52.

[17] *Nature*, p. 9.

[18] This aspect of Emerson's attitude toward nature is not touched upon in Mr. Moore's article. He creates a barrier between Wordsworth and Emerson, and misses what Emerson gained from such poems as the *Ode*, *Laodamia*, *Happy Warrior*, and the *Ode to Duty* by the position he takes: "And it is those poems of the earlier period that Emerson had been reading, clearly enough before 1836." In regard to the Joy experienced in the presence of nature, Mr. Moore is silent; yet Wordsworth's expression of Joy in the *Ode* proves almost the reverse of what Mr. Moore says about the distinction between the attitude of Wordsworth and Emerson in regard to nature: "They faced, nevertheless, in somewhat different (however far from opposite) directions. Wordsworth's early view of nature is partly similar to Emerson's permanent view of nature, as I have pointed out. But the clear line of difference is there to indicate that each arrived separately at the view. For each of them, God (or Oversoul) penetrates and interpenetrates nature, an Essence ever present. Emerson, from the first, adds that this soul is not simply ever present —it is already within us, as well. The intuition of the heart quite overshadows the impulses kindled by external nature" ("Emerson on Wordsworth," p. 191). Now any one except a strict follower of Beatty will admit that Wordsworth's theory of Joy as given in *Tintern Abbey* was greatly modified in the *Ode* by Coleridge's poem *Dejection an Ode*, dedicated to Wordsworth, and the death of John in 1805. Coleridge writes,

> "Joy is the sweet voice, Joy the luminous cloud—
> We in ourselves rejoice."

At the close of the *Ode* Wordsworth writes,

> "The Clouds that gather round the setting sun
> Do take a sober coloring from an eye
> That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality."

And in a sonnet written about the same time he uses almost the same phrasing as did Coleridge:

> " 'Tis well! from this day forward we shall know
> That in ourselves our safety, must be sought."

Of Wordsworth, as well as of Coleridge, Emerson would say that he taught "*ab intra.*" In the essay "Beauty" he says, "Wordsworth rightly speaks of 'a light that never was on sea or land,' meaning that it was supplied by the observer." And in "Morals" he adds the further idea of a reconciliation effected by Wordsworth between nature and the mind: "I count the genius of Swedenborg and Wordsworth

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the presence of the great English poet when Emerson carries us with him to the woods. We feel it even more when in the spirit of the closing stanza of the *Ode* Emerson says, "In the presence of nature a wild delight runs, in spite of real sorrows."[19]

The consciousness of the comfort and of the joy and of the healing power of nature is to be found in all Emerson's prose and verse for a period of ten years. We find it in the *American Scholar* in 1837; we find it in the opening paragraphs of the Divinity School Address in 1838. Nothing could be more soft and rhythmical than this sentence: "The air is full of birds, and sweet with the breath of the pine, the balm-of-Gilead, and the new hay."[20] But this attitude toward nature appears, even more definitely perhaps, in the first poem Emerson wrote after completing *Nature*.

In the Pindaric measure of *Woodnotes* Emerson sought to carry out his desire to write rimes that would express "the wildest freedom." A close inspection of this poem, I believe, will make us see that it is the pivotal point of Emerson's Romanticism. In it he reaches the "high-water-mark" of his poetry, and in it he comes closer to Wordsworth than anywhere else. For Emerson the pine became the symbol of immortality, as did the child for Wordsworth. In the song of the pine he sought to give utterance to all the primal forces of nature. He penetrated the utmost extent of time and space, in the endeavor to bring into one comprehensive glance the origin and development of inorganic and organic life. One universal law he found: "From world to world the godhead changes."[21]

To him who has become weary of the strife of the city, to the merchant who is sick of his merchandise, to the preacher who is tired of his church, to the scholar whose eye has become dim with study, the pine calls aloud to come and gain "Dominion o'er the palm and vine."[22] Who will inhabit the woods,

> Choosing light, wave, rock and bird,
> Before the money-loving herd,

---

as the agents of a reform in philosophy, the bringing back to nature—to the marrying of nature and mind, undoing the old divorce in which poetry had been famished and false, and nature had been suspected and pagan."

[19] *Nature*, p. 9.

[20] *Centenary Edition*, I, 119.

[21] *Poems*, p. 59.

[22] *Poems*, p. 50.

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into him shall pass

> From these companions, power and grace.
> Clean shall he be, without, within,
> From the old adhering sin,
> All ill dissolving in the light
> Of his triumphant piercing sight:
> Not vain, sour, nor frivolous;
> Not mad, athirst, nor garrulous;
> Grave, chaste, contented, though retired,
> And of all other men desired.
> On him the light of star and moon
> Shall fall with purer radiance down;
> All constellations of the sky
> Shed their virtue through his eye.[23]

He who would reread the ninth stanza of the *Ode* and would catch the

> truths that wake,
> To perish never,

Should listen to the song of the pine:

> Aloft, abroad, the pæan swells;
> O wise man! hear'st thou half it tells?
> O wise man! hear'st thou the least part?
> . . . . . .
> O, listen to the undersong,
> The ever old, the ever young;
> And far within those cadent pauses,
> The chorus of the ancient Causes![24]

From Wordsworth we learn that

> . . . . the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.[25]

And Emerson closes his song of the pine by saying of the Traveller through all space and time,

> He is the heart of every creature;
> He is the meaning of each feature;
> And his mind is the sky.
> Than all it holds more deep, more high.[26]

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 50–51.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[25] The *Ode*, Stanza XL.
[26] *Poems*, p. 59.

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III

We have tried to determine from internal evidence just what was the significance of the *Ode* for Emerson as shown in his theory of poetry and also in his practice. It may be objected that its significance has been over-emphasized. However, if we accept the statement that Coleridge shaped Emerson's romantic criticism, and if we consider the quotations from the *Ode* made by Emerson, together with his comments in the latter part of his life, we have a body of external evidence that is convincing.

Emerson makes four references to the *Ode* besides the one already referred to in connection with his criticism of Wordsworth in 1826; and in each of these he reiterates the position taken by Coleridge in *The Friend* and in the *Biographia Literaria*. Writing in regard to Wordsworth's literary merits, Emerson says in 1855, "His adherence to his poetic creed rested on real inspiration. *The Ode on Immortality* is the high-water-mark which the intellect has reached in this age. New means were employed, and new realms added to the empire of the muse, by his courage."[27] This is a repetition of what Emerson had said in 1835 about the originality of Wordsworth. Although in this case he did not make particular mention of the *Ode* there is no reason to suppose that he regarded this poem with less enthusiasm in 1835 than he did in 1855. In 1883 the Dean of Salisbury refers to this passage: "Mr. Emerson's words dwell in my memory. . . . ."[28] We can at least see that Emerson's comment is of significance in Wordsworthian criticism.

In 1876 Emerson declared briefly in *Parnassus*: "I count that [*Laodamia*] and the *Ode on Immortality* as best."[29] But it is in his essay *Immortality* that Emerson clearly states the supreme position among Wordsworth's poems to which he assigns the *Ode*:

> The real evidence [of immortality] is too subtle, or is higher than we can write down in proposition, and therefore Wordsworth's *Ode* is the best modern essay on the subject.[30]

This essay, though published first in 1876, was based on a lecture given in 1861. According to Mr. Cabot the essay "contains passages written fifty years apart from each other."[31] It is doubt-

[27] *English Traits*, p. 280.
[28] *Wordsworthiana*, p. 161.
[29] Page ix.
[30] *Letters and Social Aims*, p. 346.
[31] *Letters and Social Aims*, p. 435.

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ful if Emerson would have said in 1826 that "Wordsworth's *Ode* is the best modern essay on the subject of immortality." He was not then vitally concerned with the question. But he might have said it in 1831 when he voices Coleridge's praise, "Not words but thunder I seem to hear." He might well have said it again in 1834 when Edward died; in 1836 when Charles died; in 1842 when in the Pindaric measure he began the "Threnody" in memory of the death of his son Waldo. Shall we not also add that when he wrote *Woodnotes* the *Ode* was present in his mind?

IV

By means of external evidence we can determine also what Emerson liked best in the *Ode* and when he made his response. The quotation which follows he copied either in 1826 or in 1828. It is the basis of his criticism of Wordsworth in 1826, and so must belong to that year.

> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God who is our home.[32]

It is noteworthy that in his youth Emerson caught what may be termed the final expression of Wordsworth's early poetry. The passage is taken from the fifth stanza, the culmination of the first part of the poem.

It is not so easy to determine what appealed to Emerson in his mature years as in his youth. But the key to all that he wrote on the subject of immortality after the death of Ellen is to be found, I think, in his poem *Know Thyself*, written in 1831. In that year he came, as we have seen, to realize the value of Coleridge's criticism of Wordsworth. Among other things Coleridge quotes the ninth stanza of the *Ode*. And in connection with this stanza Coleridge deals at length with the Greek proverb γνῶθι σεαυτόν and with the theory of the *each and all*. In *Know Thyself* Emerson also deals with this theory, and at the same time broods upon the question of immortality. There is nothing direct about this evidence except that we know that Emerson was reading *The Friend* in this year for the purpose largely of gaining Coleridge's interpretation of Wordsworth's poetry. The same thing may be said of Coleridge's treatment of the *Ode* in the *Biographia Literaria*.

[32] *Journals*, II, 230.

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So far as I can determine, Emerson began his reading of the *Biographia* in 1834, though he may well have had access to it in 1826 when he first commented on the *Ode*. In 1835 he comments on Coleridge's treatment of the distinction between Fancy and Imagination. At the same time he criticizes Wordsworth from the point of view of his originality. To illustrate the originality of Wordsworth's imagination Coleridge quotes from *Yew Trees*, *Resolution and Independence*, the *White Doe*, and the fifth and ninth stanzas of the *Ode*. Coleridge's selections from this poem are in accordance with Emerson's taste as shown in his youthful criticism of Wordsworth and later in the mature essay *Character*.

The quotation from *Character* together with the material which it is used to illustrate is similar in theme and treatment to Coleridge's exposition on the *each and all* in *The Friend*. It is also a more complete exposition of the theme of the poem *Know Thyself* than Emerson gave in his earlier years. The general proposition that Emerson was trying to establish was that

> On the perpetual conflict between the dictate of this universal mind and the wishes and interests of the individual, the moral discipline of life is built.

This is, in effect, the theory of the *each and all* as presented by Coleridge. To illustrate his meaning Emerson adds,

> Compare all that we call ourselves, all our private and personal venture in the world, with this deep of moral nature in which we lie, and our private good becomes an impertinence, and we take part with hasty shame against ourselves:
>
> "High instincts, before which our mortal nature
> Doth tremble like a guilty thing surprised,—
> Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
> Are yet the master-light of all our seeing,—
> Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
> Our noisy years seem moments in the being
> Of the eternal silence,—truths that wake
> To perish never."[33]

We can now complete our outline. When Emerson began his comparison of Wordsworth with Milton and Shakespeare, the fifth stanza of the *Ode* represented for Emerson the best that Wordsworth had done. After 1831 the ninth stanza became the

[33] *Centenary Edition*, X, 94–95.

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standard of perfection for modern poetry. If he wished to illustrate the expanding and exalting power of the imagination, he made use of this stanza. And when he ventured out into the utmost extent of time and space in *Woodnotes*, he must have gone in company with Wordsworth.

During the years that intervene between the first comparison of the poetry of the Renaissance with the poetry of the Romantic Era in 1826, and the publication of *Parnassus* in 1876, the names of Milton, Shakespeare, and Wordsworth are the outstanding ones in Emerson's study of English poetry. But we really cannot account for the introduction to *Parnassus*, where Wordsworth is clearly the central figure of all the poets between Milton and Tennyson, unless we know what Emerson gained from the *Biographia Literaria*. Nor can we account for Emerson's final choice of the Pindaric measure as a means of expressing himself in rime without considering what Wordsworth's greatest ode, reference to which was first made in 1826, meant to Emerson.

In the final analysis Emerson learned from Coleridge the art of literary criticism and from Wordsworth the art of lyric poetry. The material necessary to prove this assertion is too copious to present in detail. So far as Wordsworth is concerned, we have an unbroken chain of documentary evidence from the criticism of Wordsworth in connection with Shakespeare and Milton in 1826 to the publication of *Parnassus* in 1876. The *Ode* is the medium by which we can measure what Emerson gained from Wordsworth. So far as Coleridge is concerned, we have an unbroken chain of documentary evidence from the first reading of *The Friend* in 1829 to the publication of the essay *Poetry and Imagination* in 1876. The distinction between Fancy and Imagination is the key to what Emerson gained from Coleridge in these years. The union of these two forces, Wordsworth's poetry and Coleridge's criticism of this poetry in the light of the distinction between Fancy and Imagination, not only made a romanticist of Emerson, but also furnished him a theory of poetry and helped to shape the form and content of his verse.

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LXVII

SPECTRAL ETCHING IN THE POETRY OF THOMAS HARDY

HARDY'S poetry has the careful articulation of the skeleton in a modern surgical laboratory. But also it has all the atmosphere of the skeleton in old ghostly legends: the sudden visitations, the faint shine and quaver, the lank pointings, the leisurely dissolving in gloom, the telltale streaks of gray on the dark earth and sky, the posturing branches, the summoning voices in the wind. All these are in the weft of his verse. A quizzical reader could assemble therefrom quite an array of theatrical apparitions. But at center his work is far from theatric. It moves with a large sincerity and simplicity. Its ghostly nimbus is a natural emanation:

I looked up from my writing,
  And gave a start to see,
As if rapt in my enditing,
  The moon's full gaze on me.

Her meditative misty head
  Was spectral in its air,
And I involuntarily said,
  "What are you doing there?"

Just as inevitable is the opposite mood—the impulse to lay bare the bony tangents of nature, with a certain harsh vigor of gesture:

At the shiver of morning, a little before the false dawn,
  The moon was at the window-square,
Deedily brooding in deformed decay—
  The curve hewn off her cheek as by an adze;
At the shiver of morning a little before the false dawn,
  So the moon looked in there.[1]

The above passages, be it noted, are vitally related to each other in spirit. They have the same spectral moon, though in almost opposite phases: "her meditative misty head," and then "the curve hewn off her cheek as by an adze." Between these two phases Hardy's style swings in a wonderfully complete orbit. It

[1] The third line is a too conscious premonition of the melodramatic episode that ensues in this poem, "Honeymoon Time at an Inn."

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is marvellous etching. Often, to be sure, the curves and angles are too effortful or the main design is too patent. In this case there is danger of a fanciful "window-square" picture—a flat, arranged scene such as an esthetic member of a parlor company might call attention to, during a pause in the conversation at tea: "Just see what that window is framing, see how the morbid line of that hill . . . ." and so on. But the lover of Hardy's art looks further and senses something that cannot be babbled about, some detail in third, or fourth, dimension, some incalculable glimmer. A kind of weird illumination, all his own, is never far away from his lines. It may sweep the scene at any moment, like a quiet glare of lightning, or a sunset dropped out from clouds behind a rocky hill, or a moon suddenly growing stronger in the mist. In brief, Hardy's poetic distinction is in the blending of two qualities that can easily be contraries—hard etching and spectral atmosphere.

Ghostliness is not an unnatural effect, to be sure, of ardent dissection; a fact which has appeared very strikingly in the age in which we live. Life refuses to be sheer bones. Scrape it down, enthusiastically, to a ribby framework and it takes on a curious glow; it moves off a little and shimmers beyond our finger-tips; it has a minatory phosphorescence. Here is a spectre that can be conjured down only by firm advances of the religious spirit or the comic spirit, both of which are now in a condition of confused and animated stationariness. It cannot be annihilated by further attacks of the scalpel: it merely fluctuates and subdivides. Little ghosts, therefore, are all about the edges of our scientificized age, like figures on the mist. We often regard them in pleasant vein. We sweep an electric light along them pooh-poohingly, without tracing their intimate relation to the dark lantern of spiritual superstition that our age bears, as unwittingly as any age ever bore it, fixed upon its breast. This old whale-oil utensil has nowadays a new-fashioned hood of "Naturalism" that matches in hue the plain modern waistcoat—the bosom of an era completely de-Byronized in vesture, though not in spirit. So the ancient lamp is disguised, and can be easily overlooked; while at the same time, owing to the sudden development of material science, we have a pervasive awareness of advanced illumination. Hence our lights are remarkably unfocussed and confused. And such is the condition of our most characteristic art. It tries to be very forceful, and succeeds in being very forced. It has a delusive consciousness of "realism," of vitality, that is perhaps unparalleled in the history

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of the human imagination. Writers fancy themselves working near the center of Life when really they are spinning fringes. They wish to *see* life as seen by recent science, and to *feel* it as felt by elemental man. They seem to be working with a high-power searchlight overhead and a primitive fire of passion in their breasts. In reality they are working with an electric flashlight in hand, and an old oil-burning lantern at bosom.

But this duple lighting has a right employment. It indicates a quaint arrangement of smoky browns in a fitful white ray—the effect being quite original in the history of literary art: a sort of drab ironic spiritualism. This is the quality of Hardy's verse, and of much of the finest writing of the present day. His younger contemporaries are more sophisticated than he in the use of flickering rays and drab tintings. They have gone beyond him in play of *esprit*; their verse is quicker, their prose style is more subtle. The blade of their irony is slender and flexible. Their mood, not capable of any rich gravity or gaiety, ambulates entertainingly the middle ground between grave and gay; companioned often by tenuous apparitions of the Subconscious. These apparitions are the lighter and subdivided shades, so to speak, of Hardy's sombre spectrality. His view of life, so fixed in its pessimism, is mainly *passé* for his successors; not because they have found a firmer one, but because they have found his too heavy. They gambol away from the insistent pressure of his "Immanent Will."

Consider this "Will," this anomalous Being that stretches, cadaverously, along the background of Hardy's total work in prose and verse. He has attached names to It, often too awkwardly—the names of God, Earth, Nature, First Cause, Immanent Will. Thus he is quite responsible for the tendency of his critics to abstract It from his fancy, weighing his "philosophy" and his "art" in different hands. In reality this Being is a *nameless* figment of his imagination, followed from youth to old age. It lends an extraordinary unity to his scene. The Thing looks inert, yet It is instinct with innumerable movements. Limbs of It grow through his stories; fibres of It twist in his rhythms, putting out sudden wry tendrils of phrase. His images "retract" (his own word), leering back upon It in recognition of kinship. His best poems are sturdy shoots of It, assiduously carved, but kept in position as they grew, like a row of tree-trunks on a moor made into wonderful totems. Closely inspected they astonish one with their detailed harmony of design—their blending of quaint natural contours

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into human figurations. Looked back at from a distance, as one goes on down the road, they appear in the shifting light to quiver between animate and inanimate. They might be shafts of rock arranged there by early men for some doubtful purpose; they may wear for a moment a Druidic air. But at last they are vertebrae of the landscape—and of Being.

This Being has the mien of inevitability. For It is nothing less than the wraith of the poetic idealism of the nineteenth century. An era that opens on young Wordsworth and Shelley closes, inevitably, on Thomas Hardy. The sequel of that first fine rapture, and the reaction from it, are blended in him. His poetry means that the Romantic sphere of imaginative thought has made a complete revolution. Hardy is Shelley reversed.

He retains the Shelleyan monism in all its naiveté. Life has not for him the vital doubleness of movement that it has for a spiritual realist—the emotional surge from below, the arduous shaping from above. Life is for him, as for Shelley, a single network of emotion, "through all the web of being blindly wove." But the glow has now faded from it: the weaving is precise and listless, the darker threads of the pattern stand out. The Shelleyan hope, however, still runs through it—a strangely luminous thread against the gloom. It shines a moment and disappears and recurs, again and again, from Mr. Hardy's earliest to his latest verse. In a recently published poem "The Aërolite," we find him dreaming of

> some far globe where no distress
> Had means to mar supreme delight;
> But only things abode that made
> The power to feel a gift uncloyed
> Of gladsome glow,
> And life unendingly displayed
> Emotions loved, desired, enjoyed. . . .[2]

[2] The author goes on to fancy that a "germ of consciousness" somehow escaped from that radiant world and "fell wanderingly upon our sphere," making us aware of our misery. "Maybe now," he ponders, "normal unawareness waits rebirth"; the "exotic germ" of painful awareness may perhaps be ousted from our nature. But at the same time he cannot help cherishing that rare germ as the seed of a new sympathy which may possibly grow, and renovate human life. This paradox goes down, of course, to the paradisaic thirst of the primitive human heart, its longing for the sweet of life without the sour. Paradisaic yearnings had a great revival in the nineteenth century. They escaped from the ruins of religious institutions. They were freed from the restraints of old moral systems. They were fostered by the humanitarian spirit. They were partly guided, partly repelled, by the

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That "far globe" is the Shelleyan planet, the "something afar from the field of our sorrow." Hardy's paradisaic tendency derives particularly from the kind of romanticism that found its extreme expression in Shelley: the yearning for a comfortable harmony, social and spiritual, which wears the guise of human happiness but in which the essential conditions of human happiness are slurred or submerged. This duplicity is the thing, no doubt, that Francis Thompson felt to be "poisonous" in Shelley. It is indeed poisonous for Poetry, especially when it recurs, disguised, in a "realistic movement" that proposes, in reaction from romanticism, to face the plain facts of life. It inoculates the life of Poetry *against* the chief facts of life.[3] It poisons the truth of poetry by sicklying-o'er the vital doubleness of life with a pale emotional duplicity. It fosters what may be called the Shelleyan apathetic enrapture—the morbid zest for oblivion, the shrinking from deep and vital contradictions.

What hope Hardy has, then, is the Shelleyan hope. But as a whole his poetry is elegiac, and finely elegiac, of the ecstatic song of the early nineteenth century. He muses upon that song in the suggestive neighborhood of Leghorn, Italy:

> Somewhere afield here something lies
> In Earth's oblivious eyeless trust
> That moved a poet to prophecies—
> A pinch of unseen, unguarded dust:
>
> The dust of the lark that Shelley heard,—
> And made immortal through times to be;

---

reasonings of the scientific-industrial mind. They flourished in opposition to obvious materialism. And William Morris, collecting many of them into his *Earthly Paradise* in a fin-de-siècle mood, was a natural contemporary of Thomas Hardy.

[3] Hardy was of course unconscious of this aspect of his work. Indeed he liked to emphasize the lack of "tendency" in his poetry. "The road to a true philosophy of life," he says in his preface to *Poems of the Past and the Present*, 1901, "seems to lie in humbly recording diverse readings of its phenomena as they are forced upon us by chance and change." To be sure, in the preface of *The Dynasts*, 1903, he is conscious of embodying in this poem "the Monistic theory of the Universe" which has such "wide prevalence in this twentieth century." But he seems unaware that such prevalence is due to the intricate growth of the thing in the imaginative literature of the past hundred years. Certainly he is unaware of how this theoretic Monism leads *away* from "a true philosophy of life" by restricting and prejudicing one's readings of life's phenomena.

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Though it only lived like another bird,
And knew not its immortality:

Lived its meek life; then, one day, fell—
A little ball of feather and bone;
And how it perished, when piped farewell,
And where it wastes, are alike unknown:

Maybe it rests in the loam I view,
Maybe it throbs in a myrtle's green,
Maybe it sleeps in the coming hue
Of a grape on the slopes of yon inland scene. . . . .

From Hardy's point of view the poetry of a hundred years ago, like every other lofty human effort, is just a lovely apparition unaccountably shaped for a moment from the "eyeless" life of Earth. It reduces to a "tiny pinch of priceless dust," gleaming, for memory, among the dark folds of Being. And these folds are the darker for it. Such precious ore of human memory throws into dreary relief the blind veins of the universal landscape. For the universe, outside of man, has neither hope nor memory; and human history has only a phantasmal meaning. This recalls the blank horror that sometimes confronted Shelley. In the relapses of his individualistic faith, he could not stay himself upon the profound meaning that there is in the painful story of human institutions and conventions: he could find there only a "chasm sightless and drear." In this respect, also, Hardy's case is the sequel of Shelley's. But he has none of Shelley's wailing lyric ardency. He scans the landscape with eyes accustomed to the gloom. Objects come out plainly enough in a sort of ironic twilight; and he watches them with an affectionate leer:

When I look forth at dawning, pool,
  Field, flock, and lonely tree,
  All seem to gaze at me
Like chastened children sitting silent in a school;

Their faces dulled, constrained, and worn,
  As though the master's ways
  Through the long teaching days
Had cowed them till their early zest was overborne.

Upon them stirs in lippings mere
  (As if once clear in call,
  But now scarce breathed at all)—
"We wonder, ever wonder, why we find us here!"

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This wonder—is it not the very reflux and converse of the so-called Renaissance of Wonder? This dim whispering of "field, flock, and lonely tree" was anticipated by the admonition that the same objects gave to Wordsworth in the full "May-morning" of his joy:

> But there's a tree, of many, one,
> A single field which I have looked upon,
> Both of them speak of something that is gone:
> The pansy at my feet
> Doth the same tale repeat:
> Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
> Where is it now, the glory and the dream?

Thus admonished, Wordsworth grasped for permanent meanings in the wake of this fleeting glory. It appeared to him, in after-reflection, an "intimation of immortality"; and here surely he took hold of a deep human instinct. But the high tide of his wonder swept him on. His imagination was hard to start—"moveth altogether if it move at all." But once under way it was liable to be carried by its own stiff momentum onto rocks of relentless absurdity. Accordingly the "visionary gleam" came to appear to him, not just a shifty ray from our instinct for eternity, but "a master-light of all our seeing."[4] He blurred, unpoetically, the nature of ethical insight, which is the real "master-light of all our seeing." He viewed it, in blind contradiction of human experience, as the natural and necessary sequel of a gleaming wonder. He submerged it in the pour of an emotionalized Nature. Hartley Coleridge said of Wordsworth's poetry:

> 'Tis Nature teaching what she never knew:
> The beautiful is good, the good is true.

Well, in Hardy's poetry Nature confesses her total ignorance on this score. But Nature is a born extremist; and having once told more than she knew, she now tells less. Because "Natural Objects" would descant to Wordsworth with the air of a moral schoolmistress, they demean themselves to Mr. Hardy "like chastened children sitting silent in a school." And the voiceless questions on their lips are these:

> Has some Vast Imbecility,
> Mighty to build and blend,

[4] "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality", line 152.

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But impotent to tend,
Framed us in jest, and left us now to hazardry?

Or come we of an Automaton
Unconscious of our pains? . . . .
Or are we live remains
Of Godhead dying downwards, brain and eye now gone?

Or is it that some high Plan betides,
As yet not understood,
Of Evil stormed by Good,
We the Forlorn Hope over which Achievement strides?

Thus things around. No answerer I . . . .
Meanwhile the winds, and rains,
And Earth's old glooms and pains
Are still the same, and Death and glad Life neighbour nigh.

The movement of these verses, perfect for what they say, is very characteristic. Hardy had a rare love of formal perfection at the very outset of his career. And he could see more clearly than his chief contemporaries, from Meredith to Masefield, just what conditions the artist has to face when he finds himself in the fag end of an extraordinary creative era. He articulated the poetic remains, so to speak, of the nineteenth century. He realized what was left to be done, and what could be done best by him, in poetic method. In his earliest verse we find him reaching away from the fading lyric vein of his century; and perhaps the following quatrain from a love sonnet dated 1866 is significant:

Though I waste watches framing words to fetter
Some unknown spirit to mine in clasp and kiss,
Out of the night there looms a sense 'twere better
To fail obtaining whom one fails to miss.

To be sure, there are quite a few passages of lovely English song scattered through his volumes. They have the limpidity and unexpectedness of a spring coming out from among bare rocks. But on the whole his style rejects the flow of the waters and follows the rugged lines of the rocks. He as well as Walt Whitman must be considered a founder of the irregular and imagistic kind of verse which is nowadays such a lively cult. But he is free from a certain glaring unveracity that tainted Whitman's art and that thrives today, notably in the verse printed in certain American

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periodicals. I mean the attempt to convey a fluid mood in a coagulated style—to thicken a shallow stream of lyric inspiration with ragged chunks of rhythm and image. The practitioners are more tuneful in *soul* than they are willing to admit in their *style*; and the result is a ridiculous frustration. Hardy admits all the tunefulness he has; but this is very little. His best verse does not so much sing its way as carve its way into the reader. Its thwart and angular movement corresponds exactly to the sardonic elegy of the author's mood. His art is identical with his pessimism.

To a conventional reader saturated with the dominant tunes of nineteenth-century poetry, Hardy's verse may well seem frustrate—so precisely does it convey a mood of frustration. It is indeed the fine art of frustration. It represents the untuning of the nineteenth-century universe. This is what one feels so keenly in "The Darkling Thrush," one of the great lyrics in our language. Assigned by the author to a chill dismal evening of December,1900, it is really an elegy for the closing century:

> The land's sharp features seemed to be
> The Century's corpse outleant . . . .
>
> The tangled bine-stems scored the sky
> Like strings from broken lyres. . . . .

Many lyres had to be broken before Poetry would thus turn her hand to the burin. And the unexpected songster of the scene, the thrush himself, is outlined against the cloudy twilight like a ghost of the melodious birds of Wordsworth's time:

> An aged thrush, frail, gaunt, and small,
> In blast-beruffled plume,
> Had chosen thus to fling his soul
> Upon the growing gloom.

Such laconic tenderness is perhaps the finest tone that is heard in Hardy's whole work. It comes when his irony is infused with a large pity that quivers along his sharp lines without blurring them. But his art is always in danger when his pity takes the lead. For instance, while out walking on another gloomy evening, the poet is overcome with a sense of all the miseries of life, in man and nature:

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The wind blew words along the skies,
  And these it blew to me
Through the wide dusk: "Lift up your eyes,
  Behold this troubled tree,
Complaining as it sways and plies;
  It is a limb of thee."

He proceeds to reflect upon the troublous life of men and animals, foreign and domestic, all of whom are "stuff of thy own frame"; and then concludes as follows:

I moved on in a surging awe
  Of inarticulateness
At the pathetic Me I saw
  In all his huge distress,
Making self-slaughter of the law
To kill, break, or suppress.

Here is a *real* "pathetic fallacy": the poet extends his pity to Necessity itself. This confusion is unfortunately at the very center of his vision; and it excludes that Greek sense of Fate which rash admirers have discovered in his writings. The Thing that presides there, so impressively, is really not Fate, but Fate's ghost. It is a remarkably life-like ghost because of Hardy's classic constructive power. His devotion to simple, inclusive, and sombre design brings him close to the notion of Fate. But what his architectural sense demands, his humanitarianism denies. Viewing the universe as a single Being, he sympathizes with it too much to believe it capable of a really sinister policy. Inexorable deities are excluded. Often, to be sure, Hardy takes on the peculiar attitude of blaming God for human troubles while denying God's existence. But generally he likes to imagine for deity a sort of lackadaisical existence which has none of the potency of Fate, and which deserves far more pity than blame—he pities God's incapacity for pity. What a falling-off from Milton's deity who asserted, all too confidently, "What I will is Fate!" Pride goes before a fall. Hardy's God is the last attenuation, in English poetry, of the Miltonic Jehovah . . . .

If thou *beest* he—but Oh how fallen, how changed
From him!—who in the happy realms of light,
Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
Myriads, though bright. . . . .

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But I hastily repent of turning these verses so frivolously. Of course, the depth of pity and the height of awe that can be found in this passage from Milton are impossible in Hardy's work. His gravest feeling in regard to Life is what he finely calls "a surging awe of inarticulateness"—a mixture of pity and awe in which neither emotion can have its full value. When his sympathy *overflows* upon the tragedy of life, as in "The Dynasts," it suffers from lack of contrast and becomes thinly monotonous. It is best when strictly confined by his irony. In this case his verse is distinguished for its poise of bleak austerity and fine tenderness. It is like a gaunt and dark landscape with notes of a human voice coming over it from a distance.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

7. THE ACCURACY OF THE *B*-SCRIBE OF *BEOWULF*

IN two recent publications[1] Dr. Stanley I. Rypins casts doubt on ten Brink's well-known judgment that the second scribe of *Beowulf* copied his original more accurately than did the first scribe. Ten Brink made his decision as a result of a comparison of the part of *Beowulf* written by the second scribe with the *Judith* which is in the same hand, and Dr. Rypins employs a similar method in reaching his conclusion by comparing the part of *Beowulf* written by the first scribe with the three prose texts in the *Beowulf* codex, which, it has been shown, are in the same hand. After noting in detail minor differences of spelling which appear consistently in the transcripts of the prose texts by the *A*-scribe, Dr. Rypins urges the improbability that these "could be the result of scribal carelessness." Rather, "such differences between the texts indicate a commendable accuracy of transcription."[2] On the other hand, Dr. Rypins regards the large number of *io*-spellings in the *B*-scribe's portion of the *Beowulf* text, as the result of this scribe's orthographic irregularities:

> .... The more natural explanation of the *io*-spellings as an orthographic peculiarity of the second Beowulf scribe, is discarded by Ten Brink in favor of his ingenious assumption of an *io*-original. And this, solely because Judith, with *eo*-spellings only, and part of *Beowulf*, with both *eo*- and *io*-spellings, were written by one and the same scribe.[3]

Dr. Rypins then proceeds to examine in detail the *eo*- and *io*-spellings in *Beowulf*, showing that aside from the greater proportion of *io*-spellings in B, they occur in an erratic fashion and do not support the theory that this copy was made from "an original in which *io*-forms were the norm."[4]

This conclusion, true or not, has really nothing to do with the question whether B in the particular places where he uses *io* is following his original. One would hardly suppose that his original had *io*-spellings consistently. No doubt, as in all copies of the older Old English poetry, that original itself had conflicting dialectal forms and inconsistent spellings as its heritage from previous scribes.[5] The flaw in Dr. Rypins' method is that

[1] A Contribution to the Study of the Beowulf Codex, *PMLA*, XXXVI (1921), 167–185. Three Old English Prose Texts, E.E.T.S., Original Series, No. 161 (1924), Introduction pp. xiv–xxiv. The two discussions are to a large extent identical in phraseology.

[2] *PMLA*, XXXVI, 170–171; E.E.T.S., Or. Ser. 161.

[3] *PMLA*, XXXVI, 169; E.E.T.S., 161, p. xv.

[4] *PMLA*, XXXVI, 176.

[5] It does not seem worth while to consider Dr. Rypins' discussion of Möller's views. The fact that the current opinion is that *Beowulf* was composed in the eighth rather than the tenth century indicates that few scholars regard Möller's

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after establishing A's general accuracy, he applies his generalization to particular facts. It may well be that A preserves the "linguistic color" of his texts, but that fact does not prove much concerning a particular detail such as the treatment of *eo* and *io* and some other spellings which were perhaps not in accord with certain scribal habits of his. To explain, moreover, the B-scribe's *io*-spellings in the *Beowulf* text as due merely to an orthographic peculiarity, when he does not once use them in *Judith*, is absurd, unless B has been shown to be a singularly erratic scribe. If B in other respects is found to have been tolerably careful, surely the reasonable assumption concerning the *io*-forms will be that since he used none in *Judith*, they were not his own addition in *Beowulf*, but that they were in his original and A's, and that he retained more of them than did A. As Dr. Rypins says: "If . . . . the scribe of B can be shown on other grounds to be more reliable than his predecessor, then the presumption that the *io*-forms are not 'vom zweiten Schreiber in den Text eingeführt' may reasonably be made."[6] To this he adds: "such proof, however, is not forthcoming."[7]

Probably Dr. Rypins had no opportunity to revise his manuscript between 1922 and 1924; if he had, doubtless he would have modified that last statement in view of the evidence given in Professor Klaeber's edition of *Beowulf* (1922) as to the carefulness of B (pp. xcii, xciii). Even after examining these pages, he may still consider that details there given do not prove B to have been "more reliable than his predecessor." Indeed, it is impossible to prove such a comparative statement because different scholars give different weight to different data. It is probable, moreover, that neither A nor B took pains to copy the original *literatim*. But the details Professor Klaeber has collected are sufficient (together with the absence of *io*-spellings in *Judith*) to make it probable that the *io*-spellings are not B's addition but were in his original.

To Klaeber's evidence other details may be added. In these, as in some of Klaeber's, it will be noticed that B uses forms which are older or more correct than some that appear in A's portion of the text. B has two archaic forms *fullæstu* (l. 2668) and *fædmie* (l. 2653) not paralleled in A (see Klaeber's *Beowulf*, p. lxxxix, no. 2). He does not use the incorrect form *gang* which appears three times in A (*loc. cit.*, no. 4). Finally, B in his part of *Beowulf* never writes a past or past participle form of a weak 2 verb with an *e* before the *d*. (Compare *sceawedon*, ll. 132, 204, 983; *eahtedon*, l. 172; *þancedon*, l. 227; *gebēotedon*, l. 480.) But in *Judith* B writes such forms as *poledon*, l. 215; *sparedon*, l. 233; *bodedon*, l. 243;

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theory as probable. (See Klaeber's *Beowulf*, p. cx ff.) Hence it is natural to suppose that the poem had passed through the hands of many scribes before it reached the "original" which scribe B copied. (Klaeber, *op. cit.*, p. xc.)

[6] *PMLA*, pp. 175–176; *Three Prose Texts*, p. xx.

[7] *Ibid.*

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hogedon, ll. 250, 273. A, on the other hand, uses *e* in *scotedon* (*Three Prose Texts*, p. 71, ll. 11, 13), *ondswaredon* (*ibid.*, p. 17, l. 2), *wunede* (*ibid.*, p. 35, l. 9), *wunedon* (*ibid.*, p. 3, l. 15). From these facts it is surely fair to infer that the "original" of *Beowulf* used by A and B did not have *-ed* in weak 2 verbs and that in this respect B followed his original more faithfully than did A.[8] Similarly in the case of the *io*-spellings, in view of the fact that in some respects at least B is more true to his original than A and that *Judith* gives no indication that B preferred *io*-spellings, the natural assumption is that the original had many *io*-spellings and that A altered a large proportion of them to *eo*.[9] Consequently Dr. Rypins' conclusion: " . . . . of the two portions of that ancient epic, that part which is written in the hand of the initial scribe must indeed be considered the more faithful reproduction of the original copy"[10] must be abandoned.

It cannot be said that the comparison of scribes A and B is a very important matter; the mixture of dialectal forms and of archaic and late spellings in the text of *Beowulf* is so great that critical study of scribes A and B will not enable us to reconstruct anything approaching the original form of the poem. In the work of both of them appear many late

[8] In other less striking details B shows more care than A. For instance, he never uses the form *scaða*, but always has *ea*. Similarly in words in which the combination *weo* occurs (aside from *worold* which occurs throughout the poem, and *worðig*, l. 1972) he never writes *wu*, as A does in *swurd*, ll. 539, 890; *wurðan*, l. 807; *gewurþad*, l. 1645; *hworfan*, l. 1728; *swurd*, l. 1901. On the other hand, B has a personal habit of spelling *sweord* as *swyrd*, ll. 2610, 2987, 3048; *Judith*, ll. 230, 318, 264, 302, 322 (Klaeber, *op. cit.*, p. xciii). If one reads with some care the section in Klaeber's edition dealing with language, pp. lxii ff., one will form the impression that in general where both A and B have late forms, A has a larger proportion than B. For instance, under ¶18.1 Klaeber cites eleven cases of O.E. -um weakened to *-un*, *-on*, *-an* from A and only three in B.

In all these cases (except the spelling *swyrd*) B is using older forms in *Beowulf*, later forms in *Judith*. Hence Dr. Rypins' suggestion, "In *Beowulf* . . . . the second scribe was merely finishing up another man's work, and may well have been careless about it" (*PMLA*, p. 176) cannot apply.

[9] One of Dr. Rypins' arguments is as follows: " . . . . It so happens, however, that precisely those conditions which ten Brink advances in support of the accuracy of the second *Beowulf* scribe, are duplicated in the work of scribe number one. The *Christophorus* fragment, copied, it will be remembered, by him who transcribed the first 1931 lines of *Beowulf*, is like *Judith*, characterized by the total absence of *io*-forms. Obviously, then, any argument in favor of the accuracy of the second scribe which ten Brink develops from the consistent use of *eo*-spellings in *Judith*, may with equal propriety be derived from the evidence of the *Christophorus* fragment in support of the accuracy of the first scribe." (*PMLA*, p. 173; *Three Prose Texts*, p. xviii.) Of course the conditions are not parallel. Indeed the facts cited concerning A confirm ten Brink's general position; that is, A preferred *eo* to *io*: he wrote *Christophorus* with *eo* only; he changed many *io's* in *Beowulf* to *eo's*.

[10] *PMLA*, p. 185.

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spellings, indicating confusion of *æ* and *e*, monophthongization of diphthongs, etc. Certainly if the poem is as old as the eighth century, it had already been largely modernized in spelling when it reached our scribes. But in cases where the scribal practice of A and B differs it ought to be possible, generally at least, to determine by comparison with the other documents which they transcribed, which one followed his original and what was the form used in the manuscript which A and B had before them.[11]

JAMES ROOT HULBERT

8. FENIMORE COOPER ET SON INELUENCE EN FRANCE

Si je cherche querelle à Miss Gibb[1] à propos des *Mohicans de Paris*, c'est que justement, à propos de cet ouvrage, l'auteur du Roman de Bas de Cuir me parait avoir commis une erreur assez grave. Elle ne voit entre les Mohicans de Dumas et ceux de Cooper que de très lointaines ressemblances. C'est faute d'avoir aperçu une très curieuse transformation de l'influence de Cooper, que je dois me borner à indiquer ici très brievement.

Lorsque Hippolyte Castille écrivait "M. de Balzac a jeté sur lui (Vautrin) l'intérêt immense que M. Cooper répandit sur Bas de Cuir," il indiquait un thème qui allait très vite devenir à la mode, et qui se trouve en effet dans Balzac: les bas fonds de Paris sont comparables aux recoins de la forêt vierge; ses habitants sont aussi sauvages que les sauvages de Cooper. C'est ce qu' Eugène Sue, do son côté, indique d'une façon très nette dès les premières pages des *Mystères de Paris*:

> Tout le monde a lu ces admirable pages dans lesquelles Cooper, le Walter Scott américain, a retracé les moeurs féroces des sauvages, leur langue pittoresque, poétique, les mille ruses à l'aide desquelles ils fuient ou poursuivent leurs ennemis .... Nous allons essayer de mettre sous les yeux du lecteur quelques épisodes de la vie d'autres barbares, aussi en dehors de la civilisation que les sauvages peuplades si bien peintes par Cooper.

Après les *Mystères de Paris*, cette espèce de transposition devient une habitude, presque un tic, chez les virtuoses du roman feuilleton. C'est Paul Féval, parlant des "Hurons de nos lacs de boue," des "Iroquois du ruisseau," de la "Forêt de Paris" dans *Les Habits noirs*. C'est Hugo lui-même, dans les Misérables: "Les villes, comme les forêts, ont leurs antres où se cachent tout ce qu'elles ont de plus méchant et de plus redoutable."

[11] Since this note was sent to the printers two reviewers of Dr. Rypins' work have expressed doubt as to the correctness of his view concerning the accuracy of the two scribes, Hoops, *Englische Studien*, LXI, 439, Ekwall, *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XXXVIII, 50.

[1] *Le Roman de Bas-de-Cuir*, Etude sur Fenimore Cooper et son influence en France, par Margaret Murray Gibb, Paris, 1927.

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Le père Dumas ne devait pas être le dernier à développer ce thème, lui qui, dès 1838, entreprenait de donner une suite au *Pirate* avec le *Capitaine Paul*. En écrivant les *Mohicans de Paris* il ne fait que mettre en vedette dans son titre une comparaison qui traînait déjà un peu partout, mais qui n'en est pas moins très curieuse et digne de remarque, car ses effets subsistent encore: on peut dire que c'est en partie grâce à Cooper que les Parisiens ont perçu le mystère et le pittoresque de certains aspects de Paris. Après avoir lu le Dernier des Mohicans, ils regardèrent le faubourg du Temple ou la Courtille avec des yeux tout neufs. Ils y aperçurent de sombres profondeurs et des drames—dont quelques—uns s'y trouvaient en effet, mais qui ne les eussent point fait frissonner de la même façon sans le souvenir de Chingachgook et du Renard subtil.

Cet aspect si curieux de l'influence de Cooper est presque complètement passé sous silence dans le livre de miss Gibb, et, pour tout dire, l'influence de Cooper en France y est examinée d'une façon très sommaire. Pourquoi, pour la période contemporaine, se borner à peu près exclusivement à l'influence de Gustave Aimard? Gustave Aimard n'est qu'un soldat dans toute une phalange d'écrivains qui pendant cinquante ans et plus ont amusé la jeunesse française; pourquoi donc donner une longue liste (d'ailleurs incomplète) de ses productions, et ne pas souffler mot des Louis Boussenard, des Lucien Biart, des Louis Noir, des Henry Leturque et de tant d'autres? Sans compter qu'à côté d'eux l'influence de Cooper s'est fait sentir occasionnellement chez d'autres auteurs: on trouverait des souvenirs de Cooper dans le *Montluc le Rouge* d'Alfred Assollant, et dans certains romans de Jules Verne. Il est même curieux de la retrouver dans les *Jeunes Franc-tireurs* de Henty. Sans doute George Alfred Henty était bien anglais, mais l'action de son roman est située en France, et le livre, aussitôt traduit en français y obtint un grand succès. Sans doute aussi, dans les ouvrages de ce genre, l'influence de Cooper vient se superposer ou se mêler à celle d'autres auteurs, notamment de Mayne Reid. La question est complexe; ce n'est pas une raison pour l'éluder.

Mais, dira-t-on vous nous parlez là d'auteurs secondaires, d'une influence en somme négligeable. Alors, il fallait passer sous silence le fâcheux Aimard, tout comme les autres. Mais ces auteurs, si peu de place qu'ils tiennent dans la haute littérature (et où s'arrête la haute littérature? Au XVIIe siècle la *Pucelle* de Chapelain en était, le *Roman comique* n'en était pas), ces auteurs obscurs sont les anneaux d'une chaîne, les mainteneurs de la tradition; ils prolongent à côté des traductions, auxquelles ils amènent sans doute des lecteurs, l'influence de l'auteur américain, jusqu'au moment où, plus heureux ou mieux doué, quelque autre édifiera sur les ruines de leurs ceuvres, une oeuvre d'une beauté plus durable où l'on retrouvera le souvenir de Bas de Cuir.

Et qui sait si ce moment-là n'est pas déjà venu? Car il n'est pas douteux que dans l'oeuvre de J.-H. Rosny, écrivain d'une autre envergure que les Biart et les Aimard, on ne retrouve en écho la rumeur des forêts améri-

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caines. L'auteur d'*Eyrimah* et de la *Guerre du Feu* aurait-il vu l'homme primitif comme il l'a vu sans les Peaus-Rouges de Cooper? La question valait d'être discutée.

Il n'est pas possible de taire une lacune de cette nature en examinant le travail, au reste consciencieux et destiné dès maintenant à rendre dè de grands services, de miss M. Gibb. Il faut souhaiter qu'il ait assez de succès pour que nous puissions bientôt en voir paraître une autre édition améliorée et débarrassée de quelques fâcheuses broussailles.

REGIS MESSAC

Macgill University.

8. THE DATE AND OCCASION OF WALLER'S *PANEGYRIC TO MY LORD PROTECTOR*

Mr. Claude Lloyd's statement in his recent article[1] that Waller wrote his "Panegyric to My Lord Protector" on Cromwell's death in 1658, is due either to the assumption from the title itself that the *Panegyric* was occasioned by the death of its subject, or to a confusion of this poem with the elegy, "Upon the Late Storm, and Of the Death of His Highness Ensuing the Same," in which Waller commemorated the death of the Protector. It is to be noted, however, that the *Panegyric* embodies exalted praise obviously addressed to a living ruler, and further that the facts concerning the poem, readily available in several reliable sources, place the date and occasion of its composition beyond question.

Positive evidence that the *Panegyric* was published in 1655 appears in the *Catalogue and Early Editions of English Writers* published by the Grolier Club in 1905:

[921] A Panegyrick to My Lord Protector, of the present Greatness and joynt Interest of His Highness, and this Nation. By E. W. Esq. *London, Printed for Richard Lowndes at the White Lyon in S. Paul's Church-yard, neer the little North dore.* 1655. Quarto. First edition.[2]

A note to this item mentions the existence of another edition during the same year, in folio, of which only two copies are known. This folio edition is recorded in Mr. Drury's edition of Waller[3] as follows:

A Panegyrick to My Lord Protector By A Gentleman That Loves the Peace, Union, and Prosperity of The English Nation. Claudian: &c. Gaudet enim virtus testes sibi jungere Musas. Carmen amat quisque Carmine digna gerit. *London, Printed by Thomas Newcomb, in Thames-street over against Baynards-Castle.* 1655. (Title and three leaves).

Furthermore, Mr. Drury cites a letter to the poet from Cromwell himself which appears to relate to these verses:

[1] "Edmund Waller as a Member of the Royal Society," *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 162–165.

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Sr, lett it not trouble you that by soe unhappy a mistake you are (as I heare) at Northampton, indaed I am passionately affected with itt. I haue noe guilt upon mee unlesse it bee to bee revenged, for your soe willinglye mistakinge mee in your verses. This action will put you to redeeme mee from yourselfe as you haue already from the world. Ashamed I am, Yr freind and Seruant, Oliver P. June 13th, 1655.[4]

Though the letter indicates that the *Panegyric* did not reach Cromwell until 1655, Mr. Drury believes that Waller may very well have composed it shortly after his return to England in 1652.

It may be noted that certain circumstances in the poet's life probably led to the composition of the *Panegyric* as an expression of personal gratitude. It is quite likely that Waller's reconciliation with Parliament and his return to England were in some measure effected by his shrewd mother through the family connection with the Protector. Certainly Waller's position in the Commonwealth immediately upon his return from banishment was one which he needed to secure and improve; his appointment as one of the Commissioners for Trade in December, 1655, would indicate that his efforts were not without result. Finally, it is probable that Waller's poem was motivated primarily by his sincere appreciation of Cromwell's achievement in restoring "the Peace, Union, and Prosperity of the English Nation." As a man of property, conservative in all things, Waller had been "impatient," as he afterwards said, "of the inconvenience of the war," and had considered that nothing would so surely conduce to his personal comfort as an arrangement between the two parties.[5]

ELLA T. RISKE

New York University

[3] *Contributions to English Bibliography, Wither to Prior*, 1905, III, 176.

[4] *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, Notes, II, 195. (The Muses Library)

[4] The letter is also to be found in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, V. 2.

[5] *Poems of Edmund Waller*, Introd., I, xxxix.

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ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

For the record of business transacted by the Council at its meeting at Louisville, Dec. 28, 1927, see the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (*PMLA* XLII, Supplement, pages xx-xxii).

I. Under date of March 1, 1928, Professor Prokosch presented to the Executive Council his resignation as Treasurer of the Association, whereupon the Secretary, under date of March 5, recommended that Professor John Whyte of the College of the City of New York, who, as Acting Treasurer, had been performing the duties of the office for the past six months, be appointed to fill the vacancy. The Council by unanimous vote appointed Professor Whyte, Treasurer.

II. Under date of March 26, the Treasurer recommended to the Executive Council the immediate transfer to the Permanent Fund of $2,500 from the Emergency Fund in which the balance of the grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York was being kept, and also the transfer later in the year of such sums as a conservative estimate of probable expenditures would permit. The Council unanimously voted to approve the recommendation of the Treasurer.

III. Under date of April 14, the Secretary transmitted to the members of the Council the request of the Mediæval Latin Group that the Council "consider the advisability of substituting for the three Departmental Section Meetings a sectional division based upon periods—mediæval, renaissance, and modern." The Council voted that this change was inadvisable.

IV. Under date of April 14, the Secretary informed the members of the Council that a bureau for newspaper publicity had recently been established by the American Council of Learned Societies for the purpose of bringing to public notice the various enterprises which the constituent societies were carrying forward, and that the Executive Secretary of the A.C.L.S. invited each of the constituent Societies to contribute fifty dollars toward the expenses of this bureau. A majority of the members of the Council voted to authorize this contribution.

V. Under date of April 14, the Secretary referred to the Executive Council the resolution introduced at the Louisville Meeting by Professor Zdanowicz endorsing the idea of establishing the Modern Language Study as a permanent bureau. At the same time the Secretary stated that he had been informed by Professor R. H. Fife, Chairman of the present Committee on the Foreign Language Study, that arrangements are already being made to continue the Study under the auspices of the American Council on Education, so that all was expected of the Modern Language Association was to indicate its approval of the proposed plan. A majority of the members of the Council voted to approve.

VI. Under the date of April 24, the Secretary transmitted to the Council a resolution adopted at Louisville by the Group on Poetic Form, (1) recommending the appointment of the Committee on Metrical Notation of Professor C. E. Andrews in place of Professor R. M. Alden, deceased, (2) requesting the Council to authorize the printing of the

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revised report of this committee in pamphlet form. With reference to the second matter, the Secretary suggested that the Report of the Committee be published instead as an Appendix to the Proceedings.

The Council appointed Professor Andrews to fill the vacancy on the Committee and voted that the Report be published in the Proceedings instead of as a separate pamphlet.

VII. Under date of Oct. 6, the Treasurer called the attention of the members of the Council to the unsatisfactory operation of the arrangement made with the American Folk Lore Society, in 1923, whereby joint membership in both organizations was offered at a reduced rate. The Council by a decisive majority voted to discontinue the arrangement.

CARLETON BROWN, *Secretary*

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PROCEEDINGS *and* LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Supplement to *PMLA*, Vol. XLIII, 1928

The Presidential Address: "Goethe in His Diaries," by HUGO K. SCHILLING, of the *University of California.*

Proceedings of the Forty-fifth Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held on the invitation of the *University of Toronto*, at Toronto, Canada, December 27, 28, 29, 1928.

Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, held at Stanford University, California, November 30 and December 1, 1928.

List of Members of the Modern Language Association of America (corrected to February 16, 1929).

Issued February 1929

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GOETHE IN HIS DIARIES*

IN CASTING about for a subject suited to this audience with its diverse if fundamentally related interests I regretted at first that I was not, like some of my distinguished predecessors, inspired with a message on some general educational, literary, or linguistic topic. A technical paper from my field of study was, of course, barred. But I thought of the warning of Faust that to reach human hearts one must speak from the heart:

> Doch werdet ihr nie Herz zu Herzen schaffen,
> Wenn es euch nicht von Herzen geht.

And I asked myself what in all my study of Goethe had given me the most heartfelt joy, that *innre Wärme*, *Seelenwärme*, *Mittelpunkt* which he prized so highly; and in that respect I had to place the appreciation of Goethe the man even above that of Goethe the poet. Moreover, human interest has a universal appeal. So I chose for my subject the *human* Goethe, his personality as it appears not so much in his works as rather in the details of his life.

There is a vast amount of material available in his own letters and biographical writings as well as in those of contemporaries. But limitation was imperative; so I confined my inquiry to the most original and dependable source, his diaries. His works belong to the world; even his letters are largely written with a view to eventual publication; but his diaries were private documents,they saw the light but late and are practically unknown to the public; even students of Goethe generally use them for reference only, and few ever read the thirteen volumes of them in the Weimar edition continuously in their entirety. Yet they alone give first impressions, fresh and vivid, recorded spontaneously and naturally with no interfering thought of ultimate publication in their original form.

Goethe's earliest attempt at something like a diary resulted in the *Ephemerides* of his Strassburg student days, a jumble of undated miscellaneous memoranda of no particular interest except as they throw light upon his extensive reading. Five years later he kept a fragmentary daily record of his first trip to Switzerland; in the same year he started another diary on the first day of an

* The Presidential Address, delivered at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, Toronto, Canada, December 27, 1928.

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intended journey to Italy; but the trip and the diary came to an abrupt end with his recall to Frankfort and his removal to Weimar. There a set of diaries in interleaved almanacs was begun in the following spring and continued fitfully for six years, with frequent gaps of days, weeks and even months. Then another period of silence due to overwork and growing unrest and discontent, until the Italian journey with its freedom from care and its manifold stimuli prompted a detailed record. But his zeal relaxed after his return to Weimar; it was twice again revived by travel in the following decade and a half, but for the most part the entries in his diaries are far apart and exceedingly meagre. The year 1806 finally brought a definite change; from there on the record gradually becomes regular and continues uninterruptedly and with increasing fullness until a few days before his death. The earliest of these records contributed later their scanty material to *Fiction and Truth*, his autobiography, which unfortunately breaks off with the year 1775. Only two chapters of the intended continuation were ever completed: *The Italian Journey* and *The Campaign in France*. The remaining records were roughly elaborated in the makeshift *Annals*, a matter-of-fact chronicle without literary pretensions, down to the year 1822. I shall refer to these and to his letters and conversations only where the diaries make bare allusions requiring elucidation from other sources.

The diaries reflect in their spirit, their language, and their contents all the successive changes in Goethe's attitude toward life and art with which we are familiar from his works. The earliest regular diary, that of his first trip to Switzerland, is thoroughly characteristic of the Storm and Stress period. The sense of physical well-being, the exuberance of animal spirits in the four happy youths rowing out upon the lake of Zurich is aptly, if grossly, expressed through a simile from the animal kingdom; they feel "*sauwohl, wie dreihundert*" (namely: *Säue*), just like the revellers in the Urfaust. And in the midst of their noisy jollity the young poet comes under the spell of the sublime scenery about him and writes that beautiful poem "Auf dem See" with its charming delicacy of feeling and diction and its marvelous imagery. That is the true Goethe. But as if to mark the gradual rise from the previous earthly mood to the poetic heights which he presently attains, the initial lines contain a not inept but decidedly unæsthetic biological metaphor which comes with a shock to those who know only the revised version subsequently published.

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That is the Strassburg Goethe, who sought to combat what he considered a weakness in his nature, his physical revulsion from the gruesome, by frequenting dissecting rooms and clinics. He succeeded in temporarily callousing his sensibility; but it soon reasserted itself and became in time even more acute. When in later years his daughter-in-law suffered lacerations of the face in a fall from her horse, he could not bring himself to see her until nature had abated the disfigurement—five weeks later, according to his diary. And this same sensitiveness is revealed by his comment in the Annals upon Hartmann's *Der arme Heinrich*:

> The poem, which is in itself very admirable, gave me physical and aesthetic pain. One cannot help being nauseated by a leprous knight for whom a fine young girl sacrifices herself; indeed a whole age in which the most repulsive disease plays a part in deeds of love and chivalry must fill us with detestation. Upon me at least that terrible disease as a motive for an act of heroism has an effect so violent that it seems to me the mere touching of the book exposes me to contagion.

This susceptibility of quick and profound impression and this extraordinary energy of reaction are at bottom essential features of his genius; they explain facts in his life which would seem strange in that of an ordinary mortal; and they warn us against applying to him conventional standards of judgment. Nor must his above-quoted statement as to physical pain in addition to the aesthetic be taken for a mere phrase; coincidence or close sequence of emotional stress and physical indisposition is too common in his life to be merely accidental.

The diaries of the first six years in Weimar show a very slow and gradual evanescence of the Storm and Stress spirit. The entries are laconic, with many abbreviations; the language is colloquial, even slangy, and often brusque and forcible; astronomical signs for celestial bodies take the places of names: the sign for Jupiter means the Duke, that for the sun means Frau von Stein; reflections and emotional outbursts interrupt the narrative of facts. Goethe was twenty-six and already famous when he came to Weimar; the Duke was a robust, high-spirited and susceptible youth of eighteen. His admiration and personal liking for the poet grew quickly into warm affection; he heaped favors and presents upon him, gave him a seat in his cabinet and entrusted him with important governmental functions. The result was a jealous animosity on the part of older courtiers and officials which gave Goethe many a bitter

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hour. It speaks volumes for his good breeding, his native tact, and his sound common sense that he was able not only to maintain himself but in time to dissipate distrust and conciliate antagonism. If his sudden rise to worldly eminence had turned his head, his downfall would have been inevitable. But he had too high a conception of his mission in life, too clear a consciousness of his own worth, to be dazzled by rank or title. When he became privy councilor he recorded the fact in his diary with this cryptic comment:

> I was impressed by the whirl of earthly things and by my own feelings in the matter. It is not seemly to write down these inner reactions.—I note an impolitic tendency in me which is hard to eradicate.

The meaning becomes clear when three years later his elevation to the rank of nobility is passed over in his diary without even casual mention and he confesses to a friend that he is so strangely constituted that it means nothing at all to him. Like some of the best of his contemporaries, even among the aristocracy, he had adopted Ulrich von Hutten's ideal of a personal nobility of merit, and that, he felt, he possessed already. In a later conversation he says that deep down in his nature he never had much respect even for princely rank unless there was back of it an able and worthy personality. These are the sentiments which he did not think it seemly to write into his diary and which he condemned later in a remarkable self-arraignment found among his posthumous papers:

> I never knew a more presumptuous person than myself. When any distinction came to me I always fancied I possessed it already. They might have put a crown upon my head and I should have considered it a matter of course. What alone distinguished me from a madman was the endeavor to carry out what I had undertaken beyond my strength and to deserve what I had received beyond my deserts.

But this charge refutes itself by the very spirit of modesty which prompted it; and posterity approves his earlier attitude by refusing to use the "von" that was added to his name. There is not a trace of presumption or vainglory or even of ordinary vanity in all his diaries, though opportunities abound for the display of such qualities, if present, or for their self-betrayal, if merely controlled. Kings and princes visited him and gave him decorations, eminent men at home and abroad sought him or wrote to him to do him homage; but the diaries merely record visits and letters received

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and make no mention of precisely those flattering details which egotism would most surely have dwelled upon. The most striking illustration of this is his account of his audience with Napoleon, who had expressed the wish to meet Goethe. The diary says laconically: "At the court reception. Afterwards with the emperor." In the Annals the interview is described in part only, so that it seems much shorter than it actually was; and everything of a personal nature is omitted. Goethe does not tell us of Napoleon's admiring exclamation after a critical survey of his visitor: *"Voilà un homme!";* nor of his statement in connection with his very apt observations on "The Sufferings of Werther" that he had read the book no less than seven times. These particulars we have from a French witness of the conversation; Goethe's own account passes them over in silence.

Throughout his personal records of his life we receive the impression of a quiet, unassuming dignity born of a sense of his worth as far removed from conceit as it was from false modesty. There is nothing petty about him. What makes the study of his personality so inspiring and elevating and withal so delightful, is his bigness not only of intellect but of heart and soul, in all its manifestations: breadth of interest and sympathy, unselfishness, loyalty, tolerance, charity, love of his neighbor, in a word: humanity. He did not seek personal gain or aggrandizement; they came of themselves—aggrandizement promptly, material gain more slowly, but both inevitably. He was imbued with the idea of service. He wanted to make of the young Duke an ideal ruler, to give one of the petty states of his country a model government, and thus to promote the welfare of the people at large. In the pursuit of this aim he displayed a wisdom and sagacity amazing in one of his age. The Duke was full of life, impulsive, and inclined to make the most of his new-found freedom and power, even to occasional excess. Goethe joined in all his pastimes and pranks, in order the more surely to exercise a gradually restraining and sobering influence. He finds the Duke natural, genuine, governed by instinct rather than reason: *"rein und dumpf und wahr"*—favorite words of his but difficult to define. On one of their many unconventionally gay outings they congratulate each other upon the fact that though they were not free from ostentation toward themselves and others, they had never been guilty of it toward each other. Another time Goethe reports: "The Duke is gaining

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each day in clarity and decision;" and "he is constantly developing, and when something new unfolds in him there is an explosion and he gives offence." That refers particularly to cabinet meetings, and after such occasions Goethe admonishes him privately to be more reserved, not to talk so much, to be mindful of his dignity, to moderate his language, not to bring up in the heat of argument matters that should not be discussed, and not to concern himself with unimportant details. He confides to his diary: "The Duke must be kept from acting on his own initiative, he is still very inexperienced, especially in dealing with strangers." But in all this the mentor is so tactful that he can report: "The Duke draws closer and closer to me;" and he adds in his old Frankfort manner, "just as rain and raw winds make the sheep huddle together." Of stormy weather there was no lack, and not only in affairs of state. The Duke had contracted a marriage of convenience and was still given to philandering. The charming but rigorous duchess soon overcame her initial distrust of her husband's bosom friend and gave him her confidence; so that Goethe became the mediator in their conjugal troubles. The rôle was not new to him; for reasons inherent in his personality and altogether creditable to him he had been entrusted with similar functions a number of times before, though doubtless never in circumstances so difficult. He proved himself worthy of the trust which both sides reposed in him. But he had to proceed with diplomatic caution. The Duke had bestowed his favor upon the beautiful singer Corona Schröter. Here are some pertinent passages in Goethe's diary: "In the evening I caught Corona and the duke at L's" (a lady of the court). The next day: "To the Duchess with the Duke understanding as to conduct" (the total lack of punctuation leaves the precise meaning in doubt, but the reference to the Duke's conduct is unmistakable). Goethe himself was somewhat enamored of Corona but had to set a good example to the Duke. A crisis was averted, but the Duke's attitude remained in doubt. Two years later Goethe writes:

In the evening after the concert a radical discussion with the Duke about Corona. My previous surmises partly confirmed and partly disproven. May it all end well!

And again a year later:

Corona and Mina (her companion) came to see me. I read to them the letters from Switzerland. Came the Duke in the evening, and since we

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are all no longer in love and the surface of the lava has cooled, everything was pleasant and decorous. Only one must not yet pry into the cracks, there is still a glow there.

Later, when Goethe was given charge of the finances of the country, the Duke gave him constant concern by his excessive expenditures; the diary says, for instance: "Anxiety about the Duke's too costly extravagances;" or "Cabinet meeting in the morning. Dinner with the Duke. Another radical talk with him;" and only a week later, again after dinner with the duke: "I spoke earnestly and emphatically about economy and a number of false notions which I cannot get out of his head." But the diary does not mention his subsequent categorical order to the horrified keeper of the privy purse not in any case to overdraw thenceforth the Duke's civil list.

Life at court had meanwhile palled upon Goethe. The ladies of the ducal family were refined and cultured and Goethe enjoyed their company and gladly devoted his talents and his knowledge to their entertainment and instruction. One of the ladies-in-waiting, Frau von Stein, became his intimate friend and the inspiration of some of the best poetic productions of his first Weimar period. But among the men in the Duke's inner circle but few proved congenial and worthwhile, and with only one of these he formed a lasting friendship. The rank and file of the courtiers bored him and aroused his contempt. During a sojourn at the Wartburg his diary mentions long conversations with his closest associate about the emptiness (*Armut* he calls it) of court and society life in general.

I was homesick to-day for my garden. I shall be glad to get back to my little nest, and I hope people will let me alone, since I have nothing in common with them. I have become confirmed in my detachment, though I believed there were bonds.

Returned to Weimar he goes to Tiefurt, the ducal country seat, one day, but everything about the people there annoys him and he soon takes his leave and goes home. He finds that there is a nervous tension in court circles which is due to sheer boredom. And finally he declares in utter disgust: "I was not made for this society. With the first step out of one's house one walks in nothing but mire, and because I pay no attention to paltry matters and do not gossip or keep reporters of gossip, I often say or do the wrong thing." The intensity of his distaste for it all is revealed

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in entries like this: "Dined at the court, and so the whole day was spoiled."

Nor did he find enduring satisfaction in his work as an administrator and statesman. He devoted himself to it with the enthusiasm of a youthful reformer, and his efficiency and uncompromising integrity led to a constant increase of his burdens and responsibilities. He became the leading official of the country, the soul of its government. He occupied successively and part of the time simultaneously various posts in the cabinet; in our parlance he was secretary of war, of the treasury, and of commerce, with sundry added functions properly belonging to the Department of the Interior. He was given supervision over public highways, building operations and mining interests and finally over all institutions for the promotion of the arts and sciences: museums, libraries, art schools, and the entire university of Jena.

To be sure, the duchy was a small country, little larger than the state of Rhode Island, and its army comprised about 600 men. But the machinery of administration was correspondingly simple and primitive, and Goethe, new to the work and conscientious and thorough in all things, attended personally to innumerable details that would now fall to subordinates or mere clerks. His diary mentions the desertion of a ducal huzzar; the government archives contain a document by Goethe's own hand relative to the inquiry into the illegal retention by the deserter of the leather breeches which were part of his uniform and hence government property. During eleven of the best years of his life, from his twenty-sixth to his thirty-seventh, he was the official first and the poet only in odd hours when his duties did not claim him. Yet this poet, who considered solitude and abstraction indispensable for creative work, could, when the urge came, concentrate and produce under very unfavorable circumstances; most of the first three acts of the original *Iphigenie* was written on a recruiting trip through the country, and his diary says: "I looked it all over and found it passable."

To his official work he gave the best that was in him, with the most unselfish devotion. Material considerations do not seem to have entered his mind. His salary was small even in those days of frugal living and low prices: twelve hundred dollars (German *thalers*), rising later to eighteen hundred and ultimately—but not until his sixty-sixth year—to the comfortable figure of three thousand. His position imposed much hospitality, his work

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necessitated many official trips, but he did not ask for special appropriations and defrayed all expenses out of his own pocket, though to do so he had to spend his literary earnings as well and in the course of the years, as he told a friend later, to use up fully two-thirds of his patrimony.

A few characteristic quotations bearing upon his official experiences and his reactions thereto will suffice. At first he is cheerful and confident:

> Immersed in affairs. Good hopes in the certainty of perseverance. The pressure of affairs is good for the soul: when it is relieved the soul has freer play and enjoys life. None more wretched than those comfortably situated and not engaged in work; the best of life's gifts pall upon them. .... I shall manage the war department all right because I have no illusions and fancies there and do not want to create anything, only to know what is there and to put it in order. So also with the highways.

But he encounters the age-old problems of the man in power:

> When a third person gives advice or discovers a defect and suggests a way to remedy it, there is so often self-interest back of it, a desire to create new budgets in order to secure an increase of salary or a berth for a protégé, and so forth. Repeated experiences of that kind make one so suspicious that one is finally almost afraid to have the dust wiped off. And then there is danger of becoming lax and doing nothing at all.

And again:

> Much laboring within me, too much brooding, so that in the evening my whole being seems to be concentrated between my eyebones. Hope for relief through becoming accustomed. But there is more disagreeable business ahead. Still, with calmness and straightforwardness I can put everything through.

Or:

> Nobody knows how hard I am working and with how many enemies I have to contend to get a few results. But I shall not give up my idea, I shall wrestle with the unknown angel if I have to dislocate my hip.

He adhered to this resolve, and two years later he was in a position to say with renewed confidence:

> I reviewed in private what I had accomplished in this department. I should not be afraid now to put in order a much larger one, even several of them, and for that may the Lord provide opportunity and courage.

This prayer was granted; within a year he was given charge of

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the most important department of government, that of finance. It had been mismanaged and was badly disorganized, but here, too, Goethe restored order and by strict economy managed to balance the budgets.

But the Duke grew to maturity and became less tractable; he gave but lukewarm support to far-reaching reforms which Goethe had at heart, and they came to nought in the face of reactionary opposition. The diary becomes meagre and irregular; a note of discontent creeps in; he speaks of "hypochondriac ghosts" that he has to chase away; he feels that he has wings but cannot use them, like a bird entangled in a snare; and in addition he suffers much from the bad climate. For an entire month there is only this entry:

> Labored much and was much belabored. Got rid of Volgstedt [an obnoxious official in his department]. This month has been a hard one for me.

And not long after, his diary lapses into complete silence for a period of four years. In this interval his discontent was aggravated by growing doubts as to his justification in choosing an official career; he cast about for a way out of a condition that had become intolerable; and his longing for Italy, the land of antiquity —Greece being still outside the range of common vision—reawoke and became a veritable passion. Of this state of mind he said some years later when his longing was being gratified:

> Now I may confess my malady and my folly. For several years past I have not been able to look at a Latin author, to touch anything that conjured up a vision of Italy, without suffering the most intense pain. If I had not arrived at the decision which I am now carrying out I should have actually perished or become incapacitated for everything.

As we survey at this critical point in his life the frank, spontaneous diaries of the preceding period, we discern some outstanding qualities of his personality. First and foremost his devotion to self-culture. It has its roots in his philosophy. His god is immanent in nature, and all life is a manifestation of him. Like Spinoza, he does not seek to prove the existence of God, because to him existence *is* God. But if life is of the essence of divinity, existence becomes a duty: *Dasein ist Pflicht, und wär's ein Augenblick.* And of all living beings man alone is able to promote by his own efforts the development of all that is potentially in him and thus to attain the highest, the most nearly divine form of existence of which his nature is capable:

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Je mehr du fühlst ein Mensch zu sein,
Desto ähnlicher bist du den Göttern.

Therefore self-realization, self-culture is to him a matter of religion. And as the prime condition for it is self-knowledge, the means to this, self-scrutiny, becomes with him a fixed habit. He assiduously observes and records his physical as well as his mental condition and reflects upon the cause of anything unusual in either. Experience teaches him the old lesson that "moderation is half of life." He avoids the use of coffee because it is not good for him; he reduces his consumption of wine to one-half and feels the better for it; he abstains entirely at times: "No wine for three days. I must beware now of English beer (ale and porter were beginning to be imported). If I could abolish wine altogether, I should be happy." But that was not suited to his convivial nature. He finds that he needs abundant exercise and he takes it in walking, horseback riding, swimming, skating, and fencing, with some hunting thrown in to please the duke, though it was not much to his taste. The morning hours are his best for work; they are the cream of the day, he says, and the skimmed milk that remains is good enough for social and other purposes. So he rises early, plunges into the river near his house and by six o'clock is taking his morning walk, planning the while his work for the day and returning to it refreshed and vigorous. He sleeps outdoors when the weather permits, on a hard couch, with little covering, for Rousseau's ideas still hold sway. But this rational mode of living is too commonly interfered with by the harshness of the climate, and he perceives an intimate connection between the weather and his state of mind and body; the two become associated in his thoughts and are constantly mentioned together: "I have been in high spirits all last week and petty things have not affected me. The weather, too, was exceptionally fine;" or tersely and pointedly, "*Dumm Wetter und Sinn*," when both the weather and his mind were dull. He has mentally good and bad days and varying moods prompting different kinds of activity. One day he writes: "I had my cleaning-up and putting-in-order day, dashed off a lot of letters and made everything tidy." But the next day is a productive one: "my head at first a little hazy, then clearing. Good invention Tasso. In the afternoon but few creative moments, with declining power. I must watch that, to find out the causes." These changes seem to him to move in cycles:

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I must observe more closely the circle that revolves within me of good and bad days, of predispositions and impulses to do this and that. Spells of inventiveness, of executive efficiency, and of mere orderliness alternate and move in a regular cycle, as do also cheerfulness, depression, strength, elasticity, weakness, contentment, and yearning. As my mode of living is regular and temperate it cannot affect the course of these phenomena; I must yet find out the duration and the direction of the orbit in which I move round myself.

He observes the working of his mind and makes interesting discoveries: "Good ideas, even good phrases, come to me mostly in walking; when I am sitting down my mind is inert. Therefore I must continue to dictate." He had begun to dictate his works, as the physical act of writing impeded his thinking; in later years he dictated everything, his letters and even his diaries. A very important discovery concerning his mental processes is this: "I see that I am trying in vain to learn things by proceeding from details to the entirety; I have always been able to work my way only from the whole to its parts; I cannot grasp anything by aggregation." That is a fundamental law of his mind not only in his literary composition, but in his scientific work as well, where it marks the gulf between his method and the inductive reasoning of the trained scientist: the general conception comes first, arrived at intuitively, in a flash of inspiration, and the detail is worked out by analysis afterwards. It manifests itself even in seemingly trifling oddities of habit, as when upon arriving in a strange town he first takes a walk round its circumference or climbs up into the church steeple in order to form a general impression of its size, character, and location; the particular sights of the place are of secondary importance.

Frequent hours of meditation serve to clarify his conception of himself and of the world about him. His birthdays particularly are given to introspection and self-criticism. On the eve of his thirtieth birthday he subjects his entire past to a merciless scrutiny:

I look back upon my life, upon the vague aspirations, the confused activities of youth in its quest of something that will satisfy its thirst for knowledge. I delighted in mysterious, darkly fanciful subjects, I began serious studies and left them unfinished, a sort of humble self-satisfaction prevaded all my writings. I perceive now how short-sighted I was in matters human and divine, how little I accomplished, how much time I wasted in fancied passions. And now that one

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half of my life has passed I find that I have made but little progress, and I stand here like one who has barely escaped drowning and who is drying himself in the grateful rays of the sun.

In a biographical fragment written near the close of his life he sums up his striving as follows:

I was conscious of having high and noble aims, but I never rightly apprehended the conditions under which I worked; I saw clearly enough what I lacked and what I possessed in excess, and I never relaxed my efforts to perfect myself. And yet I made no headway. I pursued each aim with earnestness, force, and fidelity and I often succeeded in overcoming obstacles in my path, but as often I was foiled by them because I would not yield to them or go around them. And so my life has been spent in doing and enjoying, in suffering and contending, and amid the love and approval, the hatred and displeasure of my fellow-men.

He had found that he was after all but human. But we who marvel at his achievement in self-culture see in his disappointment only the Faustian spirit that is ever unsatisfied, ever striving after a perfection unattainable to mortal man.

But while he made demands upon himself that overtaxed human strength he was exceedingly tolerant of the failings and foibles of others. His success in dealing with men was due mainly to his habit of accepting them as they were, as given, fixed entities, and adapting his attitude to their peculiarities. Once after a discussion with the Duke about police affairs, maintenance of order, and legislation relating thereto, the diary says:

Difference of view-point. Mine must not be expressed in words [publicly, he means], it could easily be misunderstood and might then prove dangerous. But it is a waste of time and only makes matters worse to try to alter unalterable traits of human nature instead of accepting them as basic matter and then trying to counterbalance them. If men only had a clear perception of the reasons why ideal human conduct cannot be expected!

There again he proceeds from the whole to its parts; he starts with man as an entirety and rejects the theory of the dualism of body and soul at variance with each other; he conceives the problem of human conduct to be solely one of balancing human qualities against each other and thus achieving the harmony which is the ideal condition. In this, as in his scientific thought generally, he is far ahead of his time; in a later diary his monism assumes the

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following startlingly modern form: "The day will come when able thinkers will abandon mechanistic and atomistic views and will consider all phenomena of life as dynamic and chemical, thus recognizing more and more clearly the divine life in nature." The final turn which his thought takes here, away from materialism, reveals his conception of what he terms "God-Nature."

But what determined his attitude toward his fellow-men was after all not so much his philosophy as rather, in the first place at least, certain qualities of his character: a native kindliness and a sunny disposition, coupled with an abiding faith in the fundamental goodness of human nature. In the many masterly characterizations of men scattered through his biographical writings his keen discernment and penetrating insight are tempered by a dispassionate, benevolently judicial attitude of mind. The few cases of severity encountered there are readily accounted for and have practically all proven justified. His casual references to shortcomings of others, though sometimes made under strong provocation, are even in the privacy of his diaries almost invariably charitable in spirit, temperate and decorous in expression; harsh terms are so very rare as to excite wonder and stimulate inquiry when they do occur. He calls one man crazy, *verrückt*, but the designation is half-humorous and, moreover, evidently appropriate. He speaks of certain actions of the president of the cabinet as throwing an ugly light upon his character; he calls an apparently dishonest vote of another member of the cabinet "rotten" (*hundsfüttisch*, which is even stronger and not translatable); and he mentions, without comment, "Lenz's asininity"—not an unduly strong term, for Lenz, his gifted but mentally unsound Strassburg friend, had for Goethe's sake been hospitably received at the Weimar court and had committed an indiscretion which made him quite impossible there. These are the only cases of strong personal condemnation which I have noted in the entire series of diaries. Where women are concerned, his forbearance is absolute; the most striking illustration falls into a later period but may here be anticipated. When Goethe had been given complete control of the court theater, an actress who had become the Duke's mistress and who had chafed under the regulations enforced by Goethe, used her influence to undermine his authority and to inflict humiliations upon him which led him to offer his resignation. In his letter to the Duke he frankly declared that existing conditions "made life a hell for him." A compromise was arrived at, but the

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actress continued her intrigues, meanwhile showing Goethe social attentions which, on account of the Duke, who had had her ennobled, he could not decline. He detested her hypocrisy and the whole situation was odious to him. So when one time he was visiting at Heidelberg and she invited him to the near-by city where she was sojourning, the mere thought of staying at her house affected him so violently that his host feared for his health. He adopted the expedient of alleging the necessity of an immediate return to Weimar and left abruptly, his host accompanying him until, at a safe distance from the lady, he had recovered his equanimity. Some time later she induced the Duke to overrule a decision of Goethe's in a question of theatrical policy,whereupon the latter definitively withdrew from the management of the theater. It was a hard blow to Goethe, who in sixteen years of devoted labor had made of the Weimar theater a temple of art famous the world over and a potent factor in the education of public taste. But of all the sore trials of spirit which this chain of events brought to Goethe, there is not a trace to be found in his diaries—nothing but the bare mention of meetings, discussions, and letters without any particulars, without even a chance word betraying irritation or reflecting upon the cause of all the trouble. No consideration of prudence could have restrained him from venting his feelings in an intimate record intended for no one's eyes but his own; it is a manly disinclination to complain, an aversion to dwelling on unpleasant topics, a foreshadowing of that benign spirit of his riper years which made him keep silent when he could not speak in praise:

> Was ich nicht loben kann,
> Davon sprech ich nicht.

Goethe was fond of feminine company all his life. In his early Weimar days he and the Duke are like any two healthy youths, full of the joy of living, and unconventional in their pursuit of pleasure. On a hunting trip into the mountains they dance with the peasant girls, *den Bauermaidels*, and have a riotously hilarious time, *ausgelassen toll*, until after midnight. At home, in town, the diary often uses the Weimar slang of the day: "*Misel*" for a young girl, "*kittern*" for jesting and flirting; and so we have entries like *mit Miseln gekittert*, or *getanzt, gemiselt bis 3 Uhr morgens*. Then come the ten years during which Charlotte von Stein rules supreme in his heart; she becomes his soul-mate, his

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sun, and he signalizes her as such by using in his diaries, instead of her name, the astronomical sign for that luminary, the circle with the central dot. He records every meeting with her, and there are sometimes three in one day; but he gives only the outward facts of calling upon her, dining or reading with her, taking her out for a walk or ride; concerning his or her emotions he is reticent, remarking at most that she was very dear on that day, that they had a delightful talk, that she was making him very happy, or that they had a misunderstanding which is making him wretched. The diaries afford no deeper insight into the rise and the ultimate decline of that passion which played so important a part in his development as a poet.

The sojourn in Italy from 1786 to 1788 marks the final turning-point in his career. The harassed official, the baffled reformer, the disillusioned statesman becomes a carefree traveler with eyes open to all that is beautiful and a mind open to all that will contribute to its cultivation. His diary comes to life again and waxes eloquent; it is addressed to Charlotte von Stein, in epistolary form, and is sent to her from time to time. On the crest of the Alps, where he had been twice before without descending into his promised land, he cannot yet believe that the fulfilment of his longing is near: "What is commonplace and easy to others is made hard for me." On the threshold of Italy he writes:

> I care now for the sensual impressions only, which no book or picture can give me; I want to take an interest in the world once more, to test my power of observation, to see how far my knowledge will go, whether my vision is clear and my perception quick, and whether the wrinkles that have formed in my soul can be removed again.

"Sensual impressions which no book can give"—that is characteristic of him; he calls himself repeatedly "a man of the senses," his mode of perception even of the secrets of nature and of the divinity in it is through the senses. As he descends the southern slopes of the Alps he says: "What in the uplands was merely beginning to vegetate is here already in the fullness of life and vigor; it makes one believe once more in a god." Metaphysics led him nowhere; of a philosopher friend he said once: "The Lord has cursed him with metaphysics, but me he has blessed with physics." That peculiarity of his nature developed an extraordinarily keen and all-embracing power of observation which is evidenced by the notes in his diary. They relate to the conformation of the country

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through which he happens to be passing, to its geology and mineralogy, its flora and fauna, its climate, its soil, its agriculture and horticulture, its inhabitants, their physical characteristics, their manners and customs, their occupations, and a variety of other things; to him nothing is insignificant, everything is replete with meaning and conducive to reflection. The æsthetic enjoyment of a landscape is commonly followed by the consideration, first of its geology, and then of its economic possibilities.

> I cannot find words to say how happy my way of looking at the world makes me and how much I learn each day. No form of life is a riddle to me, all speak to me and reveal themselves. . . . . Only it is strange and sometimes makes me afraid that so much as it were presses in upon me, that my being keeps growing like a rolling snowball, and sometimes it seems as though my head could not contain nor bear it all; and yet there is constant development from within too, and I cannot live without it.

And thus the "wrinkles in his soul" disappear; his soul had contracted in the last Weimar years, but now his whole being expands and grows; in the freedom of his Italian life he attains his full stature.

The climate, too, had a beneficial effect upon his health and his state of mind. On the shores of Lake Garda he writes:

> It is not hot, I am just comfortably warm through and through, and it is so long since I have had any conception of such a condition. . . . . I feel as if I had been born and reared here and had just returned from a whaling trip to Greenland.

And he speaks of "our dreary northern life," "the wretched summers we have;" "day and night are all the same to us Cimmerians in our eternal fog and gloom." But he soon confesses that his preference for Italy relates to the climate alone: "after all, birth and habit are potent factors and I should not want to live here or indeed in any place where I have not my occupation."

The foremost theme of his Italian diary is, of course, art—all the arts of antiquity and of the Renaissance: architecture, sculpture, and painting. He was already possessed of a highly cultivated taste when he went to Italy; here, surrounded by the treasures of the past, he became, under the guidance of distinguished artists who took pride in serving him, a finished connoisseur. But alongside of the artistic past the vivid human presence constantly engages his attention, and the diary throws a strong light upon a side of his nature which has often been mis-

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represented: his attitude toward the common people. Already at Weimar he had evinced a warm interest in the lower classes; in the eyes of the Lord, he once said, they surely were the *upper* classes, for they possessed all the basic human virtues. He had envied them the singleness of their purpose in life, the simplicity of their existence, as compared with the complexity of his own; he had discerned and had tried to redress the wrongs which organized society inflicted upon them. But then he had been the high official who merely seemed to condescend. Now, however, all artificial barriers were removed; he was merely a man among fellow-men. He had started from Carlsbad under an assumed name, without rank or title, without a servant, and with only a knapsack and a carpet-bag. "I am glad I am alone," he says, "for assuredly the constant attendance of a servant makes one prematurely old and inefficient. As it is, I take more interest in everything and am, as it were, starting all over again in all things." And he finds the experience delightful.

Being unattended, I am on friendly terms with all the world. Every beggar shows me the way and I talk with the people whom I meet as if we were old acquaintances. It is a great joy to me. . . . . The people interest me immensely. I spent a lot of time at the fish-market to-day and watched them as they haggled and bargained. The life in the public squares where the notaries sit is jolly, too. And how indispensable the beggars are in these tableaus! Without them we should not have the *Odyssey* either, or the parable of the rich man. . . . . I can not tell you how much I have already gained in humanity. But also how clearly I feel what pitifully lonely beings we necessarily are in the small sovereign states at home, because in my position, for instance, I cannot talk with anyone there without his wanting something of me.

In Vicenza he thinks of his Mignon, that inimitable creation in his *Wilhelm Meister*, and decides to make that town her home, because he is so delighted with the people there: "they are right good people, I talk with them all I can and I cannot say enough in praise of their naturalness and cheerfulness."—"I never tire of looking at the children and associating with them." He recalls what Herder had said of him: that he was and always would be just a big child; and he adds, quite contentedly: "Herder was doubtless right, and now I am so happy at being able to indulge my childish ways with impunity." "Childlike" we should say rather than "childish." Herder had really meant to reflect upon Goethe's naïve naturalness, but to us that is one of the most

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attractive qualities of his personality. It gave him a rare understanding of the ways of children and a fondness for their company throughout his life. Even in his bachelor days he delighted in giving children's parties, taking part in their games and personally hiding Easter eggs all over his extensive grounds. And later in his own family he was a playful companion as much as a father and grandfather. On his way to Italy, he overtakes an itinerant harpist with his little daughter trudging along the road and he takes them into his hack and reports in his diary, "I had a lot of fun with the child." Another time in Italy, a poor woman asks a lift for her child whose bare feet are burning from the heat of the road; Goethe bids them both get in, and here his sense of humor is subjected to a test from which it issues triumphant with a joke upon himself: he relates dryly but with manifest enjoyment how he addressed the child in his best Italian and she replied that she did not understand German.

He comes to see the people from a new angle: collectively, as an imposing whole. In Venice he writes:

> I am impressed again here with the concept "people." A great mass and an involuntary existence determined by necessity! Venice is a stupendous creation of assembled human energy, a magnificent monument not of one commanding spirit but of a whole people.

And in Verona he says:

> The amphitheatre must be seen full of people. It is an artificial bowl, as simple as possible, with the people themselves as its sole ornamentation. It is eminently calculated to impress and fascinate the people with themselves. Ordinarily scattered on the streets and with seeming aimlessness moving about in all directions they must be amazed at themselves when gathered together here, a many-headed, many-minded, uncertainly vacillating mass here united and solidified into one being and animated by one spirit.

This realization of the tremendous natural force residing in the aggregate masses was bound to exercise a profound influence upon Goethe's sociological and political thought.

When Goethe said that he felt himself to be gaining in humanity he was conscious mainly of an increased warmth of sympathy with his fellow-men. But this quality, if sometimes dimmed by the harsh contacts of life, had always been a part of his nature. One of the finest poems of that period begins with an exhortation to kindness and generous helpfulness:

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Edel sei der Mensch,
Hilfreich und gut—

and Goethe practiced that precept all his life in active and often self-denying benevolence. A seeming unbeliever, he was yet an ideal Christian in well-doing, for he never wearied of it; and in this also: that he did not let his left hand know what his right hand was doing. His benefactions were countless, but there is no record of them, not even in his diaries. Only a single one is there briefly alluded to in the words: "300 dollars to Hofrath Meyer"; the sum is a large one for Goethe's circumstances, but he was a lavish giver and the recipient was an old friend in financial distress due to long-continued illness. Other good deeds are modestly hidden behind the mere mention of names of callers or of letters received and sent; but the letters, so far as they are extant, give the particulars. Here is an example from the early Weimar days: A total stranger, a young man in sore straights, appeals to Goethe for employment. The letter reveals good qualities of character but an advanced stage of nervous hypochondria. Goethe replies in a long, kindly letter that he cannot promise a position, but he incloses a sum of money and holds out the prospect of further aid. Just at that time when, after some unpleasant experiences, he felt, as the diary says, frigid toward all men, *zugefroren gegen alle Menschen*, we find the entry: "Anxiety about Kraft," and he makes plans for the youth's salvation. He had not even seen him yet, but though overworked and officially harassed he finds time to write him, in the space of six weeks, four long letters full of sympathy, comfort and wise counsel that would do credit to a psycho-analyst. He sends him clothing and more money until the young man fears that he is a burden to him; but Goethe writes him that he is not:

> On the contrary, it is teaching me to be a better manager, I have been wasting too much of my income that I could have spared for the needy. It is a kindness the Lord does us when he bids us succour a really deserving man. I know what it means to assume responsibility for the fate of a man; but you shall not perish.

He offers to send him to the university of Jena and to pay all his expenses; but the young man has a regular case of anthropophobia, and in the end Goethe spares his self-respect by giving him nominal employment and a pension until his early death. At the very same time Goethe was supporting and educating a boy who had

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been a protégé of a recently departed friend. Young people never appealed to him in vain; to the end of his days he was a friend and benefactor especially to aspiring young artists.

The next twenty years in Goethe's life, the period of classicism in his literary career, are but poorly documented in diaries, except only, as before, when travel furnished a special incentive. Moreover, the diaries become more and more laconic, objective, impersonally businesslike. The changes in his circumstances and in his attitude toward life and art necessitated a general readjustment. He had definitely decided to be a poet only and had withdrawn from all official functions except such as were particularly agreeable or useful to him. But his new classicistic orientation was not at once understood and left even his Weimar friends for a while in a state of puzzled disappointment. And his common-law marriage with Christiane Vulpius exposed him to criticism and inevitably affected his personal and social relations; but it also provided him with a most cheerful and comfortable home life and deprived aloofness from an unappreciative world of most of its hardship.

It was not long until Schiller came to Jena and that unique friendship with him began which, amid all the circumstances making for rivalry and antagonism, is in itself a monument to the human greatness of both men. Especially after Schiller's removal to Weimar the two poets are in constant converse. Here is a typical entry in Goethe's diary:

> Some work on Faust. Schelling's natural philosophy. In the evening to Schiller, first about magnetism, then about the relation of empiricism to transcendentalism, then re-reading of the first act of Maria (Stuart). At supper about the theories concerning color, especially their history.

It is noticeable in all such entries that Goethe does not, like Schiller, discuss his nascent poetical works; with his subjective, intuitive manner of producing he was unable to theorize about his work; only the more objective, reasoned writings like the historical part of his Theory of Colors form an exception. In other respects, too, the entry here quoted is significant; it shows his preoccupation with his scientific hobbies and the partial success of Schiller's efforts to draw him away from them, back to his poetical work, especially on his Faust. In this connection it is interesting to note the sensitiveness of this brilliant scientific amateur to adverse professional criticism of his theories and dis-

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coveries. He finds that even in the sciences everything is ethical; the treatment of a subject depends upon the investigator's character. He distinguishes between "school knowledge and world knowledge" and remarks upon the difficulty of combining the two. He asks: What is the source of pedantry? And his answer is: "Lack of open-mindedness in German scholars. Productive arrogance of each and everyone amounting almost to madness." But it must be admitted that in his polemics against Newton's theory of colors the intensity of his own convictions makes even the open-minded and fair-spoken Goethe at times decidedly intolerant and personal.

In the trying days after the battle of Jena when the victorious French occupied and pillaged Weimar, Goethe's diary reflects the agitation of the whole household in disjointed entries by three different hands: his own, his son's, and his secretary's. It was when Christiane by energetic interference saved him from maltreatment, or worse, at the hands of marauding soldiers and was herself treated with disrespect as a mere housekeeper by the officers quartered upon him, that Goethe saw the error of his way and had his union with her legalized by a quiet church ceremony. The diary records it in the single word '*Trauung*.'

Goethe's attitude toward the Napoleonic invasion brought upon him much censure and, in the ensuing years of high patriotic fervor, actual unpopularity, so that even so late as 1820 a project to erect a great monument to him at Frankfurt came to naught through lack of general support. He was a pacifist for the same reason that he was in morphology an evolutionist and in geology a Neptunist; his philosophy of nature abhorred all violence, all sudden change, but he recognized in Napoleon an irresistible natural force somewhat like an active volcano; he admired in him the superman and considered him invincible. As he said in a later conversation, he could have written war songs in his ardent youth; but they presuppose hatred, and in his old age, when culture and barbarism were the only things that mattered to him, he could not hate a cultivated nation like the French, to whom he owed so much, "although," he adds, "I thanked God when we were rid of them."

Every man [he continues] must serve his country according to his God-given talents; I have labored all my life to combat narrowness and prejudice, to enlighten the people, to purify their taste, and to ennoble their thoughts and sentiments; what more patriotic could I have done?

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Moreover there is a stage of culture where one rises as it were above nationality and has a fellow-feeling for *all* men; and that was in accordance with my nature and had become my ideal long before my sixtieth year.

It must of course be remembered that in the then existing state of disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire there was no such thing as national consciousness at all and that some of the German states had from the first sided with Napoleon.

In the last twenty-five years of Goethe's life his diaries register fully and regularly all the facts of his daily life: not only all his own activities—domestic, social, literary, official, epistolary, artistic, and scientific—but also his reading, his visitors, and the topics discussed with them, his physical exercise, attendance at court or at the theater, the state of his health, observations on the weather and on the growth of things in his garden, and reflections upon all manner of subjects. We see displayed before us the incomparable richness of his life, the universality of his knowledge, the world-wide range of his interests and sympathies, the multifarious sources from which he drew intellectual, æsthetic, and emotional enjoyment. Like Pope and other great minds before him, he held that the proper study of mankind is man—man and all his works, but also, more inclusively, his manners and customs and the physical conditions of his existence, the animate and inanimate nature about him. Books of travel form a large part of Goethe's reading, and travelers are always welcome at his house as sources of fresh and vivid information. His studies in literature extend to the ends of the earth, from the Icelandic Edda to the Indian *Sakuntala*, from the Portuguese Lusiads to the dramas and novels of the Chinese; his extensive linguistic accomplishments give him access to most great literatures in the original, and he seizes eagerly upon every translation from a tongue unknown to him. He reads regularly English, French, and Italian journals, and in addition has a German residing in England send him periodical reports on the progress of letters there. He carries on an animated correspondence and exchanges presents with Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle; but he admires most of all Byron, is profoundly touched by the dedication of his *Werner* "to the illustrious Goethe," sends him a poetic greeting, and glorifies him in the figure of Euphorion in the second part of *Faust*. When he hears of Byron's death he turns back in his diary and adds under the proper date, with his own hand and in conspicuous red ink, three words which are vibrant with feeling: *Lord Byron stirbt.*

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And he cherishes his memory, secures a medallion of him, contributes to Medwin's book on Byron's conversations, and reads everything that is published about him.

Towering above all his contemporaries in the world of letters he yet wins distinction in other fields as well. Gifted with talent in several of the arts he becomes, by assiduous self-culture, a recognized authority in art criticism; Count Theodore Tolstoi, professor of sculpture in the academy of St. Petersburg, sends him casts of some of his productions and requests the judgment of "the premier connoisseur of Europe." His house becomes a veritable museum of art; he has agents attend notable auctions in distant cities and, with limited means, by judicious buying accumulates valuable collections of drawings, etchings, copperplate, lithographs and woodcuts, and of cameos, coins and medals in originals or in casts and impressions. And more than that: his love of nature leads to scientific studies, at first as a mere recreation, then as a serious avocation pursued through many years of patient experimentation; and by bringing his poetic intuition to bear upon his observations he makes discoveries and establishes theories in morphology and in physiological optics which, in the opinion of the great physicist Helmholtz, give him a place among the leading naturalists of all time.

But even to *his* genius this sum of achievement would have been impossible without his prodigious industry. In one of the show-cases of the main room of the Goethe Archive in Weimar there is the autograph album of Goethe's grandson Walter, open at a place where a sentimental lady has written the following quotation from Jean Paul: "Man has two and a half minutes to live: one for smiling, one for sighing, and a half one for loving, for in the midst of this one he dies." Goethe could not let this pass without a protest emphasizing the abundance of time available for useful activity; so he wrote underneath:

> Ihrer sechzig hat die Stunde,
> Über tausend hat der Tag.
> Söhnchen! werde dir die Kunde,
> Was man alles leisten mag.

And that knowledge actuated him all his life. He was always an early riser. On his travels he is on the way by five o'clock; at home he begins the day's work in the winter season by candle light. He saves time by combining activities, inviting men to

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dinner or to a walk or drive in order to discuss affairs with them while eating or taking the air. When he is sleepless he devotes the wakeful hours to planning and mentally executing; when he is ill, his mind is still busy with his work; when he is so ill as to be condemned to silence and solitude, he scribbles notes to his secretary directing his activity; when he is totally incapacitated he is sure afterwards to lament in his diary the loss of so much valuable time. He never rests; Sundays and holidays form no exception. In times of stress or great weariness he retires, often for weeks, to his beloved garden house outside of town; but apparently only to work there the more uninterruptedly. Even on his vacations he is forever busy writing, getting out a new edition, studying nature, and collecting specimens. But he also knows how to relax, to enjoy the lighter pleasures of life, especially in good company. He was by nature convivial, jovial, fun-loving; the joy of living was strong within him. At Weimar, in the early days, he gathered his friends about him once a week for an evening of song and general merriment; his wine cellar was always well stocked, and he wrote a number of songs himself for such occasions. At Carlsbad and Marienbad, where for a number of summers he had to take the waters to combat an occasionally very painful internal ailment, he associated with an international group of aristocrats mostly brought thither by the consequences of too high living, and he joined with zest in their gaieties. There, on a purely human footing with others, his geniality had free play and a feature of all his diaries, from the first to the last, becomes at such times particularly prominent: the mention of amusing incidents observed or of funny stories heard. He tells with glee of three old topers, whose combined ages totalled 253 years, having a prolonged session over Hungarian wine in a village near Carlsbad and walking home in good order, only the youngest of them, aged 82, needing some assistance from his companions. Once the single word *Räuschgen* in his diary suggests a similar experience of his own. Some of the good stories he hears are merely alluded to with catchwords, others are fully retold. The artist in him is particularly delighted with the story of a painter who submits a landscape painting to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and is severely rebuked by him for showing in that landscape a horseman on a path where, as the princely patron happened to know, horseback riding was *verboten*. There are also stories not suited to polite society, at least where ladies are present; but they are told

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with the naïveté of a clean-minded, robust man to whom *naturalia non sunt turpia*, and who delights in wit and humor wherever he finds them; after some lascivious reading he says in the Annals he is glad to return to the innocent enjoyment of books like the *Vicar of Wakefield*.

There is another quality of Goethe's which impresses itself upon us in his diaries: it is his manliness in grief. Only twice does a feeling of desolation at the loss of someone near and dear to him break for a moment through his habitual reserve. At the death of his beloved sister, the closest companion of his youth, the diary has the three words: "Dark, lacerated day," and on the following day: "Suffering and dreaming." That was in his early manhood. Nearly forty years later, during his wife's last illness, the quickening of his love for her by his anxiety finds unconscious expression in the new designation *Mutter* for her; he had always before referred to her as "*meine Frau*." A temporary improvement in her condition permits him to make an official trip to Jena and she writes to him about the first flowers in their garden; whereupon he answers with a poem full of tender affection and admiration for her, declaring that she is the loveliest flower in his garden, that there it is springtime the year round because her loving heart and her sweet disposition are always in blossom and even the rose and the lily of summertime vie with them in vain. It is worth while to recall this poem in view of the widespread erronius impression concerning Goethe's married life. When Christiane's end approached, Goethe, himself ill from worry, wrote in his diary: "My son is my helper and counselor, my only support in this chaos." And the day after: "She passed away toward noon. Emptiness and the silence of death within and without me."

He never again yielded to grief. At the death of his lifelong friend the Duke he did not trust himself to attend the obsequies but retired to the distant castle where they had often been together and dwelled upon his memories, producing some immortal lyrics. When his son died and was buried in distant Rome, and his companion returned to Weimar, Goethe stood before him, to use Goldsmith's felicitous phrase, 'in all the silent manliness of grief' and not a word was said about his loss. But a few days later he had a violent hemorrhage of the lungs that brought him to the brink of the grave, and repressed emotion was doubtless at least a contributory cause. August, though a devoted son and faithful coadjutor in Goethe's official activities, had caused him untold

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anxiety and had cast gloom upon his home life by dissolute living and constant marital discord; but Goethe's diary is consistently silent about all unpleasant experiences in that connection as in every other. He could not avoid recording his repeated serious attacks of illness; but he always makes light of them: they are things to be forgotten, not to be dwelled upon; self-pity was utterly foreign to his nature. The philosophic calm to which he had trained himself and his natural cheerfulness and optimism kept him perennially youthful at heart; an ardent love which a young lady of his acquaintance inspired in him in his seventy-fourth year found expression in one of his most passionate poems and is attested in his diary not by direct statements but by ample circumstantial evidence. It is refreshing to note that even the puritan Emerson, far from scoffing, admired Goethe's sustained capacity for tender and pure affection in advanced years and saw in it one of the elements of his greatness.

Goethe had the strength and the good judgment to renounce; but it cost him dear. His splendid constitution overcame the severe illness which followed, but he never fully recovered his previous vigor. For some years thereafter, as summer approached, he would plan another sojourn at Carlsbad, only to shrink in the end from the fatigue of the journey. He never again ventured forth into the world. But there was no need, for all the world came to him. Not only every prominent German writer sought his personal acquaintance; but Grillparzer came from Austria, Mickiewicz from Poland, Madame de Staël from France. Fifteen English admirers, prominent men of letters, presented him on his eighty-second birthday with a costly seal. Famous artists vied with each other to produce his likeness; Rauch came from Berlin, David all the way from Paris to make busts of him; the King of Bavaria sent his court painter to do his portrait. Distinguished men of science in a number of countries corresponded with him and sent him specimens. The greatest composers of the time played for him and set his poems to music. Beethoven sought his friendship at Carlsbad and delighted him with his performance on the piano but repelled him by the uncouthness of his personality; and so these two kings in their respective realms of art never drew close together. It must be admitted that Goethe was old-fashioned in his musical tastes and did not sufficiently appreciate Beethoven's compositions of some of his poems, nor for that matter those which Schubert sent him and of which Goethe's

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diary does not even record an acknowledgment; but this last fact is inconclusive, since formal notes often went unrecorded. Young Mendelssohn, on the other hand, was like a member of Goethe's family and repeatedly made him long visits. As to the Weimar court, Goethe had long since ceased to attend it; the ducal family came to see him every week, but not together, for they severally wanted him to themselves as much as possible; so the Duke had his fixed day for calling, the Duchess had another, the princesses still another, and the young prince with his tutor dropped in at irregular intervals; all alike revered him and delighted to honor him.

His fame had meanwhile spread to the New World, about which he had always read extensively; his diary mentions among his reading the autobiography of Franklin, whom, together with Washington, he greatly admired, the narratives of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition and of Keating's expedition to Lake Winnipeg, all the works of Cooper, Humboldt's books on Mexico and South America, and a lot of minor writings. Now the cream of young America came to do him homage, especially from New England: Edward Everett, George Ticknor, George Bancroft, Henry Calvert, William Emerson and a host of others; Ralph Waldo Emerson, who had learned German especially on Goethe's account, suffered the keen disappointment of arriving in Germany too late to find the great poet alive. Through the Harvard professor Cogswell, Goethe transmitted the autographed set of his works which still graces the library of that university.

In the year before his death Goethe calmly prepared for that event by completing unfinished works, classifying the letters he had received, burning some and sealing packages of others for their eventual return to their writers, making a very explicit last testament, arranging for the publication of his posthumous works, and putting his affairs in order generally. His diary shows the mellowing effect of old age, it becomes less formal and business-like, more intimately contemplative, and more delightfully human than ever. The Duchess is now referred to simply as such, no longer punctiliously as Her Imperial Highness (she was a Russian princess). Domestic details are accorded mention, doings and sayings of the grandchildren, and other trivial matters that reveal the German quality of *Gemütlichkeit*; once he actually puts down that he had the coachman bring in some firewood and that the key to the woodshed was duly returned to him. Little oddities and pedantries, formerly controlled, now have free rein and form a

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welcome contrast to the overwhelming greatness of his personality; as when he dismisses a young historian rather curtly, though "politely enough," on account of "his accursed spectacles"; for that aid to vision was not yet commonly used in public and Goethe felt much as we should feel if we were surveyed through a lorgnette raised for that purpose. Or when he disapproves of an otherwise likeable visitor on account of his moustache; for in central and northern Germany it was the proper thing to be smooth-shaven and failure to conform with a general custom indicated to Goethe something warped in the man's nature. "In Bavaria," he adds, "that masquerade might pass, because there it is a sort of court uniform." But these little vagaries are always characterized by the good-humored irony which Goethe, from his lofty viewpoint, applied to himself as well as to the world about him. And all the time he was engaged in deeds of benevolence, even while he told his beneficiaries, young artists for instance, wholesome truths about the shortcomings of their work and was perfectly aware that such admonitions were unavailing; "young people," he says, as old age has ever done, "won't listen to their elders any more."

His declining days were blessed with a thoroughly harmonious and happy home life. His devoted daughter-in-law not only conducted the household and ministered to his every need but usually read aloud to him all evening. His grandchildren were his joy and their education was his constant concern. They are mentioned in the diary nearly every day and we get charming glimpses of Goethe playing with them, directing their sports, and personally instructing them in a number of subjects. The elder boy, Walter, was a peculiar child and Goethe alludes to pedagogical difficulties he had with him; the younger, Wolfgang—Goethe calls him Wölfchen or Wolfy—was of a more affectionate disposition and became grandfather's favorite and constant companion. Their noisy restlessness and their childish exactions do sometimes get upon Goethe's nerves; but his patience is inexhaustible, he merely remarks "they did not interfere *much* with my work," or "Wolfy became a bit burdensome" (*unbequem*), or at most, when the boys, who were taking singing lessons, imitate operatic scenes: "the children had one of their singing paroxysms." In regard to their studies, the diary clearly shows that Goethe, to whom learning had been so phenomenally easy, was guided by his own experience and rather unduly forced the mental growth of the boys; but he

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seemed unaware of it and viewed their progress with unbounded satisfaction.

And thus he entered upon his eighty-third year in serene contemplation of the past and in untroubled enjoyment of the present. And one day he had what seemed to be just another of the catarrhal attacks to which he was subject, and he wrote in his diary: "Stayed in bed all day on account of indisposition." It was to be his last entry. Becoming better and sitting up again he conversed freely and, as one witness says, brilliantly, until his last day, less than a week later; and then, without suffering, without any premonition of death, he settled back in his armchair and peacefully passed away.

Let me close with that admirable summary of his life which he prefixed to the section of his poems entitled *Gott und Welt:*

Weite Welt und breites Leben,
Langer Jahre redlich Streben,
Stets geforscht und stets gegründet,
Nie geschlossen, oft gerändet,
Ältestes bewahrt mit Treue,
Freundlich aufgefasstes Neue,
Heitern Sinn und reine Zwecke:
Nun! man kommt wohl eine Strecke.

HUGO K. SCHILLING

University of California

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The forty-fifth meeting of the Modern Language Association of America was held, on the invitation of the University of Toronto, at Toronto, Canada, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, December 27, 28, 29, 1928. The subscription dinner and smoker were held in the King Edward Hotel; all the other meetings were held in the buildings of the University of Toronto. On the basis of the registration cards the Local Committee estimates that upwards of six hundred members of the Association were in attendance.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

A business meeting of the Executive Council was held at Toronto on Wednesday, December 26, the day preceding the meeting of the Association. The Council met at 10 A.M. in the Faculty Room of University College, and was called to order by the President, Hugo K. Schilling of the University of California.

The first business taken up was the report of the Committee appointed by the Council at the Louisville meeting to draft a set of By-Laws for the Association and also to consider any amendments to the Constitution which might seem advisable in perfecting the organization of the Association. The members of this Committee—Professors R. H. Fife, Robert K. Root, and W. A. Nitze—were present and submitted the following draft of a revised Constitution and a set of By-Laws:

CONSTITUTION

I. *Name*

The name of this Association shall be: THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

II. *Purpose*

The object of the Association shall be the advancement of the study of the modern languages and their literatures.

III. *Membership*

1. Any person approved by an officer of the Association may become a member on the payment of $5.00 and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Persons who for twenty-five years or more have been members in good standing may, on retiring from active service as teachers, be continued as members without further payment of dues.

2. Any person eligible to membership may become a life member and exempt from dues by a single payment of seventy-five dollars or by the payment of twenty-six dollars for three successive years. With each completed decade of membership in good and regular standing, the fee for life membership shall be diminished by one-fourth. Persons who have paid forty annual membership dues shall automatically become life members without further payment.

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3. Foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on the nomination of the Executive Council, but the number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty.

IV. *Officers*

1. The officers of the Association shall be: a president, three vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer.

2. The President and Vice Presidents shall be elected by ballot for one year at the regular annual meeting. The Secretary and the Treasurer shall be chosen by the Executive Council and shall hold office for such a term as the Council may determine. They shall receive such compensation as may be fixed by the Council.

V. *Administration*

The administration of the Association shall be in the hands of an Executive Council, consisting of the President, the Secretary (without vote), and eight members, of whom two shall be elected by ballot at each annual meeting of the Association for terms of four years in a manner described in the by-laws. The Council shall hold the property and administer the affairs of the Association and take such action as is necessary to carry out its purpose and promote its interests. For this purpose it shall appoint such boards and committees as are specified in the by-laws and others as may be necessary from time to time. It shall make a report of its activities at each annual meeting and its policies and actions shall be subject to the direction and approval of the Association.

VI. *Meetings*

The Association shall hold an annual meeting at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. -The annual meetings shall be held alternately east and west of the eastern boundaries of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama. For the transaction of business at an annual meeting twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum of the Association.

VII. *Amendment*

With the approval of the Executive Council this constitution may be amended if the amendment be adopted by a majority vote at two successive annual meetings of the Association.

BY-LAWS

I. *Duties of Officers*

All officers shall hold office until their successors are chosen.

The President shall preside at all business meetings of the Association and of the Executive Council. In his absence his duties shall fall successively upon the Vice Presidents in the order of their election.

The Secretary shall be on the basis of full time service to the Association. His office shall be located in New York City. He shall act as Secretary of the Association and of the Executive Council and as an *ex officio* member of all standing committees. He shall be chairman of the Editorial Committee and managing editor of the *Publications* and editor of all books, pamphlets or prints which may be issued by the Association. He shalll collect and transmit to the Treasurer moneys due the Association. For the performance of his duties he shall appoint such clerical assistance as may be approved by the Council and authorized in the annual budget.

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The Treasurer shall be a bank officer or other financial official resident in New York City. He shall be the custodian of all current funds of the Association and act as managing trustee of the invested funds. He shall be bonded in a sum not less than $12,000.

II. *The Executive Council*

The election of the Executive Council shall take place in the following manner: The Council shall each year nominate four members of the Association, whose names shall be announced in the *Publications* for September. Each member of the Association may then forward to the Secretary, by mail, the names of two additional members of his own choosing. The poll shall close November 1 and the Secretary shall then canvass the vote and prepare an official ballot showing the names of the two members receiving the largest vote in addition to the candidates of the Council. This ballot shall then be circulated as a part of the program of the next annual meeting and from the six names listed the Association shall at this meeting elect two members of the Council for the ensuing four years. In case no representative of each of the linguistic groups, English, Germanic languages, Romance languages, holds over for the ensuing year, at least one such representative shall be elected.

The Executive Council shall fill any vacancies occurring among the officers of the Association. It may fill a vacancy in its own body until the next annual meeting of the Association, which shall elect a member for an unexpired term in the manner described in the paragraph immediately preceding.

The Council shall meet on call of the President at least once a year separately from the annual meeting of the Association. The Association shall pay the necessary travelling expenses of the members of the Council in attendance at one meeting a year other than the annual meeting.

III. *Boards and Committees*

The regular activities of the Association shall be carried on under the authority of the Council by a Board of Trustees of Invested Funds and by the standing committees enumerated below.

The Board of Trustees of Invested Funds shall consist of three members, of which the Treasurer shall be one. It shall have control of the invested funds of the Association and shall hold office at the pleasure of the Council.

The standing committees shall be as follows: an Editorial Committee, a Program Committee, a Committee on the Monograph Series, a Committee on the Revolving Book Fund and a Committee on Rotographs. Each shall consist of five members in addition to the Secretary. These members shall hold office for five years, one being elected each year. The following three groups of languages shall always be represented on each committee: English, Germanic languages and Romance languages.

The Editorial Committee shall have charge of the *Publications* of the Association in coöperation with the Secretary, who shall be managing editor.

The Program Committee shall prepare and distribute to the members the program for the annual meeting. It shall have authority to make regulations regarding papers and discussions and to coördinate or modify the programs of the various sections and research groups.

The Committee on the Monograph Series shall select monographs for publication in the Series.

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The Committee on the Revolving Book Fund shall have general charge of the selection of manuscripts and of publications under the Fund.

The Rotograph Committee shall have charge of the solicitation of subscriptions for the rotographs and their selection, manufacture and distribution.

IV. *Budget*

The Secretary shall each year prepare for presentation to the:Council a budget of expenditures for the ensuing year. After approval by the Council the budget shall be laid before the Association for its information at the annual meeting. For budgetary and other administrative purposes the official year shall be the calendar year.

V. *Audit*

The President shall designate at each annual meeting a commercial auditing firm to audit the books of the Treasurer and his security bond for the following year. The report of the Auditor for the fiscal year shall be transmitted to the Council in January and published in the March issue of the *Publications* of the Association.

VI. *Amendment*

These by-laws may be amended, with the approval of the Executive Council, by a majority vote at any annual meeting of the Association, notice of such amendment having been distributed to the members with the program of the same meeting.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO ACCOMPANY THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

I. If the proposed revisions go into effect, they will involve the following preliminary steps: (1) a guarantee of financial assistance to the Association of not less than $7,000 per year for five years; (2) an office or offices rent-free or at nominal rent for the same period; (3) the consent of the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation to preserve the status of the Secretary on the same basis as if he continued in the staff of his institution. A memorandum showing the financial needs of the Association under the proposed plan, with prospective resources, is attached as Exhibit A. The undersigned Committee is of the opinion that by 1933 the Association could meet its entire budget, except perhaps for the item of rent.

II. In case the proposed revision is adopted by the Council at the annual meeting of 1928, the Committee recommends the following steps: (1) That early in 1929 the Council seek to secure the guarantees enumerated in Paragraph I above; (2) That if successful in this, the Council explore the possibility of securing a suitable Secretary and detaching him from his academic work; (3) That the Council select sixteen candidates for the new Council and publish their names in the *Publications* in September 1929, inviting the members of the Association to send in a list of six candidates of their own choosing and that from the twenty-four candidates, to be listed on the official ballot as prescribed in By-Law III, the Association elect eight at the annual meeting of 1929. The eight newly elected members shall then determine by lot their terms of office, as follows: two for one year, two for two years, two for three years and two for fours years: (4) The newly elected Council shall then determine by lot their periods of tenure, from one to five years, as prescribed in By-Law III.

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III. If the office of the Association is located in New York, the Committee recommends that the Secretary be selected from west of the boundary line defined in Article VI of the Constitution.

The forenoon session of the Council was devoted to an exposition of the Committee's report by the Chairman and other members of the Committee and to answering questions propounded by members of the Council. Before taking a recess for luncheon it was *voted:* to express the Council's appreciation of the thoroughness with which the members of the Committee had performed the task laid upon them and its thanks for the careful consideration of the problems relating to the organization of the Association.

At two o'clock the Council reassembled in Hart House and proceeded as a Committee of the Whole to consider the report presented by the Committee on By-Laws. At 6:30 the Council adjourned until 9 o'clock, instructing the Secretary to prepare typed copies of the text of the Constitution and By-Laws as agreed upon in the discussion for final consideration by the Council.

At nine o'clock the Council reassembled in Hart House and went over the typed text of the Constitution and By-Laws, making slight verbal changes.

It was then voted to approve the amendments to the Constitution and the By-Laws and to refer them to the Association for adoption—[The text of the Constitution and By-Laws as approved by the Council will be found below on pages lxv–lxix.]

The Council then proceeded to consider the place for the Annual Meeting in 1929. An invitation was presented from President Walter Mill Scott of Northwestern University to hold the 1929 meeting of the Modern Language Association on the McKinlock Campus of the University in the city of Chicago. A communication was also presented from Dean W. G. Leutner of Western Reserve University, acting in the absence of President Vinson, inviting the Association to hold its next meeting at Cleveland as a guest of that University. Professor Hohlfeld, on behalf of the University of Wisconsin, renewed for 1929 the cordial invitation extended to the Association in 1926 to hold its next annual meeting at the University of Wisconsin.

The Council then proceeded to a ballot on the place of meeting in 1929. The result of the ballot was as follows:

Western Reserve University.....7
Northwestern University.....3
University of Wisconsin.....1

It was therefore voted unanimously to accept the invitation of Western Reserve University for the meeting of 1929.

The Treasurer, Professor John Whyte, informed the Council that bids from several firms for printing the *PMLA* had been received and that on

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comparison of these figures it might appear advantageous to change the present printing arrangements.

It was voted that the Council authorize the Editorial Board to make a change in the printing contracts if it should seem advisable to do so.

After some general discussion of Association affairs, the meeting of the Council adjourned.

CARLETON BROWN, *Secretary*

THURSDAY MORNING

RESEARCH GROUP MEETINGS

The morning session of Thursday was devoted to Research Group Meetings which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 9:30 to 11 o'clcok, and those of the Second from 11:30 to 1 o'clock.

FIRST DIVISION 9:30 A.M.

(*General Topics IV*) Practical Phonetics. *Chairman*, J. S. Kenyon, *Hiram College.*

The single paper presented was *Phonetics and Undergraduate English*, by Professor Miles Hanley of Wisconsin, which pointed out the absence of connection between linguistic teaching and the interests of the present-day graduate student; the lack of attention to the spoken language in composition courses; the need for more weighty content in composition courses. As a remedy for all three of these evils, Professor Hanley forcefully advocated the introduction of language study based on a phonetic view of present-day English into Freshman composition courses.

The rest of the meeting was devoted to animated discussion of the subject "A Standard of Pronunciation in America." This was participated in by Professors G. P. Krapp, Henry Alexander, A. R. Morris, Geddes, D. R. Keys; Miss M. E. DeWitt, Miss Keyes and others. Proposals for a compromise standard based on both English and American forms; for an artificial standard based on stage pronunciation; and for a double standard, dialect in intimate conversation, and a literary or cultivated speech in formal surroundings, were discussed. About twenty-five were present.

Officers for the next year were elected; Professor J. S. Kenyon as Chairman, and Professor Miles Hanley as Secretary.

A. A. HILL, *Secretary*

(*English II*) Middle English Language and Literature. *Chairman*, Arthur G. Kennedy, *Stanford University.*

The following papers were presented:

1. "Dream Language in Middle English and Old Norse." Edward C. Ehrensperger, *Wellesley College.*

2. "John Capgrave's *Life of St. Norbert*," by William H. Clawson, *University College*, Toronto.

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3. Report on the Middle English Dictionary by the Editor.

Eighteen persons were present. Professor William F. Bryan of Northwestern University was elected Chairman for the coming year, and the present Secretary was re-elected.

CLARK S. NORTHUP, *Secretary*

(*English V*) Shakespeare. *Chairman*, Robert A. Law, *University of Texas.*

The following papers, dealing with the general topic of Shakespeare's use of source material, were presented:

1. "Hamlet as Castiglione's Ideal Courtier," by W. B. Drayton Henderson, *Dartmouth College.*

2. "Mediaeval Origins in *Hamlet*," by Beatrice Daw Brown, Montclair, N. J.

3. "Some of Shakespeare's Habits in Using Source Material," by the Chairman.

Among those who participated in the discussion of these papers were Professors Parrott, Taylor, Henderson, Harrison, Lothian, and Mrs. Brown.

The Chairman and Secretary of the Group were re-elected for the coming year. The number in attendance was about seventy.

ALEXANDER C. JUDSON, *Secretary*

(*English XI*) Contemporary Literature. *Chairman*, Howard Mumford Jones, *University of North Carolina; Secretary*, Sophus Keith Winther, *University of Washington.* In the absence of both of these officers, Professor Paul Kaufman of the *American University* served as chairman.

Under the general topic of "The Influence of Science on Contemporary Literature" the following papers were presented:

1. "The Scientific Basis of Dreiser's Naturalism," by E. H. Eby, *University of Washington*, read by A. R. Benham, *University of Washington.*

2. "Thomas Mann: His Concept of Nature and Man," by J. E. Ernst, *University of Illinois.*

3. "Masefield's Attitude Toward the Evolutionary Concept," by A. Lionel Stevenson, *University of California.*

Appropriate subjects for next year's meeting were discussed. The present officers were re-elected. About thirty-five persons were in attendance.

PAUL KAUFMAN, *Acting Chairman*

(*German IV*) New Methods of Approach to the Study of Literature. *Chairman*, Adolf Busse, *Hunter College;* Secretary, T. Böhme, *Ohio State University.*

In the absence of both the Chairman and the Secretary, Professor Boesche of *Cornell University* acted as Chairman and Dr. Ernst Rose of *New York University* acted as Secretary.

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First Paper—Felix A. Wittmer of Washington and Jefferson College on *Neues Sachlichkeit in der deutschen Literatur*. Detlev W. Schumann of Bowdoin College participated in the discussion.

Second Paper—Harry Slochower of the College of the City of New York on *The Problem of Continuity and of Selection in Literary Criticism*. No discussion.

There were about 50 members present. On the proposal of Professor Hohlfeld of the University of Wisconsin, the name of the group was changed to *Methodology of Literary Criticism*. Professor Aron of the University of Illinois was elected Chairman for the next year and Mr. Felix A. Wittmer of Washington and Jefferson College was elected secretary.

ERNST ROSE, *Acting Secretary*

(*Spanish II*) Spanish Literature since the Renaissance. *Chairman*, J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *University of Pennsylvania*.

The following papers were read:

1. "The Original Version of Carvajal's *Comedia Josefina*," by J. E. Gillet, *Bryn Mawr College*.

2. "Certain Features of the Style of Valle-Inclan," by W. L. Fichter, *Brown University*.

3. "James Howell and Dr. Garcia," by Charles P. Wagner, *University of Michigan*.

Owing to illness, Professor Milton A. Buchanan, University of Toronto, was not able to speak of the rare Spanish books and pamphlets in his own collection and in the Library of the University of Toronto.

A memorial resolution was unanimously adopted on the death of Professor Frank O. Reed of the *University of Arizona*.

A committee consisting of C. C. Marden, *Chairman;* G. T. Northup, and Charles P. Wagner was appointed to consider plans for co-operative effort in scholarly research on the part of this group.

The following officers were chosen for the coming year: *Chairman*, R. E. House, *State University of Iowa: Secretary*, C. E. Anibal, *Ohio State University*. About seventy persons were present.

C. E. ANIBAL, *Secretary*

(*Scandinavian I*) Scandinavian Literature. *Chairman*, A. LeRoy Andrews, *Cornell University*.

The meeting was opened by a paper, "Ibsen's Bardach Episode and *Hedda Gabler*," by A. E. Zucker, *University of Maryland*, which was discussed by Carl F. Schreiber, *Yale University* and Henning Larson, *University of Iowa*. The secretary then read a paper by Lee M. Hollander, *University of Texas*, intended to introduce discussion of the preassigned topic "Problems Connected with the *Völuspa*." The lateness of the hour

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unfortunately curtailed the discussion, which was opened by Richard Beck, *Thiel College.*

F. Stanton Cawley, *Harvard University,* was elected *Chairman* for the coming year with power to appoint the secretary. Ten persons were present.

At at informal meeting of the Group, which was held later in the day, Paul R. Lieder, *Smith College,* exhibited a newly discovered manuscript of the *Speculum Regale.*

F. Stanton Cawley, *Secretary*

Second Division, 11:30 a.m.

(*General Topics V*) Experimental Phonetics. *Chairman,* James L. Barker, *University of Utah.*

In the absence of the Chairman, the Secretary, Professor J. Moreno-Lacalle, presided. The following papers were read:

1. "Comparative Length of Vowels in English and French," Marcel H. Vigneron, *New York University.*

2. "A Study of Doubled Consonants in Italian Speech," Gordon Cummings Patterson, *University of Toronto.*

The papers were followed by lengthy discussion, among those participating being Professors James Geddes, *Boston University,* and E. B. Davis, *Rutgers University.*

The officers elected for the current year were: Gordon Cummings Patterson, *Chairman;* Harry T. Russell, *Ohio State University, Secretary.* About fifty persons were present.

J. Moreno-Lacalle, *Acting Chairman*

(*Comparative Literature I*) Prose Fiction. *Chairman,* Ernest Bernbaum, *University of Illinois.*

The topic of the informal discussion was: "Of the many possible and desirable topics for research in the History of English Prose Fiction, which seem at present, the best to attack in the following periods—(1) Medieval and Elizabethan. (2) Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and (3) Nineteenth Century?"

The discussion leaders for the three periods were: (a) Gordon Hall Gerould, *Princeton University;* (b) James R. Foster, *Syracuse University;* and (c) Walter L. Myers, *University of Pittsburgh.* In Professor Myers' absence, owing to illness, his paper was read by Professor F. E. Curtis.

The announcement was made that Mr. Arundell Esdaile, of the British Museum, has generously given his bibliographical collections concerning prose fiction to Professor Alpheus W. Smith, Northwestern University, who is preparing these materials and his own collections for publication.

The officers of the Group were re-elected for the coming year. About forty members were present.

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Members of the group are requested to suggest to these officers suitable topics for next year's discussion, and to express their opinion as to the desirability of issuing a few mimeographed bulletins annually.

ALPHEUS W. SMITH, *Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature II*) Popular Literature. *Chairman*, Archer Taylor, *University of Chicago.*

In the absence of the Chairman, Professor Stith Thompson of *Indiana University* presided. The following papers were read:

1. "Virgil and the Basket," John W. Spargo, *Northwestern University.* Discussed by Professor Albert C. Baugh.

2. "The Wildfrau Stories in the Renaissance," Virgil B. Heltzel, *Northwestern University.*

3. "The Judæo-German Popular Ballad," Stanley I. Rypins, *San Francisco State Teachers' College.* Discussed by Professor J. Holly Hanford.

At the conclusion of the regular program Mr. R. W. Gordon, Secretary of the Group, spoke concerning the folk-song archives to be established at the Library of Congress.

STITH-THOMPSON, *Acting Chairman*

(*English III*) Chaucer. *Chairman*, Walter Clyde Curry, *Vanderbilt University; Secretary*, Martin B. Ruud, *University of Minnesota.*

In the absence of these officers, John Owen Beaty, *Southern Methodist University*, was elected Chairman and Muriel Bothwell Carr, of the *University of Minnesota*, was elected Secretary. The following papers were read:

1. "Chaucer and the Common People," by Howard R. Patch of *Smith College.* Discussed by Professors Farnham and Hughes of the *University of California* and by Professor Henderson of *Dartmouth College.*

2. "*De Contemptu Mundi*," by Willard E. Farnham of the *University of California.*

3. "A faire felde ful of folke," by Robert Dudley French of *Yale University.* Discussed by Professor Patch of *Smith College.*

4. "Bibliography and Review of the Year's Work in Chaucer," written by Martin B. Ruud and read by Muriel Bothwell Carr.

About sixty members were present. No officers were elected for the ensuing year.

MURIEL B. CARR, *Acting Secretary*

(*English VIII*) Literary Tendencies During the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century. *Chairman*, Howard Mumford Jones, *University of North Carolina.*

In the absence of the Chairman, A. W. Secord, *University of Illinois*, presided. The general subject of the meeting, "Primitivism," was considered under the following topics:

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1. The Philosophical Aspects of Primitivism: discussed by H. N. Fairchild, *Columbia University;* R. S. Crane, *University of Chicago;* L. I. Bredvold, *University of Michigan;* Gregory Paine, *University of North Carolina;* A. W. Secord, *University of Illinois,* and others.

2. The relation between Primitivism and the Voyage Literature current between 1660 and 1750: discussed by Principal Wallace, University College, *University of Toronto;* R. S. Crane, *University of Chicago;* R. D. Havens, *Johns Hopkins University;* L. I. Bredvold, *University of Michigan;* R. W. Frantz, *University of Chicago;* H. N. Fairchild, *Columbia University,* and others.

For the ensuing year Howard Mumford Jones, *University of North Carolina,* was re-elected Chairman and Robert C. Whitford, *Long Island University,* Secretary. About sixty persons were present.

ROBERT C. WHITFORD, *Secretary*

(*French V*) French Literature of the XIXth Century. *Chairman,* H. C Lancaster, *The Johns Hopkins University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Balzac, Contributor to *l'Europe littéraire,*" T. R. Palfrey, *University of Illinois.*

2. "An Unpublished Letter of Balzac," D. O. Evans, *University of Delaware.*

3. "Balzac's Letters: Their Importance and Their Unreliability," Irene Cornwell, *University of Wisconsin.*

4. "The Present State of Balzac Studies in America," E. P. Dargan, *University of Chicago.* Discussed by A. Schinz, B. E. Young, D. O. Evans, and others.

Professor R. P. Jameson, of *Oberlin College,* was elected *Chairman,* and O. H. Moore, of *Ohio State University,* Secretary for the ensuing year. Seventy-five persons were present. The group will devote itself in the future to the study of the literature of the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries.

H. C. LANCASTER, *Chairman*

(*German* V) Modern German Literature. *Chairman,* Ernst Feise, *The Johns Hopkins University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Richard Schaukel," by W. Bücheler, *Ohio State University.* Discussed by Professor Hans Naumann of the *University of Frankfurt* and others.

2. "Studies in Early German Expressionism," Detlev W. Schumann, *Bowdoin College.* Discussed by Professors Naumann, Bücheler and the Chairman.

About fifty persons were present. The following were elected officers for the current year: T. Moody Campbell, *Wesleyan University,* Chairman; George H. Danton, *Oberlin College,* Secretary.

ERNST ROSE, *Secretary*

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The University of Toronto invited the members and guests of the Association to a luncheon served at one o'clock in the Great Hall of Hart House.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The first general session of the Association was held in Convocation Hall. The Association was called to order by the President, Professor Hugo K. Schilling of the *University of California*, at 2:40 P.M.

The President announced the appointment of the following Committees:

On Nomination of Officers—Professors Robert K. Root, James Geddes, Charles P. Wagner, Clark S. Northup, and William A. Cooper.

On Resolutions—Professors A. R. Hohlfeld, Joseph E. Gillet, and Merritt Y. Hughes.

To Audit the Treasurer's Report—Professors Louis Allen, Stith Thompson, and George H. Danton.

The reading and discussion of papers was then begun:

1. "The Value of Parallels," by Professor E. H. C. Oliphant of *Sarah Lawrence College*. In his absence the paper was read by Professor Paul Kaufman of the *American University*.

2. "The Reviviscence of Georg Büchner," by Professor Edward F. Hauch of *Hamilton College*.

3. "French Place-Names in the Far West," by Professor Edward E. Hale of *Union College*. Discussed by Professors Hugh A. Smith, *University of Wisconsin*, D. R. Keys, *University of Toronto*, and George William Small, *University of Washington*.

4. "Application of Graphic Methods to the Study of Rhythm," by Professor Henry Lanz of *Stanford University*. Discussed by Professors William Patterson, *Mount Holyoke College*, and Arthur H. Quinn, *University of Pennsylvania*.

5. "Play-Acting and the Theatre Question in Canada under the French Regime," by Professor Margaret M. Cameron of the *University of Saskatchewan*.

The following papers were read by title:

6. "The 'Heavens' of the First Globe Theatre: Notes and a Model of the Theatre." By Mr. H. Ernest Conklin, of the *University of Texas*.

7. "The Historical Background of Lope De Vega's *Fuente Ovejuna*." By Professor C. E. Anibal, of *Ohio State University*.

8. "The Text of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* in the versions of Carew and Fairfax." By Professor Neil Dodge, of the *University of Wisconsin*.

9. "An Abstract of the Authorship of *The Puritan*." By Professor Wilbur D. Dunkel, of the *University of Rochester*.

10. "A New Harington Manuscript." By Professor Norman E. McClure, of *Ursinus College*.

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11. "The Authorship of *The London Prodigal.*" By Professor Guy S. Greene, of the *University of Pittsburgh.*

12. "From William of Malmesbury to *The King's Henchman.*" By Professor Karl J. Holzknecht, of *New York University.*

13. "The *To Comynge* Construction in Wycliffe." By Mrs. Annie S. Irvine, of the *University of Texas.*

14. "Du Bos's Theory of Climate." By Professor Armin H. Koller, of the *University of Illinois.*

15. "A Newly Discovered Icelandic Manuscript." By Professor Paul Robert Lieder, of *Smith College.*

16. "Evidence that Dunbar was a Scottish-Lydgatian." By Professor Pierrepont H. Nichols, of *Evansville College.*

17. "The Mechanism of Wordsworth's Mysticism." By Professor James Hall Pitman of *Indiana University.*

18. "Canada in the Thought of Eighteenth-Century France. I. In the Works of Voltaire." By Professor Agnes R. Riddell, *Wheaton College.*

19. Shakespeare and the Moderns." By Professor Elmer Edgar Stoll, of the *University of Minnesota.*

20. "Epanaphora and Epanorthosis in *Leaves of Grass.*" By Professor Autrey Nell Wiley of the *Texas State College for Women.*

21. "Portugese Intervocalic N." By Professor Edwin B. Williams, of the *University of Pennsylvania.*

22. "The Non-Indicative Function of the -RA Verb-form in the Golden Age in Spain." By Professor Leavitt O. Wright, of the *University of Oregon.*

23. "Ludwig Tieck and George Ticknor. A Study in German-American Literary Relations." By Professor Edwin H. Zeydel, of the *University of Cincinnati.*

THURSDAY EVENING

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The second general session of the Association convened in the Convocation Hall at 8:10 P.M. with President Schilling in the chair.

The Association was welcomed to Toronto by Sir Robert Falconer, President of the *University of Toronto.*

Professor George P. Krapp of Columbia University, Vice President of the Association, then took the chair and introduced President Schilling who delivered the Presidential Address: "Goethe as Seen in his Diaries."

FRIDAY MORNING

The Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society was held at 9 A.M. in Room 13 of *University College.*

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RESEARCH GROUP MEETINGS

The morning session of Friday was devoted to Research Group Meetings which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 9 to 10:30 o'clock and those of the Second from 11 to 12:30 o'clock.

First Division: 9 A.M.

(*Comparative Literature III*) Arthurian Romances. *Chairman*, A. C. L. Brown, *Northwestern University*.

The following papers were read:

1. "The *Remundar Saga Keisarasonar* as an analogue of *Arthur of Little Britain*." Margaret Schlauch, *New York University*. Discussed by Mr. Caldwell.

2. "Arthur and the Twrch Trwyth in Modern Wales." John J. Parry, *University of Illinois*.

3. "*Sir Degare*, a Breton lay, as an example of literary hack-work." Clark H. Slover, *University of Texas*. Discussed by the Chairman and Professors Gerould, Nitze, and Carr.

Dr. A. W. Thompson spoke of some of the problems connected with the "Elucidation" in the Mons manuscript of Chretien's *Perceval* which he is editing. These were discussed by Professors Brown, Nitze, and Gerould.

The Chairman appointed Professors Nitze and McKnight as a committee to nominate officers. Their nominations were: *Chairman*, John J. Parry, *University of Illinois; Secretary*, Margaret Schlauch, *New York University*. There being no nominations from the floor these persons were declared elected for the coming year.

The Chairman suggested that next year the group center its attention on one or two topics. Professor Gerould spoke in favor of dealing with one topic only.

Professor Nitze suggested also that a bibliography of recent Arthurian literature might be presented in mimeographed form and briefly discussed. About twenty-five persons were present.

John J. Parry, *Secretary*

(*English IX*) Wordsworth and His Contemporaries. *Chairman*, Oscar J. Campbell, *University of Michigan; Secretary*, Walter E. Peck, *Hunter College of the City of New York*.

In the absence of the regular officers of the Group, Professor Ernest Bernbaum of the *University of Illinois* presided. The following program was presented:

1. "An Interpretation of Byron's *Manfred*," Allen R. Benham, *University of Washington*.

2. Symposium on Coleridge: Reports of work in program and discussion of the principal *desiderata* in the field of Coleridge scholarship by Thomas M. Raysor, *State College of Washington*, Earl L. Griggs, *University of Michigan*, and Alice D. Snyder, *Vassar College*.

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It was voted that the Chair appoint a Committee to nominate officers for the coming year. The Committee appointed consisted of Professors Arthur Beatty and Raymond Havens and the following officers were chosen: *Chairman*, Professor Alice D. Snyder, *Vassar College; Secretary*, Thomas R. Raysor, *State College of Washington.*

ERNEST BERNBAUM, *Acting Chairman*

(*English XII*) American Literature. *Chairman*, Kenneth Murdock, *Harvard University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "John Bull and His American Descendants," George E. Hastings, *University of Arkansas.*

2. "A Project for a History of American Poetry," Ralph L. Rusk, *Columbia University.*

3. "Emerson's Use of Translations from Oriental Literature," Frederick Ives Carpenter, *University of Chicago.*

4. "A New Study of Whitman," Clifton J. Furness, *Harvard University.*

5. "The Vision of Columbus: Its Genesis and Contemporary Reception," Theodore A. Zunder, *Hunter College of the City of New York.*

Much interest was expressed in the project for a history of American poetry and in the new materials presented for the study of Whitman.

A report of the Editorial Committee, presented by the Chairman, Professor Jay B. Hubbell of Duke University, showed that the first number of the new quarterly journal, *American Literature*, was ready to go to press and might be expected to appear in March 1929.

The following persons were nominated as members of the Advisory Council for the ensuing year: Professors Paine, Cairns, Clark, Harrington, Rusk, Mabbott, Murdock, Bradley, and Foerster, *Chairman.*

The Chairman and Secretary of the Group were re-elected for 1929. Professor E. E. Leisy of Southern Methodist University was appointed Reglstrar of the Group, with instructions to continue his work of recording research work now in progress and to publish his results annually in *American Literature.*

In view of the increasing difficulty in confining the business of this Group within the time limits of the Group period the officers were directed to consider some method of readjustment for the coming year.

EDWARD S. BRADLEY, *Secretary*

(*English XIV*) English Drama. *Chairman*, Hazelton Spencer, *The Johns Hopkins University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Aspects of the Study of the Religious Drama," by Hardin Craig, *Stanford University.* The paper was discussed by F. W. Cady, *Middlebury College.*

2. "The Mirror of Elizabethan Drama," by T. W. Baldwin, *University of Illinois.*

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3. "Reality in the Restoration Drama," by Henry Ten Eyck Perry, *University of Buffalo.*

4. "Inlets to the Stream of Life on the Crummlesian State," by E. Bradlee Watson, *Dartmouth College.*

Forty persons were present at the opening of the meeting, and thirty-five came in during its progress.

Officers elected for 1929 were, *Chairman*, George C. Taylor, *University of North Carolina; Secretary*, Leslie Hotson, *New York University.*

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE, *Secretary*

(*French III*) French Literature of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries. *Chairman*, Albert Schinz, *University of Pennsylvania.*

The following papers were read:

1. "La nouvelle attitude de la critique contemporaine envers Racine," Henri Peyre, *Yale University.*

2. "Racine et Talma," G. H. Gifford, *Tufts College.*

3. "The *Affaire Calas* Revived," Brady R. Jordan, *Duke University.*

4. "Additional Remarks on the Early Editions of Moliere's *Don Juan.*" Bert E. Young, *Indiana University.*

It was voted to change the field of this Group to cover the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries leaving the XVIIIth century to be covered by *French V.*

For the coming year the following officers were elected: *Chariman*, Bert E. Young, *Indiana University; Secretary*, J. L. Borgerhoff, *Western Reserve University.* About one hundred persons were in attendance.

H. PEYRE, *Secretary*

(*German III*) Goethe. *Chairman*, W. A. Cooper, *Stanford University.*

The following papers were presented:

1. "William Alfred Speck: In Memoriam," by the Secretary.

2. "Lewis Morrison's *Faust* productions in America." J. F. L. Raschen, *University of Pittsburgh.*

3. "Herder's Goldsmith Readings in Strassburg, January 1771," Lawrence M. Price, *University of California.*

4. "Poe and Goethe," Carl F. Schreiber, *Yale University.*

The following officers were elected for the current year: *Chairman*, John A. Walz, *Harvard University; Secretary*, Anna Schafheitlin, *Allegheny College.* One hundred persons were in attendance.

CARL F. SCHREIBER, *Secretary*

(*Slavonic I*) Slavonic Language and Literatures. *Chairman*, C. A. Manning, *Columbia University.*

The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "General remarks on Slavonic Studies," William Caldwell, *McGill University.*

2. "The Genius of Slavonic Poetry, A Comparative Study," Watson Kirkconnell, *Wesley College, Winnipeg.*

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3. "Polish Literature since the War," Roman Dyboski, *University of Cracow.*

4. "A Russian Translation of the *Historia de Preliis* (Recension J3)," Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr., *Harvard University.*

5. "The Number of the Slavonic Languages," Otakar Vocadlo, formerly of the School of Slavonic Studies, *University of London.*

6. "The Influence of American Life and the English Language on the Slavonic Languages, especially Czech." Rev. Ernest Zizka, O. S. B., *St. Procopius College.*

The following papers were read by the Chairman in the absence of the authors:

7. "The Tragedy of Tolstoy," Berthold C. Friedl, *Urbana University.*

8. "The Religious Element in Contemporary Russian Peasant Poetry," George Z. Patrick, *University of California.*

9. "The Czech Adjective," Orin Stepanek, *University of Nebraska.*

The Chairman was re-elected and the Rev. George Luba, O. S. B. was elected Secretary.

The session adjourned at 12:30 P.M.

REV. GEORGE LUBA, O.S.B., *Secretary*

SECOND DIVISION 11 A.M.

(*General Topics I*) Poetic Form and General Æsthetics. *Chairman,* Theodore Stenberg, *University of Texas.* The following papers were read:

1. "A Glance at Browning's Poetics," Leslie N. Broughton, *Cornell University.*

2. "The Development of the Modern Concept of the Poetic Faculty," Murray W. Bundy, *State College of Washington.*

3. "A Comparison of the Critical Methods of Arnold and Pater as Exemplified in Their Treatment of Coleridge," William S. Knickerbocker, *University of the South.*

4. "The Development of the Concept of Taste in English Æsthetic Theory," Gilbert Macbeth, *Marquette University.*

5. "Shelley, Plato, and the Imagination," Floyd Stovall, *University of Texas.*

6. "Application of a Theory of Value to Æsthetic," Peter Monro Jack, *University of Michigan.*

Lack of time made discussion of papers impossible. One hundred and two were present for some part of the meeting.

The officers of the group were re-elected for the coming year.

FREDERICK W. PETERSON, *Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature IV*) Anglo-French Literary Relations, *Chairman,* Louis I. Bredvold, *University of Michigan.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Notes on the Urquhart-Motteux Rabelais of 1694-1693," Alpheus W. Smith, *Northwestern University.* Discussed by the chairman and A. W. Secord, *University of Illinois.*

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2. "Voltaire and Dryden," Agnes R. Riddell, *Wheaton College*. Discussed by George R. Havens, *Ohio State University*, Norman L. Torrey, *Yale University*, and E. P. Dargan, *University of Chicago*.

The following officers were elected: *Chairman*, Norman L. Torrey, *Yale University* and *Secretary*, Virgil B. Heltzel, *Northwestern University*. About thirty members were presented.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD, *Chairman*

(*English VI*) The Periods of Spenser and Milton. *Chairman*, Marjorie Nicolson, *Smith College*.

The following papers were read:

1. "Virgilian Allegory and the *Faerie Queene*," Merritt Y. Hughes, *University of California*.

2. "Milton and Ben Gerson," Harris Fletcher, *University of Illinois*. Discussed by J. Holly Hanford, *Western Reserve University*.

3. "Macaulay's *Milton* after One Hundred Years," Allen R. Benham, *University of Washington*. Discussed by Raymond Havens, the *Johns Hopkins University*.

4. "Science and Prose Style in XVIIth Century," Richard F. Jones, *Washington University*. Discussed by Ronald S. Crane, *University of Chicago*.

The officers of the Group were re-elected for the year 1929.

E. B. FOWLER, *Secretary*

(*English XIII*) Present-Day English, *Chairman*, Sir William Craigie, *University of Chicago*. In the absence of the Chairman, the Secretary presided.

A report on the American Dictionaries by Sir William Craigie was read by the Secretary.

Dr. W. Cabell Greet of *Columbia University* played and discussed a number of the twenty-four phonograph records of American dialects recently made under his direction by the Victor Company.

At the business meeting it was voted, on motion of Professor Fries, that a committee consisting of Professors Kenyon, Kurath, and Greet, and such other persons as they should select, be appointed to gather information on American dialects and to prepare a speech map of the United States.

[The Committee as constituted is as follows: C. C. Fries (Chairman), W. F. Bryan, W. Cabell Greet, J. S. Kenyon, Hans Kurath, and W. A. Read.]

The officers of the group were continued for the coming year. Fifty-eight members were present.

MILES A. HANLEY, *Secretary*

(*French I*) Mediæval Literature and Linguistics. *Chairman*, Urban Holmes, *University of North Carolina*. In view of the resignation of

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the Secretary, Charles H. Livingston, *Bowdoin College*, the Chair appointed as Acting Secretary A. H. Schutz, *Ohio State University*.

The following papers were read:

1. "Recent Research in Romance Linguistics: Its Trend and Portent," by Pauline Taylor, *New York University*. Discussed by Professors Jenkins, Blondheim, Patterson and Vaughan.

2. "Four Unpublished Anglo-Norman Courtesy Poems," by Hudson Chapman, of Philadelphia, Pa.

3. "Norman French Words in Sicilian," by H. H. Vaughan, recently of the *University of California*.

4. "Entendre et Trobar," by A. H. Schutz, *Ohio State University*. Discussed by Professors Adams and Jenkins.

5. "Gautier d'Arras and Provins," by F. A. G. Cowper, *Duke University*.

Forty-eight persons were in attendance. The officers chosen for the year 1929 were: *Chairman*, Edward L. Adams, *University of Michigan; Secretary*, Louis Allen, *University of Toronto*.

A. H. SCHUTZ, *Acting Secretary*

(*Italian I*) Italian Literature. *Chairman*, George L. Hamilton, *Cornell University*.

The following papers were read:

1. "A Famous Cinquecento Academy which never existed," Walter L. Bullock, *University of Chicago*.

2. "Machiavelli's *Prince* as an Example of a Literary Type," Allan Gilbert, *Duke University*. Discussed by Professors Livingston and Shaw.

3. "Croce's System as a Theory of Error," Arthur Livingston, *Columbia University*.

4. " '*Morrati, morrati!*' Dante's canzone *Donna Pietosa* (*V. N.* xxiii)," J. E. Shaw, *University of Toronto*.

5. " '*Che si chiamare*' (Dante's *V. N.* I, ii, 1)," Herbert D. Austin, *University of Southern California*.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Rudolph Altrocchi, *University of California; Secretary*, Luigi A. Passarelli, *University of Arkansas*. About thirty-five members were in attendance.

ANGELO LIPARI, *Secretary*

(*German II*) Language and Literature of the XVIth Century. *Chairman*, Charles Goetsch, *University of Chicago; Secretary*, M. B. Evans, *Ohio State University*. In the absence of the officers of the Group E. C. Roedder of the *University of Wisconsin* presided and A. J. F. Zieglschmid of *Northwestern University* acted as Secretary.

The following papers were read:

1. "On the Origin of the Reinmar-Walther Feud," H. W. Nordmeyer, *Washington University*.

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2. "Walther von der Vogelweide: Strophe 56, 5–13 (8th Lachmann edit. v. Kraus, 1923) as the final strophe of Song 54, 37–55, 34," Walther Bücheler, *Ohio State University.*

3. "The Nüremberg Schembart Manuscripts," S. L. Sumberg, *Columbia University.*

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Ernst K. J. H. Voss, *University of Wisconsin; Secretary*, E. H. Sehrt, *George Washington University.* Between fifty and sixty persons were in attendance.

E. C. ROEDDER, *Acting Chairman*

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The third general session of the Association was held in Convocation Hall. The Association was called to order by President Schilling at 2:10 P.M.

An address, "Problems of University Education in Post-War Europe," was delivered by Professor Roman Dyboski, of the *University of Cracow.*

The rest of the session was devoted to the annual business meeting of the Association.

The Secretary of the Association, Carleton Brown, of *New York University*, presented the following report:

Since the last meeting of the Association the deaths of nineteen members have been reported. Among these are four veteran members of the Association: John Lesslie Hall, on February 23; Frank Gaylord Hubbard, on March 15; Henry Spackman Pancoast, on March 25; and Gustav Gruener, on December 5. As a member of the Executive Council and the Editorial Committee, Professor Gruener was a valued advisor, and the Secretary in recording his death adds a personal word of sorrow.

The number of names on the membership roll at the present date is 3,784 or exactly seven more than were reported at the last meeting. Of these, however,I regret to add, 233 will be dropped from the roll with the beginning of 1929 on account of their failure to heed the warning notices sent out by the Treasurer. This means that the Association will begin the New Year, for the first time in many years, with a positive shrinkage in its list of members. Three causes have operated to produce this result: (1) The increase in the annual membership fee at the beginning of 1928; (2) The fact that during 1928, for the first time in several years, no systematic drive was undertaken to recruit new members; (3) The unprecedentedly rapid increase in membership during the past few years probably resulted in attaching to the Association a considerable number of persons who had no very clear understanding of its character and purpose. Such persons naturally would feel but little interest in the work of the Association, and having no root in them might be expected quickly to wither away. Whatever the causes, the present

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situation may be regarded, with little doubt, as a temporary check in what has been a phenomenal period of growth.

Vol. XLIII of the *PMLA*, exclusive of the Supplement containing the Proceedings and List of Members, amounted to 1204 pages as compared with 1070 pages in 1927—which was itself a higher number than in any previous year. The increase this year has come in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Editor to condense as much as possible manuscripts accepted for publication. Without such condensation it would not have been possible to print as many papers during the year, with the result that contributors would have been obliged to wait still longer for the appearance of their papers in print.

The Editorial Committee has coöperated valiantly in the struggle to keep pace with the steadily increasing volume of material offered for publication. During the past year the number of MSS declined was actually larger than the number accepted. And in the future it is probable that this ratio will increase still further. The returning of MSS, however inevitable it may be, is not a gracious task—it is much pleasanter to accept them. But a rigorous selective process at least should result in maintaining standards.

A matter which is always of interest to members of the Association is the departmental distribution of the papers which make up the annual volumes of the *PMLA*, and the Secretary takes the opportunity to present the statistics for the present year in comparison with those for the two preceding years:

	1926	*1927*	*1928*
English	33	45	38
Romance	11	7	17
German	7	3	8
Miscell. and general	4	4	4
	55	59	67

It will be observed that the percentage of non-English material shows a wholesome increase this year over the figures for 1927 and 1926. Indeed,—though this may be a matter of surprise to many—the number of Romance papers and also of German papers published in 1928 is actually larger than in any previous year.

The eight papers in German this year, while they make a small proportion of the sixty-seven papers published, compare rather favorably with the number of German papers in previous years, as will be seen:

1911.....3	1916.....1	1921.....2
1912.....1	1917.....2	1922.....1
1913.....2	1918.....2	1923.....2
1914.....1	1919.....2	1924.....4
1915.....2	1920.....2	1925.....3

In order to keep as nearly as possible the proper proportion among the papers in the several fields represented in the *PMLA* the editorial policy has been to give priority of publication to non-English papers—a policy justified in the interests of the readers but hardly fair in practice to contributors who are thereby forced to wait an undue length of time for the appearance of their papers.

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The extent to which this policy has been carried will be seen by comparing the number of accepted manuscripts in the several departments which are now awaiting publication:

English	39
Romance	11
German	0
Miscell. and gen.	1
Total	51

Clearly it is beyond the power of editorial policy to regulate the departmental distribution of papers. And in general the disproportion must be expected to continue until there is a nearer approach to equality in the volume of material submitted in the several departments.

The Monograph Endowment Fund has been swelled during the year by contributions amounting to $1,642.00, bringing the present total of this Fund up to $14,117.63. The progress toward the $20,000. goal which has been fixed for this Fund has not been as rapid as was hoped. Before we succeed in securing the $1,000.00 offered by Mr. Benjamin to complete the Fund, it still remains to raise $4,882.00—which at the present rate of increase would require another three years. As we approach nearer the goal, however, we may expect that progress will be more rapid. Thus far, no general appeal has been sent out to the members of the Association for the completion of this Fund, but it should be understood that contributions in any sum will be welcomed.

Since the last report of the Secretary, the third Monograph in the Series, *The Writings of Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for His Biography* by Hope Emily Allen—has made its appearance from the press. The high praise with which the book has been greeted as an outstanding scholarly achievement is most gratifying, and cannot fail to have its influence in extending the reputation of the Monograph Series.

It is disappointing, therefore, to report that the sales of the three Monographs already issued has been much smaller thus far than might have been expected in view of their scholarly importance. And it is somewhat surprising, as well as humiliating, to note that the number of copies sold on this side of the Atlantic is much less than the number sold abroad. I must leave it to the members of the Association to explain why at least the libraries of the colleges and universities with which they are identified have not placed their orders for this Series of Monographs. The cost of printing these books, amounting to some $6,000.00, has now been fully paid—so that the proceeds from sales will go to replenish the Monograph Expense Account. Indeed, if all the libraries subscribing to the *PMLA* had placed orders for the Monographs, it would have been possible from the revenue thus received to turn over from the Monograph Expense Account not less than two thousand dollars to the Monograph Endowment Fund as permanent capital.

In conclusion the Secretary called attention to the fact that the offices of the Association had been moved in September from University Heights to the downtown buildings of New York University at Washington Square, and expressed the hope that members visiting New York City would find it convenient to call at the headquarters of the Association in their present location.

It was voted to accept the Report of the Secretary.

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The Treasurer of the Association, Professor John Whyte, presented the following report:

A. CURRENT FUNDS

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand, January 1, 1928			$ 1,016.93
From Members for 1926 or before	$ 32.00		
" " " 1927	475.93		
" " " 1928	13,279.09		
" " " 1929	232.00		
" " " Life Memberships	1,466.50	$15,485.52	
From Libraries XLII or before	$ 10.80		
" " XLIII	402.88		
" " XLIV	332.77		
" Foreign Subscribers	150.11	$ 896.56	
From Sale of *PMLA*	$ 168.84		
" " " List of Members	25.69	$ 194.53	
From Advertisers		$ 1,110.00	
" Income from Permanent Fund	$ 1,338.32		
" Interest on Current Funds	55.19	$ 1,393.51	
From Miscellaneous Sources:			
Joint Memberships in AFS	$ 184.00		
Membership fees in EETS	70.00		
Review of English Studies, subs.	37.25		
Contribution to Monograph Endowment Fund	1,642.00		
Extra Reprints	7.26		
Excess Corrections	9.50		
Malone Society, subs.	77.50		
London Times Literary Supp.-Subs.	12.45		
Exchange	.19		
Refund of Advances to Monograph Expense Acct.	1,257.62		
Refunds	243.95		
From Rotograph Fund	25.00		
Diesch Bibliography	40.00		
Miscellaneous	25.28	$ 3,632.00	$22,712.12
			$23,729.05

EXPENDITURES:

To George Banta Publishing Co. for *PMLA:*			
XLII-4	$ 1,563.95		
XLII-Supplement	1,108.21		
XLIII-1	1,940.60		
XLIII-2	1,408.92		
XLIII-3	1,634.83	$ 7,656.51	

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Knapp Engr. Co. for Plates	$ 79.43		
Century Co. for Plates	17.62	$ 97.05	
Paper Stock Elva Wilcox	$ 1,643.00	$ 1,643.00	
For Administrative Expenses:			
Salary Secretary	$ 1,500.00		
Salary Treasurer. Including 150 due in 1927	1,150.00		
Clerical Assistance	2,957.94		
Express and Hauling	51.95		
Postage	316.64		
Telegraph and Telephone	14.96		
Printing and Mimeographing	156.39		
Supplies	105.12	$ 6,253.00	
Transferred to Monograph Exp. Acct.		$ 1,257.62	
To LeRoy E. Kimball Managing Trustee:			
Life Membership fees	$ 1,466.50		
Added to Permanent Fund	550.00		
Contributions to Monog. Endow. Fund	1,642.00	$ 3,658.50	
To American Folk Lore Society			
Membership Fees	$ 184.00		
Early English Text Society Membership	70.00		
American Council on Education: Dues.	10.00		
American Council of Learned Societies: Dues	187.35		
To Review of English Studies Subs.	37.25		
Malone Society subs.	77.50		
London Times Lit. Suppl. subs.	12.45		
Diesch Bibliography	40.00	$ 618.55	
Miscellaneous Expenditures:			
Committee Expenses	$ 25.00		
Checks returned	110.00		
Travelling Expenses of Officers to Convention	179.28		
Annual Meeting Programs	285.15		
Annual Meeting Convention Circulars	253.53		
Canadian Passenger Assoc.	50.00		
Exchange	4.06		
Refunds	68.39		
Treasurer's Bond	20.00		
To Rotograph Fund	25.00		
Miscellaneous	67.21	$ 1,087.62	
			$22,271.85
Balance on hand, Dec. 21st, 1928			1,457.20
			$23,729.05

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MONOGRAPH EXPENSE ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS:

Balance on Hand, Jan. 1st, 1928	$ 799.88	
Int. From Corn Exchange Nat. Bank	21.72	
Int. from Central National Bank	6.99	
Loan from Current Funds	1,257.62	
From Hope Allen toward Publication	289.18	
From Hope Allen 50 copies of Allen Monograph	187.50	
From Hope Allen for excess corrections	164.40	
Income from Albright, Allen, Paton Monograph	708.20	
Income from Monograph Endowment	703.12	$4,138.61

EXPENDITURES:

Oxford University Press—Allen Monograph	$2,235.32	
Duty on Allen Monograph	224.40	
Brokerage, freight, etc. on Allen Monograph	42.36	
Brokerage, freight, on Paton Monograph	23.15	
Repayment of Advance from Current Funds	1,257.62	
	$3,782.85	
Balance on hand, December 21st, 1928	355.76	$4,138.61

EMERGENCY FUND ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand Jan. 1st, 1928	$2,000.00
From Carnegie Corporation of New York	5,000.00
Int. to Oct. 1st, 1928	137.81
	$7,137.81

EXPENDITURES:

Transfer to Permanent Fund	$4,000.00
Expenses of Committee on Organization	176.16
Reprinting *PMLA* vols. and nos.	2,318.49
	$6494.65
Balance on hand Dec. 21st, 1928	643.16
	$7,137.81

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1928

	Decrease	Increase
Current Funds		$ 440.27
Permanent Fund		6,476.14
Monograph Endowment Fund		1,630.02
Monograph Expense Account	$ 444.12	
Emergency Fund Account	1,356.84	
Net Increase in Resources	6,745.47	
	$8,546.43	$8,546.43

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REVOLVING BOOK FUND

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand, Jan. 1st, 1928	$2,014.50
Int. Corn Exchange Bank	92.61
Int. Central Nat. Bank	58.65
Sales of Krapp (Eng. Lang. in America)	506.66
Sales of Tannenbaum (Shakespere's Penmanship)	187.73
Sales of Weller (Keats and Mary Tighe)	183.26
	$3,043.41

EXPENDITURES:

Manufacturing Cost of Weller, Keats and Mary Tighe	$1,635.88
Transfer of Int. to Revolving Fund Expense Acct.	29.15
	$1,665.03
Balance on hand Dec. 21st, 1928	1,378.38
	$3,043.41

REVOLVING PUBLICATION FUND EXPENSE ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS:

Balance Jan. 1st, 1928	$ 460.38
Int. Corn Exchange Bank	10.29
Int. Central Nat. Bank	.18
From Revolving Publication Fund	29.15
	$ 500.00

EXPENDITURES:

April 5th Transfer to Leroy Kimball to Permanent Fund by vote of Council $500.00. Account closed.

ROTOGRAPH FUND

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand, Jan. 1, 1928	$3,572.92
Contributions in 1928	1,925.00
Int. from Corn Ex. Bank to Dec. 31st, 1927	120.04
Int. from Central Nat. Bank to Sept. 30th, 1928	144.45
	$5,762.41

EXPENDITURES:

Purchase of Reproductions	$ 811.39
Balance on hand, Dec. 21st, 1928	4,951.02
	$5,762.41

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None of the members of the Committee to Audit the Treasurer's Report was present at the time the Report was given; but the Treasurer explained that the Committee had examined his accounts and had certified over their signatures that these accounts had been found correct.

Thereupon it was voted to accept the Report of the Treasurer.

In the absence of Mr. LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee, Professor E. C. Armstrong presented the following report of the Trustees of Invested Funds:

PERMANENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST CO. OF NEW YORK

Par Value		Book Value
$ 9,500	Bond and Mtge. Guarantee Co. 5½% First Mtge. on 2845–50 West 30th St., Bklyn., New York, due July 23, 1930, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	$ 9,500.00
8,000	Western Pacific R. R. Corp. 5% bonds, due March 1, 1946, int. payable March 1 and Sept. 1	7,976.00
3,000	Shell Union Oil Sinking Fund 5% bonds, due May 1, 1947, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1	2,904.75
3,000	Municipal Service Real Estate Co., Inc., 5½% bonds due April 1, 1938, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	3,000.00
2,000	Purity Bakeries 5% bonds, due 1948, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1	1,874.00
1,000	Prudence First Mtge. Certificate 5½% due Oct. 1, 1932, being participation in bond and mortgage made by Langham Hotel Corporation, being premises located on West Side of Central Park West from West 73rd St., to West 74th St., N. Y., int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	1,000.00
1,000	Prudence First Mtge. Certificate 5½%, due July 1, 1931, being participation in bond and mortgage made by Seventh Avenue Hotel Corporation-Manger, being premises located on the East Side of Seventh Avenue from 50th St., to 51st St., N. Y., int. payable July 1 and Jan. 1	1,000.00
1,000	Bond and Mtge. Guarantee Co. 5½% Mtge. Certificate, participating in $15,000. bond and mortgage of Dora Fries, secured by property on the S. W. corner of Court St., and Huntington St., Bklyn., N. Y., due March 20, 1933, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1	1,000.00
900	Bklyn. Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds, Series "A," due July 1, 1968, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1	891.00
$29,400		$29,145.75

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RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 19, 1928

RECEIPTS:

Balance carried forward from 1927 report	$ 383.50
From John Whyte, Treasurer:	
Life Membership payments	1,466.50
Transfer from Revolving Fund Expense Account (for investment)	500.00
Transfer of the final installment from the Carnegie Corp. (for investment)	2,500.00
Transfer from Emergency Fund Account (for investment)	1,500.00
Transfer from current funds (for investment)	550.00
Int. on No. 2845–50 West 30th St., Bklyn., N. Y., Mortgage	522.50
Int. on Western Pacific R. R. Corp. 5% bonds	400.00
Int. on Shell Union Oil Sinking Fund 5% bonds	150.00
Int. on Municipal Service Real Estate Co. 5½% bonds	82.50
Int. on Langham Hotel Mtge.	55.00
Int. on Manger Hotel Mtge.	55.00
Int. on Dora Fries Mtge. Fourth and Huntington Sts., Bklyn., N. Y.	13.90
From United States Trust Co. of New York, int. on balances	120.56
	$8,299.46

DISBURSEMENTS:

To John Whyte, Treasurer:	
Income on investments	$1,217.76
Int. received on balances from United States Trust Co. of New York	120.56
To United States Trust Co. of New York:	
For purchase of $2,000 par Purity Bakeries 5% bonds	1,874.00
Accrued interest on above	13.61
For purchase of $1,000 Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% Mtge. Certificate, mortgage of Dora Fries, secured by property on S. W. corner of Court St. and Huntington St., Bklyn., N. Y.	1,000.00
For purchase of Municipal Service Real Estate Co., Inc., 5½% bonds	3,000.00
Accrued interest on above	13.75
For purchase of 9 Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds	891.00
Accrued int. on above	24.90
For services rendered in safe-keeping of securities, collection of income, etc., for both the Permanent Fund and the Monograph Endowment Fund (their charge being 2½% of the income collected)	49.24
Cash balance on deposit with the United States Trust Co. of N. Y.	94.64
	$8,299.46

MONOGRAPH ENDOWMENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST CO. OF NEW YORK

Par Value		Book Value
$10,900	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% First Mtge. on 2845–50 West 30th St., Bklyn., N. Y., due July 23, 1930, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	$10,900.00

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1,400	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% First Mtge. on property of Wolcott Holding Corp. on the South side of 31st Ave. near 36th St., Bklyn., N. Y. due 1932, int. payable June 1 and Dec. 1	1,400.00
1,000	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% Mtge. Certificate participation in $100,000 Bond and Mtge. of Krim-Far Realty Corp., secured by property on S. W. corner of Avenue Y and E. 19th St., Bklyn., N. Y., due May 1, 1931, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	1,000.00
500	Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Bonds, Series "A," due July 1, 1968, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1	$ 495.00
$13,800		$13,795.00

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 19, 1928

RECEIPTS:

Balance carried forward from 1927 report		$ 182.61
Gifts to increase the fund:		
Sundry donors	$1162.00	
Germanistic Society	250.00	
Henry Goddard Leach, Esq.	100.00	
Otto Kahn, Esq.	100.00	
Chauncey B. Tinker, Esq.	25.00	
E. M. Schenck	5.00	$1642.00
Int. on No. 2845–50 West 30th St., Bklyn., N. Y. Mtge.		603.47
Int. on Wolcott Holding Corp. Mtge. 31st Ave. near 36th St., Bklyn., N. Y.		74.00
Int. on Krim-Far Realty Corp. Mtge., Avenue Y and E. 19th St., Bklyn., N. Y.		27.50
		$2,529.58

DISBURSEMENTS:

To John Whyte, Treasurer:	
Income on investments	$ 703.12
To the United States Trust Co. of N. Y.:	
For purchase of $1,000 Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% Mortgage on Krim-Far Realty Corp., secured by property on S. W. corner of Avenue Y and E. 19th St., Bklyn., N. Y.	1,000.00
For purchase of 5 Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds	495.00
Accrued interest on above	13.83
Cash balance with the United States Trust Co. of New York	317.63
	$2,529.58

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The size of the uninvested balance of $317.63 is accounted for by the fact that the Germanistic Society gift came too late for investment.

Respectfully submitted,
LeRoy E. Kimball
Edward C. Armstrong
George H. Nettleton, *Trustees*

December 19, 1928

It was voted to accept the report of the Trustees of Invested Funds.

Professor Robert K. Root, Chairman of the Committee on Selection of Rotographs, presented the following Report on behalf of this Committee:

The collection of rotographs deposited in the Library of Congress now extends to 91 numbers. Of these, 19 have been added to the collection during the year 1928. In addition, the Library of Congress has in its possession rotographic reproductions of 18 French plays printed between 1645 and 1652. These are a part of a collection which your committee is making of thirty French plays from this period, chosen by Professor H. Carrington Lancaster of Johns Hopkins University. So far as the Committee is aware no copies of these plays exist in American libraries. When the collection is complete, the rotographs will be bound in a number of volumes, and these volumes will be assigned consecutive numbers in our series. The total number of sheets represented by the nineteen new numbers and the eighteen plays amounts to a total of 5727 sheets. During the year 1927, 16 numbers were added with a total of 2596 sheets. Measured by their extent, the additions made in 1928 are more than double those made in 1927. Orders now outstanding with various photographers but not yet delivered amount to approximately 2000 additional sheets.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has given to your committee its loyal coöperation. With the exception of the most recent acquisitions and some of the outstanding loans, our reproductions have all been bound. Mr. J. F. Jameson, who has recently been appointed Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, informs me that the printing of catalogue cards is now in progress. He says further that "the use of the Modern Language Association deposits sent on loan by the Library of Congress has more than doubled within the last year. Besides the use of the rotographs sent on interlibrary loan in this country, one was sent to the University of Goettingen, Germany, for study."

By an arrangement with the Library of Congress and with the approval of the Rotograph Committee our reproductions, when not otherwise in demand, have been lent to the New York Public Library, where they have been rephotographed. Up to the present time, duplicate copies of 59 of our reproductions are available for use in the New York Public Library. This fact, when generally known, should materially increase the usefulness of our collection.

Two of the numbers added during the current year have been gifts. Mrs. Albert S. Cook of New Haven, Conn., has given on behalf of her late husband rotographs of a portion of British Museum MS Arundel 249: Latin poems of Stephen Surigone (Surigone is the author of the elegy on Chaucer written at the request of William Caxton). Professor W. O. Sypherd of the University of Delaware has given rotographs of the Trinity College Cambridge manuscript of John Christopherson's play *Jephtha*. In each case the copy when bound will bear the

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name of the donor. I hope that other members of this Association may be moved to follow the example thus set and to present to our collection rotographs which they may no longer need for their own personal use.

Thanks to the admirable energy of Professor Searles, the funds at the disposal of the Committee on Selection have been adequate to meet our immediate needs, so that it has not been necessary for us to refuse any request or suggestion which has seemed to us intrinsically desirable. The Committee will welcome suggestions from any members of the Association. The Committee would particularly welcome suggestions from scholars in the Germanic section. The requests which have come to us this year have been exclusively from scholars in English and the Romance languages.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT K. ROOT, *Chairman*

Professor Colbert Searles, Chairman of the Committee on Rotographs of MSS and Rare Printed Books, presented the following report:

. . . . The quest for subscriptions with which to carry on this enterprise has been fairly successful during the current year, thanks to the fine co-operation of members of the Association. There have been only six or seven defections among the sixty institutions whose names I read to you last year. We shall hope to win them back the coming year and possibly induce them to follow the fine example set by Oberlin which sent in three subscriptions, one for the current year, and two for the two years preceding. We have acquired the following list of new subscribers whose names I read in the order in which their subscription came in: Allyn and Bacon, Carleton College, Henry Holt and Company, Oberlin College, Hobart College, University of Rochester, Ohio Wesleyan University, Saint-Mary-of-the-Woods College, Library of the City of Boston, University of Indiana, University of Missouri, University of Colorado, California State Library, Public Library of Newark, College of St. Catherine, Bowdoin College—fifteen new subscribers or, thanks to Oberlin's generous action, eighteen new subscriptions, making a total of 73 as compared with sixty of last year.

I trust you will bear with me a moment longer, thus permitting me to attempt to do, *viva voce*, something which has apparently completely baffled all the epistolary eloquence at my command. That is, to try to meet the objection which is constantly recurring in almost identical form; to wit: "We regret, but since our institution has but few graduate students, we do not feel justified in urging very strongly its participation in this admirable enterprise." It is only by dint of much philosophizing upon hereditary influences in the formation of fixed ideas that we have come to accept with reasonable equanimity this utter failure to recognize the striking originality of this service which is being rendered by the Modern Language Association; a service designed for the benefit not of students, but of—professors! We all know that almost any educational institution can provide playing fields, gymnasiums, sanitary drinking fountains, rest-rooms for its students; to provide for the intellectual needs of its faculty is—*etwas anders*, they MAY drink from the fountains. We have accepted that situation perhaps with something of the reactions entertained by the old feudal dependents toward the *jus primae noctis;* but we have accepted it so long that it is evidently difficult for us to grasp that this project of the Modern Language Association is for members of the faculty, that it is for us ourselves.

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The authorities in the Library of Congress have recognized this from the first and have always been seriously disposed to question whether these reproductions should be sent out at all for the use of merely graduate students. And, as a matter of fact, in the very limited number of cases where this has been done, it has required a quite sophisticated intervention on the part of the professor directing that student's research to bring it about. And SO, these reproductions are for the use of the members of faculties who do not wish their scientific equipment to rust, their intellectual curiosity to go dead. The newly fledged doctor with his technique for research well on the way to being formed who goes to the smaller institution where resources for research work are lacking, finds and will find more and more in this collection, as it grows, the means with which to work and make for himself a future as a scholar in his field. There are plenty of arguments in support of the view that this collection is of more vital interest to the institution doing more specifically undergraduate work than to those which have considerable resources for advanced study in their own libraries. A glance over our list of subscribers indicates that the fact is beginning to be recognized.

But it needs to be recognized much more widely. There are in this country between two and three hundred institutions perfectly able to furnish the twenty-five dollars annually which the Association asks for. Any of us glancing around his educational habitat can see any number of examples which prove that when the administrative authorities are so inclined they can find considerably larger sums than what we seek when it is a question of procuring some more or less ornamental knicknack in bronze, nickel plate or brass with which to bedizen the local shrine of science. It is a question of making them see that this expenditure which we are asking for is worth while and that in fact its worthwhileness is being recognized by more than seventy of the most prominent and most progressive of our American colleges and universities. The Dean of one of the colleges whose name I have just read, wrote: "While we do not, of course, in our institution do very much graduate work, there are still occasions when the faculty, if not the students, will have use for the results of your undertaking, and even if that were not so, I think we are able and ought to be willing to make the small contribution which you ask for so excellent a cause." It is a question of getting it before these authorities, of making them see what seems to have been perfectly clear to the writer of the following (who was not a dean, nor a president, nor a professor, nor a member of the *MLA*, but a librarian of a public Library). At the close of his communication he refers to the Modern Language Association of America, which, he goes on to say, "has been responsible for this collection and to which it is difficult to give too much credit for its foresight and public spirit in making this effort to aid research."

The list of institutions contributing to the Rotograph Fund for 1928 is as follows

Allyn and Bacon Company
Amherst College
Library of the City of Boston
Bowdoin College
Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
University of Buffalo
Butler University
University of California at Berkeley
University of California at Los Angeles
California State Library
Carleton College
College of Saint Catherine
University of Chicago
University of Cincinnati
University of Colorado
Columbia University

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Dartmouth College
Duke University
Emory University
Goucher College
Hamilton College
Harvard University
Haverford College
Henry Holt and Company
Hobart College
Howard University
Indiana University
University of Iowa
Johns Hopkins University
University of Kansas
Lehigh University
University of Michigan
Mills College
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
Mount Holyoke College
University of Nebraska
Public Library of Newark, N. J.
Newberry Library, Chicago
New York City Public Library
New York University
University of North Carolina
Northwestern University
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
Ohio Wesleyan University
University of Pennsylvania
Princeton University
Radcliffe Collge
University of Rochester
Saint Mary of the Woods College
Smith College
Sophie Newcomb Memorial College
Stanford University
Swarthmore College
Syracuse University
University of Texas
Vanderbilt University
Vassar College
University of Virginia
University of Washington
Washington University
Washington and Lee University
Wellesley College
Wells College
Wesleyan University
Western Reserve
Wheaton College
University of Wisconsin
Yale University

The Committee bespeaks your hearty co-operation for the coming year in securing the support of the institutions to which you belong.

Professor E. C. Armstrong, one of the delegates of the Modern Language Association to the American Council of Learned Societies, reported on the activities of the Council during the past year.

The Secretary of the Association reported that the Executive Council at its meeting on Dec. 26th, had accepted the invitation of Western Reserve University to the Modern Language Association to hold its annual meeting in Cleveland in December, 1929.

The Secretary also submitted to the Association a revised form of the Constitution and a set of By-Laws which had been carefully considered and unanimously approved by the Executive Council at its meeting on Dec. 26th:

CONSTITUTION

I. *Name*

The name of this Association shall be: THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

II. *Purpose*

The object of the Association shall be the advancement of research in the modern languages and their literatures.

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III. *Membership*

1. Any person approved by an officer of the Association may become a member on the payment of five dollars and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Persons who for twenty-five years or more have been members in good standing may, on retiring from active service as teachers, be continued as members without further payment of dues.

2. Any person eligible to membership may become a life member and exempt from dues by a single payment of seventy-five dollars or by the payment of twenty-six dollars for three successive years. With each completed decade of membership in good and regular standing, the fee for life membership shall be diminished by one-fourth. Persons who have paid forty annual membership dues automatically become life members without further payment.

3. Foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on the nomination of the Executive Council, but the number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty.

IV. *Officers*

1. The officers of the Association shall be: a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

2. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected by ballot for one year at the regular Annual Meeting. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be chosen by the Executive Council, and shall hold office for such term and under such conditions as the Council may specify.

V. *Administration*

The administration of the Association shall be in the hands of the Executive Council, consisting of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Association, *ex officio*, the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Association (without votes), and twelve members, of whom three shall be elected by ballot at each Annual Meeting for terms of four years in a manner described in the By-Laws. The Council shall administer the affairs of the Association and take such action as is necessary to carry out its purpose and promote its interests. It shall appoint such Boards and Committees as are specified in the By-Laws and such others as may be necessary from time to time. It shall make a report of its activities at each Annual Meeting, and its policies and actions shall be subject to the direction and approval of the Association.

VI. *Meetings*

The Association shall hold an Annual Meeting, at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. The Annual Meetings shall be held alternately East and West of the Eastern boundaries of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. For the transaction of business at an Annual Meeting, twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum of the Association.

VII. *Amendments*

Amendments of this constitution must first be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council, and afterwards be ratified by a majority vote at two successive Annual Meetings of the Association.

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BY-LAWS

I. *Duties of Officers*

All officers shall hold office until their successors are chosen.

The President shall preside at all business meetings of the Association and of the Executive Council. In his absence, his duties shall fall successively upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election.

The Secretary of the Association shall also act as Secretary of the Executive Council. He shall be Chairman of the Editorial and Program Committees and Editor of the quarterly *Publications* and of all books, pamphlets, or prints which may be issued by the Association, and shall serve as an advisory member of all other standing Committees.

The Treasurer shall be the custodian of all current funds, collecting membership fees, and other monies due the Association, and paying bills properly incurred, taking vouchers for such expenditures. He shall also have charge of the business arrangements for the quarterly *Publications* and any books published by the Association, and sign contracts with printing and other firms, subject to the approval of the Executive Council. He shall be bonded in a sum not less than ten thousand dollars.

Such clerical assistance shall be provided for the Secretary and Treasurer in the performance of their duties as may be approved by the Council and authorized in the annual budget.

II. *The Executive Council*

Each year three members of the Council shall be elected according to the following procedure: (1) The Council shall nominate six candidates, whose names shall be announced in the September issue of the *Publications*. (2) Any member of the Association may then propose three additional names and forward them to the Secretary before November 1. (3) The Secretary shall enter on an official ballot attached to the program of the Annual Meeting the six candidates proposed by the Council, together with the three names receiving the most votes among those proposed by members of the Association. (4) At the Annual Meeting, members may vote for any three of the persons named on the official ballot, absent members being permitted to forward their ballots, duly signed, by mail. (5) Of the nine names on the ballot, the three receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the Council for the ensuing four years, unless thereby the twelve members of the Council should consist of more than six or less than two representatives of English, Germanic, and Romance languages, respectively. In such case, the choice shall pass automatically to the person receiving the highest number of votes whose election would not result in over-representation or under-representation in any department.

The Council shall elect from its own number three persons, representing the three departments, to serve as an Advisory Committee, who shall meet at the call of the Secretary and make recommendations to the Council for its consideration.

The Executive Council shall fill any vacancy occurring among the officers of the Association. It may fill a vacancy in its own body until a successor can be elected according to the provisions above specified.

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III. *Trustees of Invested Funds.*

The Permanent Fund of the Association and the Monograph Endowment Fund shall be administered by a Board of three Trustees, appointed without term by the Executive Council, of whom one shall be designated the Managing Trustee.

The Treasurer of the Association shall pay over to the Trustees any sums which may be due to the Permanent Fund, either as payments for life membership or as gifts to the Association, and also any sums which may be contributed to the Monograph Endowment Fund.

The Trustees shall invest and reinvest all funds so received by them, and shall hold the same until such time as the Association shall be dissolved or shall otherwise cease to exist and shall then turn over all property remaining in their hands to the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

The income accruing on all property in their hands shall be paid over to the Treasurer of the Association, who shall add the Income received from the Permanent Fund to the Current Funds of the Association and shall add the Income received from the Monograph Endowment Fund to the Monograph Expense Account.

Said Trustees or any of them may be removed by the Executive Council by a unanimous vote at a meeting called for the purpose, and any vacancy arising from the death, resignation, or removal of any Trustee shall be filled by the Executive Council.

IV. *Standing Committees*

The standing committees shall be as follows: An Editorial Committee, a Program Committee, a Committee on the Monograph Series, a Committee on the Revolving Book Fund, a Committee on Rotographs, and such others as may on recommendation of the Executive Council, be authorized at any Annual Meeting. Each shall consist of five members who shall hold office for five years, one being elected each year. The following three departments shall always be represented on each committee: English, Germanic languages, and Romance languages.

The Editorial Committee shall have charge of the quarterly *Publications* of the Association in cooperation with the Secretary, who shall be managing editor.

The Program Committee shall prepare the programs for the Annual Meeting. It shall have authority to make regulations regarding papers and discussions and to coördinate or modify the program of the various sections and research groups.

The Committee on the Monograph Series shall select the monographs to be published in the Series.

The Committee on the Revolving Book Fund shall have general charge of the selection of manuscripts and of publications under the Fund.

The Rotograph Committee shall have charge of the solicitation of subscriptions and of the selection, manufacture and distribution of the rotographs.

V. *Budget*

The Treasurer shall each year prepare for presentation to the Council a budget of expenditures for the ensuing year. After approval by the Council the budget shall be laid before the Association for its information at the Annual Meeting. For budgetary and other administrative purposes the official year shall be the calendar year.

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VI. *Audit*

Previous to the Annual Meeting, the President shall designate a committee to audit the financial accounts of the Association, including the security bond of the Treasurer. The Auditing Committee shall then submit the report to examination by a commercial auditing firm. The report as thus audited shall be transmitted to the Council and published in the annual *Proceedings* of the Association.

VII. *Amendment*

These By-Laws may be amended, after approval by the Executive Council, by a majority vote at any Annual Meeting of the Association, notice of such amendment having been distributed to the members with the program of the same meeting.

After some general discussion, it was moved by Professor Walter L. Bullock that the Constitution as approved by the Executive Council be adopted. Professor Armstrong moved to amend Article V by changing the number of the members of the Executive Council from "twelve" to "eight." The amendment was put and declared lost. Thereupon the original motion to adopt the constitution was put and unanimously carried.

Professor H. C. Lancaster then moved that the By-Laws as approved by the Executive Council be adopted. The motion was carried unanimously.

Professor Robert K. Root, Chairman of the Committee on Nomination of Officers, presented the following report:

The Committee on Nominations presents the following list of candidates:

For President:
Professor William A. Nitze of the *University of Chicago.*
For Vice-Presidents:
Professor James F. Royster of the *University of North Carolina.*
Professor Elijah C. Hills of the *University of California.*
Professor Ernst Voss of the *University of Wisconsin.*
For Treasurer: (unexpired term)
Professor John Whyte of the *College of the City of New York.*
For member of the Editorial Committee: (unexpired term).
Professor Ernst H. Mensel of *Smith College.*

ROBERT K. ROOT, *Chairman*

It was voted that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the persons nominated by the Committee, and they were declared duly elected.

Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following report:

Resolved: that the Association express to the President and other administrative officers of the University of Toronto and to the members of the local committee on arrangements its thanks for the hospitality which

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the Association has enjoyed and its sincere appreciation of the efficiency and courtesy which had made its forty-fifth meeting a memorable occasion.

Be it further resolved that the Association express to the administration of McMaster University its thanks for its cooperation in providing for the comfort of the Association.

A. R. HOHLFELD, *Chairman*

It was voted unanimously to adopt the resolutions as read.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

A reception to the members of the Association was given by the Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario and the President of the University of Toronto in the Great Hall of Hart House at half past four o'clock.

FRIDAY EVENING

At seven o'clock a subscription dinner was served to some four hundred members of the Association at the King Edward Hotel. Following the dinner, a smoker was given with a program arranged by the Local Committee. Professor J. E. Shaw of the University of Toronto presided. A program of French Canadian folk-songs by the By-Town Troubadours, presented through the generosity of the Ontario Department of Education, was enthusiastically received. The smoke-talk given by Professor Brent of the University of Toronto, was greatly enjoyed.

SATURDAY MORNING

DEPARTMENTAL SECTION MEETINGS

For the Saturday morning session the Association met at 9:30 A.M. in three sections, devoted, respectively, to English, Romance, and German Philology.

ENGLISH SECTION

Chairman, Professor James Holly Hanford of *Western Reserve University*.

The following papers were read:

24. "*Piers Plowman*, Political Allegory?" by Mr. Oscar Cargill, of *New York University*.

25. "Materials for a Dictionary of Early Modern English," by Professor Charles C. Fries, of the *University of Michigan*. Discussed by Mr. T. A. Knott, who offered the following motion, which was carried:

"That the Chairman of the English Section appoint a committee of five to survey the projects for various special dictionaries of English, to assemble the available information concerning the status and progress of the projects, and to suggest whatever co-operation, support, or assistance may be advisable or desirable

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on the part of the Modern Language Association. This committee should report to the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association and to one of the Language groups or to the English Section in 1929. It should be a continuous committee, holding over from year to year."

[The Committee as constituted is as follows: J. F. Royster (*Chairman*), Thomas Knott, Arthur G. Kennedy, W. F. Bryan, and Kemp Malone.]

26. "The Real Scholar Gipsy," by Professor Marjorie H. Nicolson, of *Smith College*. Discussed by Professor J. H. Hanford.

27. "The Story of Burns's Death," by Professor Franklyn B. Snyder, of *Northwestern University*. Discussed by Professor David R. Keys.

28. "The Development, during Our Time, of Scholarly Knowledge of the Romantic Movement," by Professor Ernest Bernbaum, of the *University of Illinois*. Discussed by Professors Roman Dyboski and Raymond D. Havens.

29. "The Development of English-Canadian Poetry," by Professor Ray Palmer Baker, of the *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*.

30. "Rosalind, and the Mystification of Male-Female in Elizabethan Literature," by Professor Richard Feuerstein, of *Rollins College*.

HOWARD R. PATCH, *Secretary*

ROMANCE SECTION

Chairman, Professor GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP, *University of Chicago*.

The following papers were read:

31. "Nature and Its Expression in the Sixteenth Century," by Professor N. H. Clement, of the *University of Delaware*.

32. "Cooper's *Bravo* in Italy," by Professor E. Goggio, of the *University of Toronto*.

33. "Voltaire's Marginal Comments on Rousseau," by Professor George R. Havens, of the *Ohio State University*. Discussed by Professor Albert Schinz, of the *University of Pennsylvania*.

34. "The Introduction of the Unities into the French Drama of the Seventeenth Century," by Professor H. Carrington Lancaster, of the *Johns Hopkins University*. Discussed by Professor Hugh A. Smith, of the *University of Wisconsin*.

35. "Is Spanish Literature Romantic?" By Professor S. M. Waxman, of *Boston University*. Discussed by Professor Juan Cano, of the *University of Toronto*.

On the suggestion of the Secretary of the Association, the Chairman asked the meeting to decide whether officers of the Romance Section should be elected or should be appointed by the Secretary of the Association. It was voted that officers should be elected by the Section.

For the current year, the following officers were elected: *Chairman*, Professor David S. Blondheim, of the *Johns Hopkins University; Secretary*, Professor George R. Havens, of the *Ohio State University*.

NORMAN L. TORREY, *Secretary*

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GERMANIC SECTION

Chairman, Professor ERNST H. MENSEL, of *Smith College*.

In the absence of the Chairman, who was prevented by illness from attending, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld of the *University of Wisconsin* was chosen as Acting Chairman.

The following papers were read and discussed:

37. "The Influence of Jean Paul Richter on George Meredith's Conception of the Comic." By Mr. Edward V. Brewer, of the *University of California*.

38. "The German Circle in Denmark (1750-1770)—H. W. von Gerstenberg." By Professor J. W. Eaton, of the *University of Saskatchewan*.

39. "Die Bedeutung der Form in der höfischen Kultur um 1200," by Professor Hans Naumann of the *University of Frankfort*.

40. "Der Zauber der menschlichen Sprache," the paper by Professor J. A. von Bradish of the *College of the City of New York*, announced in the program, was omitted because of lack of time. The following papers were read by title:

41. "August Strindberg and Modern German Drama." By Professor Arthur Burkhard, of *Harvard University*.

42. "Scott's *House of Aspen* and Leonhard Wachter's *Sagen der Vorzeit*." By Professor Ernst H. Mensel, of *Smith College*.

The following officers were chosen for the coming year: *Chairman*, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld; *Secretary*, Professor George H. Danton, *Oberlin College*.

LAWRENCE M. PRICE, *Secretary*

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

RESEARCH GROUP MEETINGS

The afternoon session of Saturday was devoted to the meetings of the following Research Groups, from 2:30 until 4 o'clock.

(*General Topics II*) Critical Study of Romanticism. *Chairman*, Paul Kaufman, *The American University*, Washington, D. C.

The following papers were read:

1. "German Influence on Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism." Thomas M. Raysor, *State College of Washington*.

2. "The Treatment of Nature in French and German Romanticism." Madeline Ashton, *University of Illinois*.

3. "Coordinating the Study of English, French, and German Romanticism." A. E. Zucker, *University of Maryland*.

Professors Bernbaum, C. E. Young, Evans, Blondheim, Welleck, and others took part in the discussion which followed the reading of the papers.

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The Chairman then outlined what he regarded as the function and aims of the group, stressing the need of formulating definite conceptions regarding Romanticism, also the fact that this group should emphasize the comparative study of Romanticism in different literatures in order not to encroach upon the fields of other groups in English, French, and German. A valuable contribution to the discussion was made by Professor Roman Dyboski who suggested that Romanticism should be studied as a world movement, with special reference to its philosophical aspects, its relation to life, and to other arts, such as landscape gardening, painting, etc.

The present officers of the group were re-elected for the ensuing year. About fifty persons were present.

HENRY W. CHURCH, *Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature V*) The Renaissance. *Chairman*, Olin H. Moore, *Ohio State University.*

The following papers were presented:

1. "Renaissance Book Publishing," Dr. Pierce Butler of The Newberry Library.

2. "French Litterature de colportage," J. C. Lyons, *University of North Carolina.*

These papers were discussed by Professors Bullock, Holmes, and others.

3. "Sir Thomas Elyot and Dr. Andrew Borde," Theodore Stenberg, *University of Texas.*

Copies of the annual bibliography of studies in the field of Renaissance French and Italian, were distributed. Copies may still be secured on application to Professor R. V. Merrill, *University of Chicago*, at a cost of ten cents for the French and twenty-five cents for the Italian bibliography.

The officers of the Group were re-elected for the coming year. Some thirty persons were in attendance.

A. H. SCHUTZ, *Secretary*

(*English I*) Old English. *Chairman*, Kemp Malone, *The Johns Hopkins University.*

A round-table discussion of the identity of the Geatas was opened by C. N. Gould, of the *University of Chicago*, who summarized the views put forward in 1925 by E. Wadstein in his monograph, *Norden och Vasteuropa i gammal tid.* Wadstein's views were discussed by Professors W. F. Bryan, Henning Larsen, and the Chairman, the general opinion being that the Gøtar (Gautar) hypothesis had not been shaken.

A paper, "The Urgent Demand of Good Elementary Texts in Old English," was read by J. O. Beaty, *Southern Methodist University.* The paper was discussed by Professors J. S. Kenyon, T. A. Knott, and A. G. Kennedy.

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The following group officers were elected for 1929: *Chairman*, George William Small, *University of Washington; Secretary*, Edward C. Ehrensperger, *Wellesley College*. Thirty-three persons were in attendance.

GEORGE WM. SMALL, *Secretary*

(*English VII*) Philosophy and Literature of the Classical Period. *Chairman*, A. E. Case, *Yale University; Secretary*, T. O. Wedel, *Carleton College*.

The following papers were read:

1. "Pope as a Humanitarian," Austin Warren, *Boston University*.

In the absence of the author the paper was read by Professor George Sherburn, *University of Chicago*, who also led the discussion.

2. "Literature and Science in the Age of Classicism," R. B. Quintana, *University of Wisconsin*.

The discussion of this paper was led by Professor R. F. Jones, *Washington University*, and Professor L. I. Bredvold, *University of Michigan*. A prolonged and lively general discussion of the paper concluded the meeting.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Richard F. Jones, *Washington University; Secretary*, R. B. Quintana, *University of Wisconsin*.

ARTHUR E. CASE, *Chairman*

(*English X*) Victorian Literature. *Chairman*, Walter Graham, *University of Illinois*.

In the absence of the Chairman through illness, Professor Arthur Beatty of the *University of Wisconsin* presided.

The meeting was devoted to a discussion of the Victorian triumvirate.

1. Carlyle (led byEmery Neff, *Columbia University*).
2. Arnold (led by Malcolm W. Wallace, *University of Toronto*).
3. Browning (led by William Clyde De Vane, *Yale University*).

The second and third topics provoked a protracted and particularly spirited discussion.

Leslie N. Broughton, *Cornell University*, made a brief report on the progress of the Browning bibliography.

About thirty persons were present.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM, *Secretary*

(*Spanish I*) Spanish Language. *Chairman*, Milton A. Buchanan, *University of Toronto*.

The following papers were read and provoked interesting discussion:

1. "El genio de la lengua y nuestros libros de lectura," Juan Cano, *University of Toronto*.

2. "Syntax as a Test of Authorship," R. E. House and Ruth Davis, *University of Iowa*.

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3. "Two Desperate Etymologies" (*Voto a Rus, ganapan*), J. E. Gillet, *Bryn Mawr College.*

On motion of Professor C. C. Marden it was voted to discharge the committee on Spanish periodicals, whose labors have successfully resulted in the recent publication by Professor Keniston of the list of Spanish periodicals available in American university libraries. On motion of Professor J. P. W. Crawford, Professor F. C. Tarr was authorized to form a committee for the purpose of listing the periodicals now lacking and apportioning them among the institutions willing to acquire them.

The following officers were chosen for the coming year; *Chairman*, C. P. Wagner, *University of Michigan; Secretary*, G. I. Dale, *Cornell University.* About sixty persons were present.

F. COURTNEY TARR, *Secretary*

(*German I*) Historical Grammar. *Chairman*, Taylor Starck, *Harvard University; Secretary*, Hans Kurath, *Ohio State University.*

In the absence of the Group Officers, Professor W. Kurrelmeyer, *Johns Hopkins University*, was elected Acting Chairman and Professor George H. Danton, *Oberlin College*, Acting Secretary.

The following papers were read:

1. "Sievers' Method of *Schallanalyse*," F. H. Wilkens, *New York University.* Followed by extended discussion.

2. "Is the Use of *Wesen* in the Periphrastic Actional Passive in the Germanic Languages due to Latin Influence?" A. J. Friedrich Zieglschmidt, *Northwestern University;* discussed by several members.

It was voted to continue the regular officers of the Group for the coming year. About sixty persons were in attendance.

GEORGE H. DANTON, *Acting Secretary*

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PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in the Stanford Union at Stanford University on November 30 and December 1, 1928.

After a meeting of the executive committee at 10 A.M., the first session was called to order by President G. R. Noyes at 10:30. The minutes of the previous annual meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* and in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association.*

The Secretary reported for the past year that whereas 19 names had been added to the membership list, 24 names had been dropped,—largely for non-payment of dues, in a few cases because of removal from the Coast, and in the case of one member, Wm. D. Ward, Professor of Greek at Occidental College, because of death. The total membership for the current year is 184, a loss as compared to last year of four members.

Election of the following persons to membership by the Executive Committee was reported:

Dr. Abel Alarcon, College of the Pacific.
Prof. Walter Gieseke, College of the Pacific.
Miss Ruth Smith, College of the Pacific.
H. L. Bourdin, University of California.
Clarence D. Brenner, University of California.
R. P. Champomier, University of California.
Esson M. Gale, University of California.
Charles Malamuth, University of California.
Dr. C. P. Merlino, University of California.
Prof. Hardin Craig, Stanford University.
Aurelio M. Espinosa, Jr., Stanford University.
Prof. R. D. Harriman, Stanford University.
E. Gertrude Cook, Burlingame, Calif.

The selection of the University of California as the next meeting place of he Association was confirmed.

The society next considered a recommendation of the Executive Committee that the office of Secretary and that of Treasurer be combined, and that the sum of $50 be appropriated annually for the Secretary-Treasurer to cover stenographic help. It was informally agreed that, if the nominating committee saw fit, this consolidation might be made for the year 1928–29, and the Secretary gave notice of an amendment to the Constitution to be voted upon a year hence, altering the words in Sec. 1, Article II, "a Secretary and a Treasurer," to read "and a Secretary-Treasurer," and in Sec. 2, Article II, deleting the words "of nine."

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The report of Treasurer C. C. McCown was next heard. Subject to the approval of the Auditing Committee, the report was approved and placed on file:

RECEIPTS:

Balance, Nov. 25, 1927	$461.81	
Receipts from members	850.20	
Interest on deposits	18.13	
Total Receipts		$1,333.14
EXPENDITURES	$997.57	
Balance in bank	335.57	
Total credits		1,333.14

EXPENDITURES ITEMIZED:

Treasurer		
Stamped envelopes	5.50	
Addressing envelopes	2.75	
Printing notices	5.75	
		14.00
Secretary		
Envelopes and postage	11.81	
Printing notices	14.50	
Addressing notices	7.50	
Postage on programs	3.51	
Printing programs	78.50	
		116.82
Memberships paid to M.L.A.	508.33	
Memberships paid to A.P.A.	246.42	
Bills at Faculty Club	2.00	
Annual meeting	10.00	
Special Monograph fund, M.L.A.	100.00	
Total	997.57	

C. C. McCown, *Treas.*

The President announced the appointment of the following members to serve on committees:

Nominating: McKinlay (1 yr.), Briggs (2 yrs.), Linforth (3 yrs.).

Auditing: L. M. Price, Austin.

Social: Foster (chairman), Durham, Cooper.

The gathering now turned to the reading and discussion of papers, which were presented according to the printed program. The number of those in attendance at the morning session was 58.

The second session of the Association convened at 2 P.M. The program as printed was adhered to. There were some 55 members in attendance.

The annual banquet, the hour for which had been advanced from 7 to 6:30 P.M., was attended by 54 members. President G. R. Noyes' address on *The Historical Novel* was followed by enjoyable after-dinner speeches

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by Professors Craig and Altrocchi. Professor Briggs presided as toastmaster.

At the third session, which convened at 9:30 A.M. Saturday, there were some 26 members in attendance. The papers were presented according to program, except that paper number 12 by Professor L. O. Wright, was read in his absence by Professor E. C. Hills. The society turned its attention, in the middle of the program, to a few matters of business. The Auditing Committee rendered its report approving the accounts of the treasurer. The Nominating Committee proposed the following officers for the ensuing year:

President: Aurelio M. Espinosa.

First Vice-pres: Rudolph Schevill.

Second Vice-pres: William Diamond.

Secretary-Treasurer: Lionel Stevenson.

Executive Committee: The above named officers and Arthur G. Kennedy, Herbert D. Austin, Benjamin O. Foster, Charles B. Gleason.

There were no further nominations and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the names presented by the committee.

Professor E. C. Hills proposed that the customary two-day program be consolidated into a one-day session with section meetings. After considerable discussion, the matter was referred to the Executive Committee for its consideration and action.

Upon conclusion of the program, adjournment took place at 11:40 A.M.

CLAIR HAYDEN BELL, *Secretary*

FIRST SESSION

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, AT 10:30 A.M.

1. *Political Thought in Sidney's Arcadia*, by PROFESSOR WILLIAM D. BRIGGS of Stanford University.

2. *Rivals for Dr. Johnson*, by PROFESSOR MILDRED C. STRUBLE of the University of Southern California.

3. *Farewell to Achilles*, by DR. ALAN R. THOMPSON of the University of California.

4. *Galsworthy's Use of Irony*, by PROFESSOR FRANCES THERESA RUSSEL of Stanford University.

5. *The Problem of Evil in Plato*, by DR. HERBERT B. HOFFLEIT of the University of California at Los Angeles.

SECOND SESSION

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, AT 2:00 P.M.

6. *The Sublime in Herodotus*, by PROFESSOR IVAN M. LINFORTH of the University of California.

7. *The Structure of the "Ars Poetica,"* by PROFESSOR JEFFERSON ELMORE of Stanford University.

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8. *Michelino's Dante*, by PROFESSOR RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI of the University of California.

9. *The Springs of Pathos, Tragedy, and Comedy in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, by PROFESSOR M. ELLWOOD SMITH of Oregon State Agricultural College.

10. *Imperator*, by PROFESSOR MAX RADIN of the University of California.

DINNER AND SMOKER

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, AT 7:00 P.M.

Stanford Union

11. President's Address: *The Historical Novel*, by PROFESSOR GEORGE RAPALL NOYES of the University of California.

THIRD SESSION

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, AT 9:30 A.M.

12. *The Disappearing Indicative Function of the Spanish* -ra *Verb Form in pre-Golden Age Prose*, by PROFESSOR LEAVITT O. WRIGHT of the University of Oregon.

13. *The French Pronunciation of Names of Persons*, by PROFESSOR WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ of Stanford University.

14. *The Second "Wind" of Swabia* (Par. III, 119), by PROFESSOR HERBERT D. AUSTIN of the University of Southern California.

15. *The Imprecations in Tristan's "Mariane" V.* 2, and in *Corneille's "Horace" IV.* 5, by PROFESSOR LAWRENCE M. RIDDLE of the University of Southern California.

16. *A Source for Barrie's Peter Pan*, by DR. LIONEL STEVENSON of the University of California.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

17. *The Source of the "Heroic Couplet," the Elegiac Distich of Ovid*, by PROFESSOR MARY A. HILL of Whittier College.

18. *The Religious Element in Contemporary Peasant Poetry*, by PROFESSOR G. Z. PATRICK of the University of California.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

(Corrected to February 16, 1929)

Life and Emeritus Members are indicated by ❖

Abbot, Francis Harris, Professor of French, University of Virginia, University, Va.

Abbot, Allan, Professor of English, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City

Abbot, Charles David, Instructor in English, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.

Abbuhl, Frederick, Assistant Professor of English, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. [17 Parkview Ct.]

Ackerman, Ethel M., Assistant Professor of English, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. [1650 Hewitt Ave.]

Ackermann, Rev. Carl, Head of the English Department, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio [2315 E. Main St.]

Acton, Hul-Cee Marcus, Professor of Romance Languages, Howard College, Birmingham, Ala. [8004-4th Ave.]

Adams, Arlon T., Assistant Professor of English, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio [116 Fisher Hall]

❖ **Adams,** Arthur, Professor of English and Librarian, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

❖ **Adams,** Edward Larrabee, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1850 Washtenaw Ave.]

Adams, Eleanor N., President and Professor of English, Oxford College for Women, Oxford, Ohio

Adams, Helen Rose, Graduate Student in English Literature, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [636 N. Main St., Meadville, Pa.]

Adams, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Adams, John R., [Address Unknown]

Adams, Joseph Quincy, Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [167 Goldwin Smith Hall]

Adams, M. Ray, Professor of English, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. [804 Race Ave.]

Adams, Nicholson Barney, Associate Professor of Spanish, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. [Route 4]

Adams, Raymond William, Instructor in English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. [Box 762]

Adams, Warren Austin, Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Adkins, Nelson Frederick, Instructor in English, Washington Square College, New York University, New York, N. Y. [19 Christopher St.]

Adler, Frederick Henry Herbert, Head of English Department, Cleveland College, Cleveland Ohio [2633 Shaker Rd., Cleveland Heights]

Agar, Herbert Sebastian, Fellow in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [150 Mercer St.]

❖ **Abramson,** Mrs. Muriel Morris, 4800 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago

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Aguerrevere, Angel Demetrio, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, James Millikin University, Decatur, Ill.

Aiken, Wellington E., Associate Professor of English, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [52 N. Prospect St.]

Aiken, (Mrs.) Janet R., Research Assistant, Department English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Philosophy Hall]

Ainsworth, Edward Gay Jr., Instructor in English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [210 Delaware Ave.]

Ainsworth, Oliver Morley, 411 W 116th St., New York City

Albrecht, Otto Edwin, Instructor in Romanic Languages, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [107 Nippon St., Mt. Airy]

Albright, Elnora Evelyn Kelly (Mrs. F. S. Albright), Assistant Professor of English, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont.

Albright, Evelyn May, Assistant Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Exchange 13]

Alderman, William E., Dean of College and Professor of English, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. [704 Park Ave.]

Aldrich, Adeline, [Address unknown]

Aldrich, Earl A., Professor of English, Tufts College [141 Plimpton St., Boston, Mass.]

Alexander, Donald M., Instructor in English, Ohio Wesleyan College, Delaware, Ohio [P.O. Box 225]

Alexis, Joseph E. A., Professor of Romance Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1420 Garfield St.]

Alford, Anne Nash, The Cedars, Latta, S. C.

Allard, Louis, Professor of French, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1130 Massachusetts Ave.]

Allen, Beverly Sprague, Professor of English, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]

Allen, Catherine, Professor of French and Head of the Department, Meredith College, Raleigh, N. C.

Allen, Clifford Gilmore, Professor of Romanic Languages, Stanford University, Calif. [Box 1064]

Allen, Hamilton Ford, Professor and Head of Department of Modern Languages, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H.

Allen, Harold B., Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, Shurtleff College, Alton, Ill.

Allen, Herbert F., Assistant Professor of English, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif. [510 N. Virgil Ave.]

Allen, Hervey, Felicity Hall, Somerset, Bermuda.

Allen, Hope Emily, Kenwood, Oneida, N. Y.

Allen, Louis, Associate Professor of French, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can.

Allen, Morse S., Associate Professor of English, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

Allen, Otho Williams, Acting Head of Modern Language Department, Culver Military Academy, Culver, Ind.

Allen, Philip Schuyler, Professor of German Literature, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Exchange]

Allen, Samuel E., Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [26 Southworth St.]

Allen, William H., Bookseller, 3345 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

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Allison, Tempe Elizabeth, Chairman of English Department, San Bernardino Junior College, San Bernardino, Calif.

Almstedt, Hermann Benjamin, Professor and Chairman of Department of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [302 Westmount Ave.]

Almy, Robert Forbis, Instructor in English, 142 Main St., Fairhaven, Mass.

Alonso, Antonio, Pan-American Union, 17th and B St., Washington, D. C.

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Alterton, Margaret, Associate in English, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa [Box 12, University Hall]

Altrocchi, Rudolph, Professor of Italian, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. [440 Wheeler Hall]

Ament, William Sheffield, Professor of English, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif. [Scripps College Library]

Amner, F. Dewey, Instructor in Spanish, Denison University, Granville, Ohio

Amos, Flora Ross, Professor of English, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa.

Amy, Ernest F., Professor of English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. [28 Forest Ave.]

Anderson, Alma M., Assistant Professor of Spanish and Head of the Department, Whittier College, Whittier, Calif. [609 S. Bright Ave.]

Anderson, Annette, Instructor in English, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa [1 Bloom Terrace]

Anderson, George Kumber, Assistant Professor of English, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Anderson, Hans Holst, Assistant Professor of General Literature, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.

Anderson, Jean J., Professor of Modern Languages, Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.

Anderson, Margaret, Head of the Department of French, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill. [Absent on leave]

Anderson, Marjorie, Instructor in English, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. [106 E. 52d St.]

Anderson, Ruth L., Instructor in English, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa [B 12, University Hall]

Anderson, William B., Teacher in Spanish Department, Eastern High School, Lansing, Mich. [127 S. Eighth St.]

Andison, John Gordon, Lecturer in the Department of French, University of Toronto, Ont.

Andrews, Albert LeRoy, Instructor in German and Scandinavian, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Andrews, Clarence Edward, Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Andrews, Lula Ocillee [Address unknown]

Andrieu, (Mrs.) Henriette, Associate Professor of French, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

❖ **Amibal,** Claude E., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio [1191 Wyandotte Road, Grandview]

Apgar, Genevieve, Associate Professor of English, College of Education, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio [Hillside]

Appelt, E. P., Instructor in German, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [2631 Kendall Ave. Madison Wis.]

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Arbib-Costa, Alfonso, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.

Ariail, J. M., Professor of English, Columbia College, Columbia, S. C.

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Armstrong, Henry Herbert, Professor of Romance Languages, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. [825 Park Ave.]

Arnaud, Leonard Ellison, Instructor in Romance Languages, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.

Arnold, (Mrs.) Dorothy McSparran, Assistant Professor of English, Assistant Dean, New York University, (Washington Square College), New York City [100 Washington Square, E.]

Arnold, Frank Russell, Head of Modern Language Department, Utah Agricultural College, Logan, Utah

Arnold, LeRoy, Professor of English Literature, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. [2628 Park Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.]

Arnoldson, (Mrs.) Louise G., Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, University of Montana, Missoula, Mont. [400 Grand St.]

Aron, Albert W., Professor of German and Head of the Department, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Arvin, Neil Cole, Professor of French, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Ashby, Stanley Royal, Assistant Professor of the English Language and Literature, Boston University, Boston, Mass. [2 Farrar St., Cambridge]

Ashcom, Benjamin B. [Address unknown]

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Atkinson, Dorothy F., Assistant, Department of English, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

Atkinson, Geoffroy, Professor of Romance Languages, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Atwood, Leland Leavitt, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

Aubin, Robert Arnold, Instructor in English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Aurner, (Mrs.) Nellie Slayton, Associate Professor of English, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa [303 Lexington Ave.]

Austin, Herbert Douglas, Professor of Italian and French, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.

Autrett, Oscar, Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Mississippi College, Clinton, Miss.

Avery, Emmett L., Instructor in English, State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash. [Elmhurst Apts.]

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Avery, Florence Seegar, Assistant Professor in French, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio [120 W. Central Ave.]

Aydelotte, Frank, President of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

❖ **Ayer,** Charles Carlton, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

Ayers, Joseph A., Instructor in English, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [233 Spruce St.]

❖ **Ayres,** Harry Morgan, Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Philosophy Hall]

Babbitt, Irving, Professor of French Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Kirkland Rd.]

Babbitt, Theodore, Instructor in French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [177 Yale Station]

❖ **Babcock,** Charlotte Farrington, Assistant Professor of English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass. [Massachusetts Chambers, 146 Massachusetts Ave.]

❖ **Babcock,** Earle Brownell, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, New York University, New York, N. Y. [On leave; 173 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, France]

Bachmann, Frederick W., Instructor in German, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Bachofen, Sophie-Anna, Associate Professor and Acting Head of Department of French, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Bacon, George William [Box 7, Wyncote, Pa.]

Bacon, Grace M., Professor of German, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. [6 Wright Place]

Baer, William Bush, Instructor in English, New York University, University Heights, New York City

Baer, Lydia, Instructor Department of German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

Baerg, Gerhard, Associate Professor of German, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. [60 Pearl St.]

Bagley, Charles R., Associate Professor of French, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

Bagster-Collins, Elijah William, Associate Professor of German, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Bailey, Margery, Assistant Professor of English, Stanford University, Calif. [Box 936]

Bailey, Mervyn J., Assistant Professor of German, Boston University, Boston, Mass. [688 Boylston St.]

Baird, Theodore, Instructor in English, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Baker, Asa George, In Charge of Editorial Work, G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers of Webster's Dictionaries, Springfield, Mass.

Baker, Berthe Irene, Head of Department of French, Grenada College, Grenada, Miss.

Baker, Edwin Lathrop, Headmaster, Harris Schools, Chicago, Ill. [2150 Lincoln Park W., Chicago, Ill.]

Baker, Fannie Anna, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Northeastern State Teachers College, Talequah, Okla. [Box 327]

Baker, Franklin Thomas, Professor of English, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [525 W. 120th St.]

❖ **Baker,** Harry Torsey, Associate Professor of English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. [Box 581]

Baker, Howard Gould, Assistant Professor of English, Albion College, Albion, Mich. [1108 E. Porter St.]

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Baker, Louis Charles, Chairman of the Department of Modern Languages, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. [Y. M. C. A.]

❖ **Baker,** Ray Palmer, Professor of English and Head of the Departments of Arts, Science and Business Administration, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. [34 Locust Ave.]

Baker, Thomas Stockham, President, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa. [Schenley Park]

Balch, Marston Stevens, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Gibson Terrace]

Baldensperger, Fernand, Professor à l'Université de Paris, France [55 Rue de Vaugirard]

Balderston, Katherine Canby, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [15A Appleby Road]

Baldwin, Charles Sears, Professor of Rhetoric, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Baldwin, Dane Lewis, Instructor in English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [211 Bryant Ave.]

Baldwin, Edward Chauncey, Professor of English Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [802 S. Lincoln Ave.]

Baldwin, Stanley Everett, Associate Professor of Rhetoric, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. [8 Kendrick Ave.]

Baldwin, Thomas Whitfield, Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Ball, Margaret, Professor of English, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. [Faculty House]

Ball, Robert Hamilton, Instructor in English and Dramatic Art, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [44 Princeton Ave.]

Ballard, Anna Woods, Assistant Professor of French, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [502 W. 122d St.]

Ballif, John L., Jr., Assistant Professor, University of Utah [258 University St., Salt Lake City, Utah]

Bally, Georges, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [Central Apts.]

Bancroft, William Wallace, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. [942 Main St.]

Bandy, William Thomas, Jr., [Address unknown]

Bangs, Archie Roy, Assistant Professor of German, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. [55 Ardmore Rd., W. Hartford]

Banks, Theodore Howard, Jr., Assistant Professor of English, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. [28 Lawn Ave.]

Barba, Preston Albert, Professor of German, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.

Barber, Marguerite Elinor, Head of English Department, Hancock High School, Hancock Mich. [408 Ryan St.]

Barker, James, L., Professor of French and Phonetics, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah

Barker, Joseph Edmund, Instructor in French, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. [12 Woodside Ave.]

Barker, Myron Irving, Instructor in French, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Barlow, Joseph W., Associate Professor of Spanish, New York University, New York, N. Y. [213 Park Place, Orange, N. J.]

Barlow, William M., Chairman, Dept. of Modern Languages, Curtis High School, New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y. [302 Stanley Ave., Tompkinsville, S. I.]

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Barnason, Charles Frederick, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio [420 Fifth St.]

Barnes, John Hancock, 5311 Kenwood Ave., Hyde Park Station, Chicago, Ill.

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EBENEZER C. BLACK, Boston University, July 11, 1927
CHAPIN BRINSMADE, New Haven, Conn.
WALTER C. BRONSON, Brown University, June 2, 1928
ROBERT J. CAMPBELL, State College, Washington, Sept. 9, 1928
EDDY BURKE FOSNOCHT, New Haven High School, May 31, 1928
GUSTAV GRUENER, Yale University, Dec. 5, 1928
WILLIAM GARDNER HALE, Shippen Point, Stamford,Conn., June 23, 1928
JOHN LESSLIE HALL, William and Mary College, Feb. 23, 1928
FRANK GAYLORD HUBBARD, University of Wisconsin, March 15, 1928
HERBERT S. MALLORY, University of Michigan, Dec. 30, 1927
STELLA W. MORGAN, Tennessee College, June 15, 1928
HENRY SPACKMAN PANCOAST, Philadelphia, Pa., March 25, 1928
PAULINE PIERSON, Illinois Wesleyan University, May 15, 1928
CHILTON LATHAM POWELL, Amherst College, May 25, 1928
FRANK OTIS REED, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, Dec. 12, 1928
EDWARD C. ROEST, Moravian College for Women, March 4, 1928
CARL SCHLENKER, University of Minnesota, Nov. 26, 1928
WILLIAM A. SPECK, Yale University, Oct. 9, 1928 [18]

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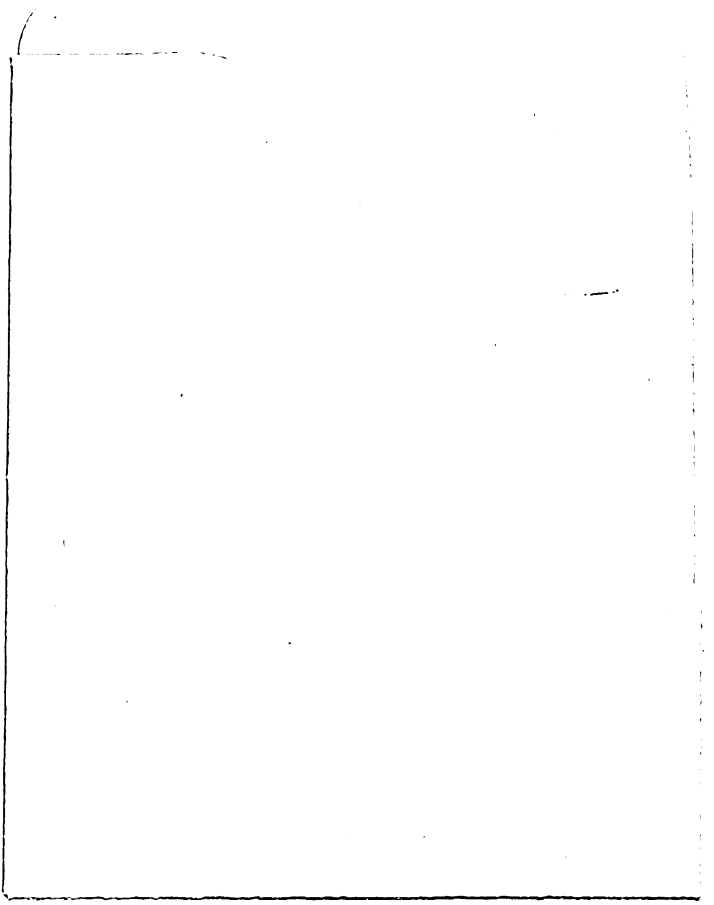

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